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Ratis Raving,
and
Other Moral and Religious Pieces,
in Prose and Verse.

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Ratis Raving,

and

Other Moral and Religious Pieces,

in Prose and Verse.

EDITED FROM THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY MS. KK. 1. 5,

BY

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PREFACE.

THE eleven pieces contained in this volume are from a MS. in the Cambridge University Library, marked KK. 1, 5. This volume consists of eight parts, and, as they have been separated lately, it may be useful to indicate the contents of each.

Part 1. The Boke of Polocye, by Christine de Pisan.

Part 2. The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, by Sir Philip Sidney.

Part 3. Ye grete lawis of Scotland of ye gude King David, the quilk laws are contenit in ye buke, the quilk be callit Regiam Magestatem.

Part 4. Ye copis of the Roll of Ulerioun and ye Jugement of ye lawis of ye sea.

The law of Burch mayde throw King Davide Malcome Sone and Saynt Margaret.

A short Latin Poem beginning "Taurus cornutus ex patris germine brutus."

A prophecy in Scottish verse. (Printed by E. E. Text Society.)

Beket's prophecy, with a Scottish Metrical Version. (Printed by the E. E. Text Society.)

Part 5. Bernardus de cura rei famularis, with a paraphrase in Scottish verse. (Printed by E. E. Text Society.)

Note.—3, 4, and 5 are in the same handwriting.

Part 6. (1.) The Craft of Deyng.

(2.) Ballad of Maxims.

(3.) Chaucer's "Flee from the press."

(4.) Ballad attributed to King James I. of Scotland.

(5.) Song.

(6.) Dicta Salomonis.

(7.) Advice of a Father to his Son (Ratis Raving).

(8.) The foly of fulys and the Thewis of Wysmen.

(9.) Consail and Teiching at the vȳs man gaif his sone.

(10.) The Thewis of Gud women.

(11.) The Vertewis of the Mess.

Part 7. Sir Lancelot of the Lak. (Printed by E. E. Text Society.)

Note.—6 and 7 are in the same handwriting.

Part 8. Miscellaneous extracts of Scottish Laws.

The present volume contains all the pieces included in Part 6 of the divided MS. It is written by the same hand, and is in the same Lowland Scottish dialect as the Lancelot, already edited by Mr. Skeat.

The first piece is a religious treatise in prose, called the "Craft of Deyng," and consists of directions and exhortations to be in preparation for death. At its commencement it exactly corresponds (except in dialect) to a MS. in the Cambridge University Library (Ff. 5, 45), also called "*þe Crafte of Deyinge*," which is ascribed in a modern hand to Hampole, but which an allusion made in the body of the work to the "Chaunceler of Parys" (*i.e.* John Gerson, who was appointed in 1395) shows could not have been Hampole's.

The second is a Ballad of Maxims, of which the most striking feature is the abundance of alliteration it contains.

Next is a Scottish version of Chaucer's well-known ballad, "Flee from the press."

The fourth piece, which is imperfect in the MS., the middle

stanza being omitted, occurs, with the Colophon, "Finis ¶. Quod King James the first, in ane Compentious Booke of godly and spirituall Songs," Edinburgh, 1621. From this edition I have inserted the middle stanza, which of course is in a somewhat more modern form. In the notes another version will be found, which did not come to hand until after the first sheet had been struck off.

The fifth piece consists of eight lines, which are very similar to the passage at line 2917, and being in precisely the same metre as the longer poems which follow, suggests the idea that these eight lines may be an extract from some similar poem on morals.

The "Wisdom of Solomon" is a digest of the reflections contained in the Book of Ecclesiastes.

The next four pieces are very interesting contributions to the Works on Morals and Manners of our forefathers. The first of them, called "Ratis Raving" by the author (line 1801), extends a little beyond eighteen hundred lines, and is of a more ambitious character than the treatises published in Mr. Furnivall's "Babees Book." Commencing with a description of each of the five senses, it gives advice against the temptations into which the delights of sense may lead men, and follows this with an account of the four great virtues of Fortitude, Honesty, Prudence, and Temperance, and of what the poet is pleased to call their three sisters—Faith, Hope, and Charity. The writer then proceeds to speak of the seven sins with which these seven gifts of the Holy Ghost are at war; after which follow precepts common to this with the other poems on Morals and Manners, such as, on taking a wife, and how to treat her if you do take one; next follow exhortations on trade; and then advice to retainers of great men. The poem concludes with considerations on man's life, divided into seven ages, and specifics, with a great amount of discrimination, the advantages and disadvantages of each stage in life's progress.

The poems numbered 8 and 9 partake more of the nature of "Books of Nurture," and No. 10 resembles in many of its precepts the poem on "How the Good wijf tauȝte hir Douȝter."

In the Maitland Folio MS., p. 19, in the Pepysian Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, are two poems of a similar character, which I should have added in an appendix, but that I hope the Society may, at some future day, be able to publish all the Maitland Poems. The first begins:—

My ſone, in court gif thou pleſis remane,
This my counſale in to thy mynd imprent,
In thy ſpeiking luik þat thou be nocht Vane,
Behald and heir, and to thy tung tak tent,
Be no leär or ellis thou art ſehent,
Found the on treuth gif thou wald weill betyde
To gouerne all and reule be nocht our bent.
He reulis weill þ^t weill in court can gyde.

This poem conſiſts of eleven ſtanſas, and the Colophon is:—

Quod richart maitland of ledyngtoun knyȝt.

In p. 148 of the ſame MS., we have a poem commencing thus:—

My ſone, gif þow to the court will ga,
My bidding luik w^t the thou ta,
And everie day tak tent þairto,
Suppois þ^t thou haue meikle ado.
Firſt ſone I gif the in bidding,
To luif thy god attour all thing;
That is to ſay on this maneir,
Luik preiching þ^t þow glaidlie heir,
And ſerue thy god all þat þow may,
In the beginnyng of the day.

This poem contains 128 lines, and ends—

Now fayr weill ſone and þus I end.
Finis, how the father
teichit the ſone.

Of No. 11 I have given ſome account in the notes.

The reader is referred to Mr. Skeat's Introduction to the

Lancelot (which is written by the same scribe and in the same dialect), for an account of the peculiarities of the language. It may be observed, however, that the language of these pieces is more decidedly Scottish than the Lancelot. Mr. Skeat has pointed out that *eke* in Lancelot is only an adverb, whereas it will be seen from the Glossary that the verb occurs frequently in this volume, and also the noun derived from it. Also, contrary to the usage in the Lancelot, *mirk* is the word for darkness, not *dirk*.

I have used *þ* rather than *y* to represent *th* (although the letter is written exactly like *y* in the MS.) as a nearer approach to what the writer intended to be read. Conf. line 279.

The Society is indebted to one of its members, W. W. King, Esq., for the entire copying of the MS.

The present Editor undertook to prepare the work for the press in the first instance, but was prevented by other duties from carrying it through at that time, and the editing was transferred to the hands of one of our members, since dead. Owing to the divided responsibility some misprints have occurred in the text, mainly because of the great similarity between certain letters in the MS. The following list of errata is therefore appended.

LINE		LINE	
60	<i>for</i> wreukis, <i>read</i> wrenkis.	535	<i>for</i> there, <i>read</i> chere.
76	„ puttish yme, „ puttis hym.	651	„ flethit, „ flechit.
310	{ „ orne, „ Ene.	756	„ Ryt, „ criyt.
329		992	„ masterer, „ master.
317	{ „ wyte, „ wyce.	1006	„ tendyr, „ tendyt.
1316		1013	„ site, „ sice,
337	„ dy, „ do.	1135	{ „ witis, „ wicis.
363	„ affichit, „ assithit.	1136	
389	„ hir, „ hie.	1156	„ at one, „ at our.
390	„ thar, „ thaim.	1165	„ dutis, „ rutis.
504	„ cynsell, „ tynsell.	1409	„ nocht, „ mocht.

NOTE.—As this preface was in progress, I received from Mr. J. A. H. Murray (who has written for the Philological Society

a paper on "The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, its Pronunciation, Grammar, and Historical Affinities, with an Introductory Sketch of the History of the Lowland Scotch"), the following notice of the dialect in which the volume is written, which I give entire. It will be seen that Mr. Murray considers these pieces of a purer northern character than the Lancelot.

The language of these pieces is the "Louthiane Inglis," or Lowland Scotch of the fifteenth century. The prose portions with which the work begins are of special interest on account of the archaic character of the language, and the scarcity of specimens of Scottish prose of so early a date. And although poetical specimens of earlier date exist, unfortunately most of these have come down to us only in later transcripts, or printed editions, in which the orthography, and even the grammatical inflections, etc., are conformed to the *Middle* Scotch of the sixteenth century. The present specimens belong to the later part of the *Early* Period of Scottish literature, when the language as yet varied but little from the Northern dialect in England, with which it had been identical before the War of Independence. Thus (to take the prose portion), we see that the spelling has not yet assumed those distinctive characteristics which mark the classical or standard Scotch of Bellenden, Lyndesay, or the Complaynt of Scotland. The long *a*, *e*, *o*, of Anglo-Saxon still mostly remain *a*, *e*, *o*, while in Middle Scotch they were written *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, or *ay*, *ey*, *oy*, as in *mar*, *de*, *her*, *thole*, later *mair*, *dey*, *heir*, *thoil*. The indefinite article is, as in Northern English of same date, *a* before a consonant, *an* or *ane* before a vowel, in contrast with the Middle Scotch usage as in *ane buik*, *ane kyng* (which appears in the Acts of the Scottish Parliament between 1475 and 1500). The use of the relative *at*—common in Cursor Mundi and Hampole, as well as in Barbour, Wyntoun, and the Early Scottish Laws, and still in common use in the spoken dialects of Scotland, but of which examples are very rare in the writers of the Middle period, who preferred *quhilk*, and *quhilkis*,—is another point to be noted. *Quhilk* and *quhilkis* are correspondingly of infrequent occurrence, although of the latter one or two instances are found in the poetical parts. Of *quha*, as a simple relative, there are of course no instances—this use of the word being apparently unknown in Scotland before 1540. The very frequent use of *erare* for *rather*, *rayder*, seems

also to be an archaism. Interesting in connection with the history of the Lowland Scotch are the combinations *dud*, *feild*, etc., = *do it*, *feel it*, which, it may be remarked, are still so pronounced. The rhyming of *begylyt* with *wyld*, l. 2309, is noticeable as showing that thus early the termination *-it*, *-yt* was really equal to *t* or *d*. The use of the adjectives *gud*, *yll*, *lesse*, *law*, *riche*, etc., as verbs meaning to *benefit*, to *malign*, *lessen*, *humble* or *lower*, *enrich*, is interesting, as examples of similar usage are still met with in the living Scotch dialects.

The "Craft of Deyng" is, as a specimen of the Scottish language, probably next in age to the early part of the Royal MS. of Wynthoun's Cronykil (placed about 1440). That it is later than that MS. appears from the fact that while the past participle in Wyntoun still retains the Anglo-Saxon *d*, ending usually in *-yð*, it has here become the more exclusively Scotch *-yt*. Probably, therefore, we may consider it as representing the language of the middle of the century. The "Wisdom of Solomon" is probably of nearly the same age, but "Ratis Raving" is apparently later, the orthography being much more assimilated to that of the Middle period, and the language generally less archaic. In several passages, however, the latter is very obscure, apparently from scribal errors, of which the poem, as a whole, contains rather numerous examples. There is no reason, however, to suspect the scribe of *wilfully* altering his original; indeed, the reverse appears manifest, from the fact that the "Craft of Deyng" has not been assimilated in orthography to "Ratis Raving," but distinctly retains its more archaic character; while in "Sir Lancelot," edited by Mr. Skeat for the Early English Text Society, from the handwriting of the same scribe, we have a language in its continual Anglicisms quite distinct from that of the pieces contained in this volume, of which the Scotch is as pure and unmixed as that of the contemporary Acts of Parliament. With regard to the remarkable transformation which the dialect has undergone in Sir Lancelot, there seems reason, therefore, to suppose that it was not due to the copyist of the present MS., but to a previous writer, if not to the author himself, who perhaps affected *southernism*, as was done a century later by Lyndesay and Knox, and other adherents of the English party in the Reformation movement. The Southern forms are certainly often shown by the rhyme to be original, and such a form as *tone* for *tane* = taken, is more likely to have been that of a Northerner trying to write Southern, than of a Southern scribe, who knew that no such word existed in his dialect. The same may be said of the *th* in the second person singular. A

Scotch writer, who observed that Chaucer said *he liveth*, where he himself said *he lyves*, might be excused for supposing that he would also have said *thou liveth* for the Northern *thow lyves*; but we can hardly fancy a Southern copyist making the blunder. The probability, therefore, is that the scribe to whom we owe these pieces has given them us much as they came to his hand, and that, writing himself towards the close of the fifteenth century, he has transmitted to us copies of works whose date runs over the preceding fifty years.

Moral and Religious Pieces.

FROM THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY MS.,

KK. 1. 5.

(1.) CRAFT OF DEYNG.

SEn the passage of this vrechit warlde, the quhilk is callit dede, femys harde, perelus, ande *rycht* horreble to mony men, alanerly For the wnkawlage at thai have thare-of, tharfore this lytill treti, the quhilk is callyt the craft of deyng, is to be notyde & scharply confederyt to thaim that are put in the fech[t]inge of dede; For to þaim, ande to al vthere folk, It may awaill *rycht* mekle till have a gude ende, the quhilk makis a werk *perfyte*, as the ewill end wndois al gud werk before wrocht. The fyrst 8
chepture of this treti begynnys of the *commendatioune* of dede, Fore ded, as haly wryt sais is mar *pretioux*e and worthy, is maist 12
terreble, of al thing that may be Thocht. Ande in-famekle as the faull Is mare *pretious* & worthy than The body, in-famekle is the ded of It mare *perulus* and doutable to be tholyt. Ande the ded of synfull man, but sufficient Repentans, is *euer* ill, as the dede of gude men, how foding or *terreble* at *euer* It be, is gude & *pretious* before gode : For the dede of gude men is *nocht* ell bot the pasing 16
of *personis* Retwrnyng fra banasyng, offputyng of a full hevy byrdinge, end of all seknes, eschevyng of *perellys*, the terme of all Ill, the brekinge of al bandys, the payment of naturell det, the agane-cumyng to the kynde lande, ande the enterig to *perpetuall* Joy and welfare; And tharfor the day of ded o neide men is better than the day of thar byrthe; And sa thai that ar all weill schrewyne, and deis in the faithe and *sacramentis* of haly

[Fol. 1.]
On account
of men's un-
knowledge
of death, this

4
Craft of
Dying is to
be noted.

Chapter I
treats of the
praise of
death.

16
The death of
the good
is the off-
putting of a
heavy bur-
den, the en-

20
tering on
perpetual
joy.

- 24 kyrk, how wyolently at euer thai dee, thai suld *nocht* dreid thare
 Men should not dread death,
 ded; Fore he that valde weill de, fuld glaidly dee, and conferme
 his wyll to the wyll of gode; for sen vs behwys all de o neid, and
 we wat *noþer* the tyme nor the sted, we suld refaue It glaidly, that
- 28 god and nature has ordanyt, & gruche *nocht* thar-wyth, sen It may
 since God ordains it, nor murmur at it.
nocht be eschewyt, For god, at ordanyt ded, ordanyt It fore the
 best, ande he is mare besy fore our gud than we our self can ore
 may be, sen we ar his creaturys and handewerkis; and tharfore al
- 32 men that wald weill de, fuld leir to de, the *quhilk* is *nocht* ellys
 bot to have hart and thocht euer to god, and ay be reddy to refaue
 the ded, but ony *murmwr*, as he that baide the *cumyne* of his
 frend; & this is the craft that al kynd of man fuld be besye to
- *[Fol. 16.]
 36 study in, that is to say, to have his *lyf, how velthye or pure that
 It be, takyne In paciens that gode sendis. Thai that are in the
 artykle of ded has *vþer* temptations be the deuill, and mar
 mervualus, than euer þai had in thare lyfe; Fyrst, the deuill
- 40 tempis a man in his deing in the faith of haly kyrk, For but
 Dying men are tempted by the devil, first in their faith.
 faythe may na man be fause. And It is the grund of al gud
 deid, *þer-for* þe deuill affais, gif he can gare ony man vare in the
 treuth, as to put to hyme, that he wald neuer dee For synaris,
- 44 na be borne of the *vergyne* mary, & safurth, of the new testa-
 ment. And *þerfore* ilk temporall man fuld trow as haly wryt
 fais, and namly that his curat tech-is hyme, ande have his hart
 fermly Set *þerone*. Ande he that is in the artykle houre of dede
- 48 fuld have a man to raherß to hyme the poyntis of þe trouthe, in
 fyk langage þat he mycht wnderstande, Rycht oft, fore It gret
 comfort to hyme, and the deuill may *nocht* heire It: alfua þai
 fuld raherß to hyme the gret faith and paciens of *marterys* ande
- The great faith of mar-
 52 tyrs should be read to them.
 vthire haly men, how wychtly þai sustenynt al tormentis and
 passionys done to thaim, for the faith of haly kyrke, and our-
 come thar ennemys by paciens and ferme faith, as men may Reid
 in thar storeis. For he that is ferme in the faith optenis thar-
- 56 throw al that is profytable to the faull and lyf baith, and It is
 to wyt quhat temtacioune at euer the deuill putis to man, fal
nocht noy hyme, bot gyf he wyl fully consent thar-to and at he be
 in his *rycht* mynd. For in the houre of ded the deuill wyll cast

mony wreukis of falsheit the *quhilk* Suld nocht be trowyt, for he is 60
 our auld enemye and *faper* of leifingis. The threuth is fundyt
 apone this, that god with-faif to tak mankynd to Radem the
trespas that adam and Eue *commytyt* in *paradiee*, quhar-throw al
 mankynde was fuitit, & nan was worthy of his offspryng to pay 64
 that ranfome for the oreginall fyne at thai ware fylyt *with*, for
 god herys na fynaris; and tharfor god, throw his mekyll *merfy*,
 send his anerly sone to be incarnat, fen nan was worthy *per-to*,
 bot he; for he was na fynar, and hervpone is fowndit al the 68
 faithe, the quhilk was confermit be sanete Johne the baptyst,
 and mony *oper* prophetis, or cryft was borne mony a hundred
 3hir. The *toþer* temptacioun that the deuill tempis a man *with*,
 Is dispar of godis mekille *merfy*; for quhen the deuill fyndis a 72
 man wexit and torment *with* seknes, he bryngis to his mynd
 þe ded that *he Is lyk to cum to, and the fynis that he has done,
 wncoufessyt of or Rapentyt, and na penans, na *condigne* satisfac-
 cione maid for þaim, and puttish yme In dyspare of *mercy*, and 76
 thus he ekys sorow upone sorow to confound hyme. And as
 haly scripture fais, ilke man sal se, in the hour of ded, cryft as
 he was crucefyd one the cors, *in* consolacioun to gud men, and
 in confusioun and sehome to Ill men, at thai ar nocht worthy to 80
 have¹ thaim to thare brupþer rademar & helpare: and this is a
perelus temptacioun. Neuer-the-lefs, þocht a man had done als
 mony *fynnys* as thare is dropis in the sey, or al the *fynnys* in the
 werlde hyme alane, and he had neuer ben sehrewyne befor, till 84
 the houre of ded, fa at thare-of he mycht haf suffissand *contrif*-
 eione, he war sauf; fore godis *mercy* is abwne al his *werkis*, and
 he may nocht deny *mercy* treuly askyt: bot It is the sykireft to
 manis saluacioun to be sehrewyne, and do worthy penans, tyll 88
 he Is in *prosperyte*; and þocht a man mycht nocht have spae to
 ask *mercy*, tharfor suld he nocht dyspare, fore that ware mar
 ekyne of sorow to hyme. And this is ane generall prouerb, that
 fyne noyis nocht that is suffieiantly for-thocht, and the poey of
 the crofs schawis the *mercy* of Crist, for he hange *per-one*,
 Inclynand the hed to the heryng, the mouth to þe kyng, the

60

The truth is
founded
upon our re-
demption by
Christ.

64

68

Men are
tempted,
2ndly, by
72
despair of
God's mercy.
*[Fol. 2.]

76

80

But the
greatest sin-
ner,

84

if he be con-
trite, will be
saved.

88

Proverb, that
"Sin hurts
92

not if suffi-
ciently re-
pent of."

¹ [him.]

- armys to the embraifing, the handis to the gevyn, and al his body
 96 to the Rademyng of Synaris, and fua fuld na man be dysparyt of
 godys mercy: For in enfampill thare-of he gaif to the maift fynare
 maift *mercy* and grace, as to Petyr at denyd hyme, to Paul at
 perfewyt hyme, to matho the okyrrar, to magdalynes the fynare, till
 100 dauid the murtherfar and adultrare, to þe theif that hang befyd
 hyme one the cros, and to mony vthir that war lange to raherß.
 The [þrid] temptacioun is in-paciens or vntholmudnes, the quhilk
 is *nocht* to luf god abwyne al thinge, & to thank hyme of al his
 104 fayndes and gyftes, at ar al fore the beft, and thai war weill
 knawing, thai that *trawalys* in the artykle of ded, bot gyf þai be
 cumyne to the natural cours of eilde, the quilk few *cumys* to;
 For ma deis of exces and mysgouernans in youthed, than is flane
 108 into batell; thir *men*, for the firethe at thai have of complexioun,
 or¹ laith to de, and fa thai thole in thar seknes *meruolus* dolor
 and infirmyte, the quhilk thai tak *nocht* in paciens, for the luf
 of god, as he dyd for þaim quhen he sufferyt ded: for he opnyt
 112 na mare his mouth na the lam dois quhen his throt is wnder the
 knyf; and fua mony of thir men gangis *rammys*, vthir sum
 * [Fol. 2b.] *mermwrys*, and **thinkis* that payne vrangwys, and gruchis, and
 fwa thai obey *nocht with* gud hart to the ordynans and *rychtwys*
 116 Iugment of god; and tharfor It is nedfull to al men, in the tyme
 of that dyfess, to think and to knaw that his synis aw to have
 mar pwnyscioun than he may tholl; for al the payne that euer
 we tholl, Is *rychtwysnes*: and þe gud at we gete is of grace, and
 120 thar-for a verray penytent man thinkis al his seknes lytill, in
 comparefone one-to the luf at god schawyt till ws, and to the
 Redemptioun of our trespas. Ande Sen the seknes, at we have
 her, is gevyn ws in part of our purgatory, it fuld be blychtly
 124 refauit, and als al the tribulation and forow at we may tholl
 here, Is *nocht* worthy to be maid comparefone to the Ioy of
 hevyne, that in the paciens thar-of we may wyne. For swetnes
 is þe better knawing, at swetnes has ben befor taistyt. And fua
 128 the sek fuld fay in the payne at he tholys; now byrne, now
 fchere, now thritt, now fla, that before god [he] may alleg the

¹ [ar.]

The third
 temptation is
 Impatience,
 or not loving

God above all
 things.

All men de-
 serve more
 punishment
 for their sins
 than they
 suffer.

All our sor-
 rows not to
 be compared
 to the joy of
 heaven.

patyens *þer*-of fore the luf of hyme and have eternall Ioy *þer* fore. For god fendys to þaim that he lousis warldly payne,¹ þan sum passis, for hevynly Ioy at euer leftis. And thus a man fuld *with* al his hart conforme hyme to haf paciens, thankand god, *without* murmur, of that payne, and sa to wyne hyme self. For euer the temptacione at man tholys in the hour of ded Is pryd; for quhen the deuill seis that he may *nocht* dyself a man *in* þe faith of the kirk, na [be] disperacione of godis mercy, na be inpaciens of his seknes,² than tempis he hyme, sayand thus, “þu art *nocht* as vthir men are, þow art firenthy in thi face, & *in* the hop of the mercy of god þow art wycht and tholmud *in* to seknes, and þow has done mony gud deid, and *þerfore* þow nedys na mercy, bot al the thank þar-of.” This *presumptioun* is Rycht perelus, and a fell temptacioun, and for-thy a man fuld think, that all his euill dedis cumys of hyme self, and all his gud dedys cumys of grace, and the gyft of god; & fykirly, ay þe bettyr man, ay þe mar lawly; and quhen the ymagynacioun of a manis gud dedis cumis by the temptacioun of the deuill, he fuld brynge to his mynd his Ill dedis, at thai ma law hyme, and bryng hyme to know his fragelyte, and to ask mercy, and *nocht* to pryd hyme In his gud dedis. For to have pryd of his gud dedis is a temptacioun callyt *presumeioun*; and dreid of the mercy *of god [Is]³ for Ill dedis Is ane vthir temptacioun callyt dyþar; and he that can weill eschef thir twa, in the hour of ded, ourcumys the deuill. For euer the fyft temptacioun that the deuill tempys a man, Is in hes warldly gudis: he thinkis dyself to leif his gret Riches mowable or wnmouable, his wyf and barnis, and sik oþer plesans; and fyker It is quha takes hyme sorow or dyfes, in the levyng of thir cardenall delytes, that he is *nocht* fykyre in the faith. For and he de, as he fuld de, he fuld think that he fuld pas to mare Ioy na fore to leif sic *transytorie* warldis gudis, the quhilk are lent hyme bot For a tyme plesand to god to tholl, or as ane Instrument to wyne hymeself to hevyn, as ane hamyr is ane *instrumēt* to

God sends worldly pain
132
to those that he loves.

The devil tempts men
136
with pride, if the other temptations fail.

144
A man's evil deeds come from himself, his good deeds are the gift of God.

Presumption and despair
152
*[Fol. 3.] to be eschewed.

Men like not to leave their
156
worldly goods, which are only lent for a time;

¹ [þat fune.]

² In the margin are the words “þe find.”

³ This word is in the MS.

164 mak a knyf wyth. Bot the deuill tempis men sua in thar
 varldly gudis, that wyfully þai ga to the deuill fore thaim, and
 quhen thai wat at thai mone dec, thai wyll nocht glaidly part
 with þaim, na thol the ordynans of god þerof, at thar powar, na

168 þhit þer dettis to be payt, bot erar defyre at thar barnis and
 thar wvys be possessyt of þaim, quheþer þai be cumyne falsly or
 Rychtwysly, thinkand thar ryches nocht able to be dysponyt
 fore þar faulys, or to mak Satisfaccioune with thaim gyf þai Ware
 vrangwysly vonyng, trowand at god has na eur of thi[r] barnis,
 to grant thaim riches, bot gif at thai dyspone al vpone thaim :
 and sic folkes fuld erar be callyt bestes vnrationable, than man
 rasonable ; for bestis knawis na thing bot erde and warldly
 172 thingis, by the refone of the erde at thai ar maid off. Men fuld
 know þe hewyne, by Refone of the faull that come, and was maid
 thar-by go amang the angell. And thus he, that vald weill
 oureum this temptacione, fuld thank god of his grace, at lent
 180 hyme thir warldly gudis to help hyme with, anerly to his end ;
 thankand hyme thar-of, and gyfand thaim to hyme glaidly agane,
 till his fre disposicione : for noþer wyf, nore barnis, na oþer
 riches, ar lang gevyne. And thus, nocht aganestandand, testament
 184 or oþer disposicione, at the law lewys, may be maid ; bot man
 aw to part with thir gudis glaidly, by the ordynance of god, as
 is befor said. And thus he that fuld de, fuld glaidly de, thinkand
 fore the better to lese the were ; and than the ded, pacyently
 188 tholyt, makis satisfaccioune, nocht al-anerly of the vaneall synys,
 bot als, quhen It is defyryt, fore þe lus of god, and to be with
 hyme, for mony dedly synis. Bot the *deuil tempis oft tymis
 mony men sa in thar temporall gudis, at quhen thai ar in the
 hour of ded, thai will nocht here spek at thai fyld de ; the quhilk
 is our crewell to cristin men to be tholyt. And It is to vnder-
 stand, at in thir temptaciouns the deuill may strenze na man, na
 þhit our-cum hyme, bot gyf It be his fre consent, and be in his
 196 rycht mynde. And tharfor we fuld thank god, at tholys ws nocht
 to be tempyt Forþer than we ma agane-stand ; And we resist his
 temptacions, we sal have þerfor gret reward in hevyne ; and swa
 temptacions Is rycht prophetable tyll ws, for pur borne men

nor will they
 pay their
 debts, but
 leave all to
 their wives
 and children.
 Nor will

they make
 satisfaction
 for riches
 wrongly
 won.

Men should
 gladly give
 back their
 goods to
 God.

Death pa-
 tiently
 188
 dured makes
 satisfaction
 for venial
 *Fol. 35.]
 and also
 many deadly
 sins.

Men are not
 tempted be-
 yond what
 they can
 again-stand.

cumys nocht to honore slepand, bot erar by gret trawell and
 dyfes; and al man is born of the hewyne, banist þerof in
 pouertee, fore his fynis, redemyt thar-to agane by the faith and
 the passioun of cryst, he vnyand the meryt þerof by gud dedis
 and trew lawbor, or ell to remayne in that banasing fore euer
 in hell. Efter the dear be informyt of thir temptaciouns, at
 will be put to hyme, he suld be demandyt, Fyrst, gyf he be
 blycht at he deis in the faith of crist and of haly kirk, and
 syne gyf he grantis at he has nocht leuit rycht wyfly, as he aucht
 to do, and gyf he forthinkis his myfdedis, and gif he has wyll
 to mend thaim at his poware. Syne suld he ask at hym, gyf
 he trowis that crist, godis sounne our lord, deit for hym, and al
 synaris; and gif he thanks hyme thar of with al his hart, And
 gyf he trowis ony oþer ways than be the faith of hym and
 ded to be sauf. Than byd hyme be stark and fykir in that faith,
 and have hop of nan vthir thinge for temptacioun of the deuill:
 and gif thi fynis be laid befor the by the angell gud or Ill, say
 than, "the passioun of crist I put betuex me and my fynis, &
 betuex me and the eternall ded, the ded of crist." And alſua,
 he suld be examynit in the article of the treuth, that is to say,
 gyf he trowis in the faþer, and in the sone, and the haly gaist,
 and ane anerly god, makar of hevyne and erde; and in our
 lord Ihesu crist, anerly sone to god by natur, at our lady mary,
 euervyrgyne, confaut by þe werkis of the haly gaist, but seid of
 man: the quhilk tholyt ded one the corþ, for ws synaris, and
 was grawyne and diseendyt to hell, to radem our elderis at had
 hope of his cumyne. The quhilk raisþ one the thrid day, fra
 ded to lyf, one his awne mycht, and assendyt to hevyne, & sytis
 one his faderis rycht hand, and fra thyne, in the samyne wyf as
 he passyt, is to cum agan one domys day to Iug all *mankynd.
 Als he suld trow in the haly gaist, & in the bydingis of haly
 kirk, and the sacramentis þerof, as baptem, confirmacione, the
 haly sacrament of the altar, in the quhilk, wndyr the forme of
 bred and wyne, is contenyt the haly body of our lord Ihesu crist:
 the sacrament of penans and schrift, the ordour of preithod, &
 matromoge, and of the last anoynting. He Suld trow Alſua, in

204

Then the dy-
 ing man is
 to be asked,
 1st, If he is
 glad to die
 in the faith
 of Christ;

208

2ndly, If he
 believes that
 Christ died
 for him;

212

Christ died
 for him;

216

3rdly, If he
 believes in
 the Father,
 Son, and
 Holy Ghost;

220

in Christ's
 birth, pas-
 sion, resur-
 rection;

224

228

*[Fol. 4.]

in the sacra-
 ments;

232

- 236 the resurreccioun^e of al men, that is to say, *in* the sam body and
 in a general
 resurrec-
 tion;
 in holi writ. faull, as now is, fal met to-gyddyr and tholl perpetuall Ioy or
 payne. He suld noch^t anerly trow in thir xii arteclis, bot als
 240 in the haly wryt, and haf his hart rady to do thar-to, as his
 curat chargis hyme; and he fal forsa^k al herefyß ande wich-
 craftis, forbyding be haly kyrk. Als þe sek man suld ask mercy
 with al his hart, of the synis done agane þe lufe, gudnes, and
 mycht of god, and erar for the luf of god, than for dreid of
 244 ony payne. He suld pray mekil til god, to gif hyme grace
 Then he
 must pray
 for grace,
 and promise
 248 wylfully syne in thai synis, na in na vthir dedly: For in the
 not to sin
 again. tho^{cht}, at the faull passys fra the body, is tan For euer, and thar
 after ched or rewardyt ay lestandly, as the angell was in the
 begynyng. He suld als forgyf al kynd of man, of all actione
 He must for-
 give all men.
 252 hartfully, and ask forgyvnes of god and man; For as he
 forgewys, he sall be forgewyne. Als he suld mak satisfiacione of
 all he has tane wrangwysly, or at he aw; efter his poware suld
 he sell all his gudys, movable & wnmouable, and he may haf
 256 laifare thar-to. And quhat euer he be that treuly kepys this
 informacioun^e but fen^{se}ing, he beis faint. At our thire thingis,
 Every dying
 man should
 imitate
 Christ's
 death.
 260 ilk man *in* the houre of ded suld do, efter his poware, as cryst
 dyd one the cros: fyrst he prayd, and swa suld we; syne cryd
 efter help, and swa suld we, with the hart, gyf we mycht noch^t
 with the moucht: and syne he ȝauld his faull to his faper, and
 swa suld we, gladly gyfand hyme, sayand thris, gyf he mycht,
 & gyf he mycht noch^t, sum vthir for hime, "In manus tuas,
 264 domine, commendo spiritum meum, domine, deus veritatis;" and
 he suld resaue thankfully the pane of ded, in satisfiacione of all
 his mysdedis, as god grant ws al to do, for his mekill mercy.
 Amen.

Explicit, etc.

(2.) BALLAD.

- 268 **G**o way, Fore that may *nocht* awailzhe,
 Fra fenȝheand foly ay þow flee. [Fol. 4b.]
Flee from
folly.
 Se surfastnes the *nocht* affailzhe
 Vitht ſlep; *with* ſuernes kep þow the. 4
- 272 Faïnd *nocht* *with* fors at þow may falzhe :
 Lef of all lait^{is} of lichorye : Cease from
lechery.
 Be *nocht* oft bound to byd batalzhe :
 In byſſenes ay blyth þow bee. 8 Be blithe in
business.
- 276 Lak na lofe to largely :
 Faintly luk *nocht* þow fauld :
 Obey to better men the by : Honour your
betters.
 Wyrk *nocht* all wayis as thow wald : 12
- 280 Be curtas ay in company :
 To confell cum þow *nocht* wncald : Be courte-
ous.
 Loue god our al thing ſykyrly : Where you
promise hold
fast.
 Quhar þow hechtys, ſe þow hald. 16
- 284 Vyktyly luk *nocht* þow wyne :
 Be to thi frendis as afferys : Help your
friends.
 Off thi gud dedis mak na dyne :
 Be ſtout *with* wrang quhen men the ſteris : 20
- 288 Thi enemys auld trow neuer In :
 Tak kep to prowerbis quhare þu heris : Trust not old
foes.
 And ſe þow ſeß of ſurfat ſyne,
 And preß the al ways *with* thi perys. 24 Associate
with your
equals.

(3.) BALLAD.

- 292 Fle fra the pres, and duell *with* ſuthfaſtnes : Be true.
 Suffice one-to thi gud, þocht It be ſmall :
 Fore hurde haith hait, and clymyng tykilnes,
 Pres haith enwy, and weill is blynd our all. 4 Wealth
brings ha-
tred and
blinds men;

seek no more
pleasure
than behoves
thee, but con-
trol thyself.

- 296 Sauore no more thane the behufe schall :
Dant thi self that dantis vtheris deid,
And treuth the fall deliuer, that is no dreid.

Trouble not

- Payne the nocht al crukyt to Redres 8
300 In trust of hire that turnyth as a ball,
Fore gret rest stant in lytill befyne.
Also be war to spwrne agane an all.

kick not
against the
pricks ;
[Fol. 5.]
cheek lust,
and let thy
spirit lead
thee.

- Stryf nocht as doith the crok with the wall. 12
304 Wayue thi lust, and lat thi goft the leid,
And treuth the fal deliuer, that is no dreid.

Expect a fall
in this world,
which is not
thy home ;

- That the Is sent, Resaue in bouxumnes ;
The werflyng of this world askis a fall. 16

thank God
for all, and
truth shall
deliver thee.

- 308 Here is no home, here nys bot wyldyrnes ;
Furth, pylgrim ! furth, best, out of thi stall !
Lyft wp thyne orne, and thank thi god of all !
Reull thi self that vthir folk can Reid, 20
312 And treuthe the fall deliuyr, that is no dreid.

(4.) BALLAD.

Virtue in-
creases dig-
nity ;

- Sen trew Vertew encreffis dignytee,
And wertew floure and rut is of noblay,
Of ony weill, of quhat estat þow bee,
316 Ris steppis few, and dreid the non affray : 4
Exill all wyte, and folow treuthe al way :
Luf most thi god, that fyrst thi lust began,
And for ilk ynch he wyll the quyte a spane.

follow truth,
and love
God.

Be not
proud.

- 320 [Be not ouer proud in thy prosperity : 8
For as it cummis, sa will it passe away.

Time passes
quickly as
grass
withers ;

trust in God.

- The time to compt is short, thou may well see ;
For of greene grasse soone cummis wallowed hay.
324 Labour in trueth, quhilk suith is of thy fay ; 12
Traist maist in God, for he best guide thee can,
And for ilk inch he will thee quite anc span.]

- Sen word is thrall, and *thocht* is only free,
 328 þow dant thi twunge, that powar has fo may.
 Thow fet thine orne fra worldly vanitee,
 Restren thi lust, and harkyne quhat I say.
 Stramp, or þow flyd, and crep fureht one the way ;
 332 Kep thi beheft one-to thi lord, and thane
 Fore ilk ynch he will the quyt a spane.

16 Words are slaves, but thought is free, therefore control thy tongue. Tread before thou slide, and keep thy beheft to thy lord.

20

(5.) SONG.

- Sen in waift natur na thinge mais,
 And gud fore labor all men hais,
 336 Than he and law, as caus requeris,
 Suld dy fyk lawbore, as thaim afferys.
 Sum wyrk, sum pray, sum kep Iustice,
 Sum defend the pepyll fra enemys.
 340 Thar was neuer nan, fore na honour,
 That may excuþ hyme fra lawbor.

4 Labour is good for high and low, as is suitable to them.

8 No man may excuse himself.

(6.) WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

Kynge Salomone fais, in his buk of his *contemplacione* and detestacione of this world, that al this world is bot vanite of vaniteȝ, *specialy* of all lawbore that man makis, to conquest riches and landis in this world, wyth al besy cure, nocht wytand quha fal Ioifþ thai landis and gudis efter hyme, quhilk is gret vanite. Item he fais, a generacionne passis, and oþer cumys; the riches rottis, the erde Remanis euermare vnremouable; the sonne ryfis in the est, and gays to in the west, and ay cumys againne tyll his awine place, quhar he rais, and sua ferelis the erd about all artis anis euery day, putand spreit in all that lyf beris, throwe *vertew* gewyne to It of the makar of¹ hewyne. Item, al fludis enteris in the fey, and the feye ȝeldis neuer thai

K. Solomon says all the world is but vanity of vanities.

344

[Fol. 5b.]

348

The earth is irremovable, other things move.

352

¹ Makar of *in margin*.

The summer
draws fresh
water from
the sea, and
356 the
waters of the
earth.

fludis agane in fludys, but neuer theleß, the somer, throw his gret wertew, drawis vp fra ye seye the fref watter agane, that, be the wertew of the hevyn, ourfrenklys the erde, and cauß grouthe to be in erde, and cauß reueriß to ryne apone the erde, that wyth help of spyrngis of well in cragis and montanis to serve the pupill & vthere levand bestis of the erde. And sehortly to

360
No man can
give a reason
for all that
has been
made.

fay, thar is na wyt of man, that can ymagyne na dewyß to gyf a refone for al thingis that god has maid in this erde quharfor thai ware maid. Item he fais, that manis sicht, nore his ene, may nocht be full affichit of the thingis that ar in this world, na his eris of heringe. Item he fais, quhat is It

364
All things
are the same
now and
before.

that is, bot It at before was the famyne thing, and quhat is It that was of before, bot It that is now in erde, that is to fay, of the famyne kynd, and natur, bot noch in singlar propre persone.

368
Men do not
remember
what hap-
pens before
their dayes.

Na thar is na thing of the new maid, that was nocht of before in the first creationne, na na man may fay of ony thing, that now is, that this is a new thinge and fresch naturall, that neuer was befor in the world. Item he fais, thar is lytill in mynd of men, that

372 now ar, as of thingis that was befor our dayes, in auld elderis tymis, na fall nocht be in the myndis of thai that is to cum efter ws, of thing that fal be dene in our dayes, that is to fay, with thaim that fal occupye the world. Item he fais, I, the makare of this buk, in the tyme that I was kyng in Jerusalem, proponit in my mynd till

376
He deter-
mined to in-
quire into all
things under
the sun; all
was vanity.

inquer and leir and wysly to sek with my wyt, of al thingis that was wuder the sone, the quilk was the werst occupationne that man in erd mycht set hym. Fore or at god gave manys sone in erd

380 to Joy hyme in, ore to trauell his wyt in til occupy and waist his wyt that god has gevyne hyme in fyk wanyte; For quhen I had al confideryt that is in this world wnder the sone, I fand al bot

Froward
men are

384 wayne and wanyte and afflexonne of manys mynd, but ony durable profyt. Item he fais, that frawart men and hard to coryke

[Fol. 6.]
without
number.

and that of fulys the maner is but end Infynyte; and than I said to my Self, lo how I ame maid so hye & mychty; and in wyt and wysdome I precellyt al vthir princes that ware before me in

388 Ierusalem, and had contemplacionne in my mynd of mony fyndry thingis in this world, and with hir wysdome & contemplacionne

levyt thar, and confiderett and specialy of prudens, doctrine, and teching of wysdome, & to fle erour and full. And fand that in fyk thinge is gret lawbore, & afflexonne of spreit, and at in mekle wysdome is mekle Indignatione, and quha fa ekis sciens till hyme, ekis hyme mekle payne and sorow. Item, than said I to my self, in my mynd, now wyll I pas and flow in all welthfulenes & delyt, and oyf al gudly thingis that in this world I may find, & in that I fand bot al wayne and vanite, and reput blythnes & lauchinge, gret erour, and than said, Loy quhy disfaunis þow me? Item, I said in my mynd and thoct, that I fuld absten me fra vice, & at I fuld fet al my hart to wysdome, and vmbethow all erouris and foleys, quhill I saw quhat war maist spedfule to manis sone in erde. Item, quhen I had al thingis confederit, I fand at this was ane of the maist spedfull thingis Fore mans sone in this erd, wnder the hewyne, that euery man hav in mynd the dait of his dais, and of the schort tyme that he has hire to byd, and spend It weill in gud oyf. Item, I magnifyit my werkis makand castell, and vall, townis, orchardis, with all froyt treis of divers kyndis, erbyis and plantis, I maid stankis to fisch, and watteris to ryne in wodis and medewis, and mak growth to ryse. Item, I had in howf women and men seruandis, with gret famell, to do my verkis of my possessiones, with hyrdis of catell, and multitud of corne at-our al thaim tat was befor me in Ierusalem. Item, I maid hurdis of gold and trefore, of al the michtis of princes, that was befor me in Ierusalem, with al delytis and plesans of women sangstaris, and oper delytis that manis sone mycht have in erd, with Jowell of al fynest metall, of al fassons, plesand with pretious stanis, and weschell tharof to be servit withe, baith of wyne and dante metis, fa that I excedit in riches al that var befor me in Ierusalem. And þhit, for al that wysdome remanande euer with me, and notwithstandinge I gaif my hart euer withgange of al plesans, that manis sone mycht haf in this erde, & to my appetyt, na denyit neuer nothir myne eþne, myn ere, na my appetyt thinge that thai desyrit, of al lustis, for that I affirmyt to be my part of al my labore, to tak plesans of my gudis that I had graithyt in this erde. And fyne quhen I wmbethocht me, and turnyt my mynd

392

Who seeks science, seeks much pain for himself.

He determines to live

396

in pleasure; then, to abstain from vice, and to set his heart to wisdom.

400

404

He builds towns and

408

plants gardens; has many servants, much cattle, treasure,

412

[Fol. 6b.]

416

many jewels,

420

and denies himself nothing.

424

He sees that
all his works
are but
vanity, and
428
seeks the dif-
ference be-
twixt wis-
dom and
folly.

in my self, thinkand of al my warldly werkis, that my handis had wrocht, and to al my werkis that I had fuet for, and al my nichtis and warldis riches, and saw that al was but vane and wanite, and afflixione of spreit, and manis mynd and al was bot tranzitore & corruptable, and na thinge profytable, na ferme and stabill, remayne wnder the hewyne. And than set I my wyt to

432 contemplacioun of wysdome, and to sek the defferens betwex wysdome and foly, and betuex erour and werite, thinkand quhat visdome It war to manis sone, and quhat worschip, to inquer

Wisdom sur-
passes folly,
436
as light does
darkness;

sek & follow till his king and creatore, and get knowlege of hym; and than considerit I and fand that wisdum precellis foly, as far as the lyghtnes of the sone passis the myrknes of the mirk nycht: lyknand the wysman to the leiche, and the ful to the myrknes, and the en of the tan euer in the hewyne be contemplacioun, and the en of the toþer in the erdly wrochit & corruptable wanite, lyknand the tan to the hevyne, & the toþer to the hell.

yet the wise
and the
foolish die
alike.

Item, than I beheld that baith the wysman & the full deis, and zeldis the faul in lykwys: than thocht I, gif our ded be elyk,

444 quhat profitis It me to set my hart and besynes to al wysdome, mar na hyme quhilk set his mynd eur and besynes till al foly? Item, than turnyt I my wyt to contemplacioun of baith the tan & the toþur, and considerit, at the gret god zeldit nochit baith elyk reuarde in the world eternall, suppos to manis sight thar be na

No doubt,
[Fol. 7.]
but one goes
to joy, the
other to
pain;

448 differens of the passinge of the spreit out of the body; for, but any dreid the tan gais to Joye, and the toþer to pane, bot as manis dreid, and his dedis her within schort proces of tyme & al is

452 forȝet at was, and put out of manis mynd: quhilk is grete wane and vanite. Item, quhan I saw that baith worthi clerkis and

still, as all
things pass
away, he is
weary of life,
456

wisemen, fulys and wanwitty men, al passit of this warlde; and al thinge, that vnder the sone was, rotit and vanist away, & na thinge remanit bot the erde alane; than Irkyt I of my lyf in this world, seand alsua the wikitnes of wykitmen, and al vthir maner of wykit werkis, and wykyt folk, quhilk was all bot vanite and afflixione of spreit in this lyf. Item, than tuk I in detestacioun,

and hates all
his works as
he knows not
who may go-
vern his heri-
tage after
him.

460 and abhominatioun, and hatterut, al the werkis and polefy that I had gart mak wnder the sone with grete deligens and studeous

labore, that I owthir *coutht* or *mycht* study with al my mynd to
gar be done, thinkand It was na wyt *visdome*, na prudens, till a
wyfman, till fet his deligens, & besy cure, and al his hart, to 464
waist the tyme that god has gevyne hym in this world, till
occupy hyme in fyk falȝeand and rotale vanite, thinkand that I
fuld have ane aire *after* me to govern myne heritageis, rewmys,
and possessions, *after* me, *nocht* knawand quhe-*þer* he be wyf 468
ore full, quhilk is gret vanite. And sa hapnit It *after* hyme, that
his aire Roboame misgouernyt al that his sapir wane, and tynt al
his possessions: thane said he till hyme self, that hyme *thocht* It
was na *visdome*, till a wyfman, till leif to a full vaistour, al thar 472
gudly revmys & possessions, that he had with sa gret pane &
trawelle *conquest*, and gaderit with his lawbore, and besy cure, &
al his lyf he pand euer gud and fyne, to be vaistit & distroyd.
Thane tuk he in detestacione to lawbor mar in this erde, & renunyt
al fyk lawbore and besynes, sayand quhat *prophetis* It a man to
lawbore thus all his tyme, and neuer to tak rest day of his lyf,
na neuer a Joyous day *therof*, and a wantone vaistor ydill man
sal dispoone, and waist al thair gudis, that he had fyk pane and 480
lawbore, *nocht* takand rest in body na spreit, *nycht* na day? Is this
nocht grete vanite and afflixoune? Item, thane said he that hyme
thocht It was the best thing that man in erde *mycht* do to mak
hyme gud chere of his vynyng & lawbore that he makis here: 484
for that is the gyft of gode, that quhill he Is here he tak his part
of his awne wynyng, and thar-of to mak hyme gude chere and hald
hyme weill at es, quhill he is here, fore he sal *nocht* ell have fore
his part of the warlde. Item he fais, quha is in erde quhilk gave 488
his hart fyk plesans as I have done: and sua flowit in my delytis,
and al my tyme of my ȝouthage? Item he fais, god gewys to the
wyfman wyt & *visdome*, to governe hyme weill in this world,
with habonndans of gudis, to leif weill with, and to wykyt man
he gevis grete pane, lawbore, and gret cure of waist, besynes with
gret trawell, and wrest, and afflixione of spreit, with lytill es,
and mekle unrest, & na hap to good hyme with his gwde that
he has with sa sorowful wynyng, and sone levys It to thaim that 496
werft louit hyme in this lyfe dais, quhilk is a grete vanite and

He renoun-
476
ces all labor,
as a wanton
man, may
waste his
goods after
him;

484
[*Fol. 7b.*]

and thinks
to take his
ease.
488

God gives
the wise
man abun-
492
dance, to
the wicked
pain and
travail.

- There is a time for every thing in this world. 500 afflixone. Item he fais, that al thing has a tyme in this warld, and occupeis a space, In maner of pafage; as tyme of byrth, tyme of ded, time of fetinge, and of fawinge, tyme of fcheringe, and of gaderinge, tyme of vptakinge, tyme of ded, tyme of lyfe, tyme of feknes, tyme of heill, tyme of bygine, tyme of brekinge, tyme of lauchinge, tyme of gretinge, tyme of lepinge and fkipinge, tyme of falyng, 504 tyme of gaderinge, tyme of inbrafinge, and tyme to ly out of inbrafinge in armys, tyme of cynfell, tyme of vynyng, tyme of keping, tyme of vynyng, tyme of deilyng, tyme of fchapinge, tyme of fewing, tyme of fpekinge, tyme of feilens, tyme of luf, 508 tyme of hatred, tyme of bataill, tyme of pece, and of al flik warldly thingis þar is tyme of all thinge, quhilk men fuld tak kep to. Item he fais, he confideryt al the lawbore and befey cure that gode has gevyne mans fone in erd; and how all thingis, that gode maid in this erd, ar gud tane in thar tymis. Item he fais, that of al the thingis that is in this erd ordanit fore manis fone, and the gret cure, and befynes, that thai tak to wyne the gud of this erd, and he fand, at þer was na thing in erd fa gud fore manis fone, 516 as to hald hyme weill at es of the gudis thate god fendis hyme in this warld, and mak gud chere quhill he is here, and leif weill; for that is the gift of god to manis fone, quhill he is here to tak Joy and plesans of the gudis þat he has with his trew labore 520 wynyng. Item he fais, thate all thingis, that god has maid, ar gud and perpetuall, in thare kinde and nature, fuppos thai be ay Remowand in fingularite. Item he fais, that he beheld the wykytnes and iniuris that was done be the Jugis and Justiceris, [Fol. 8.] God will be 524 fayand in his hart that the gret god fuld be the fouerane Juge the foveraign judge. abwne þaim, & Juftyfy þaim in the toþer warld, baith wyfman and wykyt, and than fal the end of al erdly be Jugit. Item he 528 The life and death of man and beaſt are but one. fais, that the gret god fchawis to man, be gud refone, that the lyf of man and a beſt in this warld is bot all ane, and thar maner of deinge is baith bot ane, and baith bot of a lyk condiciōne, and has na mar the man, thane the beſt, in the warld, and all elyk wnder lhis vanite, and drawis till a law place downwart, quhen 532 thai de, to the erd. Item he fais, quha may wyt quhethir the fpreit off man gais vpwart, ore the fpreit of the beſt gais downwart, fen

baith wknawying elyk pass? and than he said, that in this warld,
 he fand na thinge better to man, na to mak gud there of the
 gudis he wynis with his handis, and to do ay weille quhill he is
 heire. Fore na mar fal he ber away with hyme. Item he fais,
 quha ledis man to sik knowlege that he knawis the thing that
 falbe in tyme to cum? And than turnyt he hyme to the wykit
 chalengeing of pure Innocentis that, be mychty wykyt men, ar
 chalangit in this erd, gretand and gowland For the mony gret
injuriis done to þaim, ande na man to comfort thaim na to resit to
 thare malice: thane said he that he louit mare the ded man na
 the levande, and þhit mar na vthire tham that was wnborne to
 ferue the wrechit wykit lyf in this erd, but ony eomfort and syue
 of the gret inwy that was amange nychtbouris, the rich and the
 pwre, the glorious & mek, quhilkis was nocht sa subtell to wyue
 the warldis gudis as þe glorious prowld man, quhilk was gret
 vanite. Item he fais, þat the full fuere man plettis his handis one
 his brest, and ettis his pure met, fayand that better is ane handfull
 with rest and pefþ, na baith the handis full with trauell and
 dysefþ. Item he fais, that sum men sefis neuer to labour, nycht nor
 day, to wyne the warldis gud, in gret quantite, and has noþer
 barne, bropir, na sistir, to leif that to, na wat nocht quha fal Joye
 thar gudis efter his dais wonyng with trichory and barete, and
 has neuer a gud day thar-of in his lyf, and oft tymis fall in thare
 handis that maist hyme hattyd in this erde, quhilk is gret vanite,
 and not ell bot afflixone of spret, bot ony vthir profyt ore meryt.
 Item he fais, wa is hyme that is hyme alan, but a falow with
 hyme, fore gif he fall or ocht misteris is nan to help hyme, and
 better is in al placis cumpagny, na to be alane, ande mar fuet is to
 slep twa to gydir, na ane alane, for langour ande warmnes and
 gud cumpany, and wer is to brek a dowble raipe na a sngle. Item
 he fais, It is better a pur wyfþ barne na an auld fule kinge,
 quhilk fore wane-wyt may peryfþ a realme, quhilk is gret vanite.
 Item, he fais a man suld tak gud tent quhen he enteris in godis
 temple, and her weill the wordis that ar thar spokyne, and be
 obedient to comandment, for do he nocht, he wyll be mekle lakit,
 quhilk is gret vanite. Item he fais, that better is the obediens of

536

What man
knows, what
shall be in
time to
come?

540

He observes
the oppres-
sion and
tears of the
innocent;

The dead are

544

happier than
the living,
still more
those not
born than
either.

548

552

Men without
children or
relations
toil;

556

and their
goods fall
unto their
enemies.

560

[Fol. 8b.]
Solitude is
not good.

564

A poor wise
child is
better than
an old fool-
ish king.
In God's
house be

568

attentive,

obedient.
Not hasty of
speech in
prayer.

þe wyfman, na the offerent of the full. Item he fais, a man fuld
nocht be our hasty of fpeech in his prayeris, for gode in hie hevyne
572 feis and knawis al his dedis word and wyll in erd, thus few wordis
and effectuous is best fore hym. Item he fais, that efter mekle
befynes folowis mony dremis, and efter mony verdis f[o]lowis
mony folis and erouris, and bydis man kep weill gif he ocht wowis.

576
Suffer not the
mouth to
cause the
body to sin,
nor excuse
thy sin as
natural, to

Item he fais, men fuld nocht len thar mowth to kiß in hop to gar
thar body fyne, na nocht wit god before the angell of the inclina-
tione of thar complexione to put thar condiscione in misfortune,
but euer dreid to disples god. Item he fais, that a couatous gredy
vrech may ne neuer be fulfillt of gudis in his hart, na he that
louis richas ouer mekill fal neuer have gret Joy of þaim. Item

thy cost.
The covetous
is never sat-
isfied.
A rich man
has many to

584 his lewyng thar-of, and quhat profet has he of the remanent bot
at he feis þaim with his ene, and ar callit his, quhilk is gret

spend his
wealth.

Sleep after
toil is sweet.

588 men et nocht our mekle, bot the oure gret fyll of the mychty
man lattis hyme to slep, and changis his complexione in were,
and oft fore thoekt of his riches he walkis in wntymis: quhilk is
grete vanite and afflixone of spreit, ane of the werst that is in
592 the erd. Item, thar is an vthir gret vanite that quhen a seruand
that a lorde traitis in, is richit throw fallat of his master wel
wone gud: quhilk is ane of the werst that is in the warlde, fore

Ill-won
riches profit
nothing.

596 and with gret trawaill are kepit, and with grete forew gais away,
[Fol. 9.] with gret dysfess and afflixone of spreit, and his barnis deis
begaris. Item he fais, god gewis the gud man luk grete, and
plente of gudis, and grace to spend thaim in es and honore, and to
600 the wyket man he gevis mekle waste, and wane lawbore and grete
dysfess and afflixonne of spreit, and neuer gud day of It: quhilk

The rich man
is much be-
holden to
God.

604 is gret vanite. Item he fais, he is mekle behaldin to his god, that
has gewyne hyme the warldis gud at will, and fyne grace to
dispens It to plesans and velth in this world, bute ony myffortone,
in al delitis: quhilk, and he be wnkynd, is vorth gret pwniffione

afterwart. Item he fais, he has gevyne til opire al haboundans
 of warldis gudis that thar hart defyryt, and 3hit gaif thaim neuer
 powar to spend a peny of that gude in his awne oy3, bot ay
 levand thar gudis til ane othir, quhilk louit hyme neuer in his
 lyf: quhilk is gret vanite and afflixione of spreit. Item, ane o3er
 vanite is, that god has gevyne to sum man plente of warldis gud,
 and has here gendrit he and his barnis ane hundreth barnis of
 lell matromon3he, and has lang lyf here in this warld, and 3hit he,
 na his, fal neuer hafe a profytable na efful day in al thar lyf.
 Item, than said he, "I hald better the ded barne, that neuer was
 borne quhylk in this warld, na saw neuer the licht in this warld, 616
 na he that had al that gud, and neuer a day in es 3er of, in his
 lyf: quhilk is gret vanite and afflixione off spreit in this warld."
 Item he fais, that al the vismanis wyt is in his mouth, and thinkis
 that he has neuer ynouch of It and euer is techand and lerand, 620
 and quhat 3an has the wyfman mar na the full, ore quhat mar
 has the riche na the pure in this warld, fen al gais agait to the
 erde? Item he fais, It is better to desfir the thing 3ow feis nocht
 that is the Joy of hevyn, na the thing 3ow feis in this warld, 624
 for the tan is bot temporale and corruptable, and the tothir is
 perpetuall. Item he fais, quhat man is to cum in this warld,
 his name is now writin ande writin weill that he is aman; for
 na thing is bot at var, na thar was na thing bot at Is. Item 628
 he fais, it is nocht to a man to strif agane mar maffer than hyme
 felf in Jugment. Item he fais, it is nocht spedfull till a man of
 sympil knowlege, til inquire our far in subtyll materis of godis
 priuate, but to inquer and knaw with sobirnes at may suffice, fore
 ell is gret vanite. Item he fais, quhat profytis It to man till
 inquire of thing that pass3 his wyt till wnderstand, and belangis
 hyme nocht to knaw? But it is spedful to gouerne hyme wyily in
 this present pilgrimage, quhilk passis as a schadow daily, or quha 636
 can tel hyme quha fal succeed til hyme afterwart, or quhat fal
 hapin in tyme to cum? Item he fais, it is better a gud name na
 mekil riches in this warld or ony othir precious Iowell, fen he
 mone pas of this varlde and wat nocht the hour na day, and at
 the day of his birth is the begynnyng of his ded. Item he fais,

Some have
not power to
608

spend their
goods; others
in a long life
have never
a day of ease,
and so are
612

worse than
those who
have never
been born.

God foresees
all things;

628

[Fol. 9b.]

and the sim-
ple must not
632
enquire too
far.

A good name
better than
riches.

640

- that fen man is fykir he mone de anis, It is gret wyt to purway
weill tharfore in tyme, and quhill he has tyme in this varld ful
644 of vanite. Item he fais, It is better to cum to the houß off
Sorrow bet- ernyft na to the houß of blychtnes, and to the houß of sadnes
ter than joy ; na to the houß of Joy, and better is crabing na blychtnes or
laiching ; for the tane forzettis to think one the end, and the toper
648 thinkis one the vanite of this warld ; for vyfmen are ay sad, and
for the wise are sad, and fools are joyous.
Better is it to be corrected by a wiseman
fulis are correkit and amendyt of thar wyte. Item he fais, better
is to be correkit with a wyfman, na to be flethit with a full, and
652 the ftrublyne of fulys crabis the visman, and gar þaim tyne his
than flattered by a fool, frendfchip and fauoris of his harte ; and better is the fliting of a
frend, nar þe fleching of a full. Item he fais, better is the end of
the vresone na þe begynyng, and mar is lowable to god with a
656 mek man na a predfull, and pacient man na a Irfull, and a fturtand,
quhilk makis redde dyscord. Item he fais, a man fuld nocht
be our hafy to pronounce his wordis in his Ire, fore It garis a man
exced radeley, and fay thing that he wyll efter forthink, for Ire
Men should not be too hasty of speech, and
660 restis ay in the fulis brest, quhill his tyme cum. Item he fais,
so have to repent, men fuld nocht argwe, quhy the tyme bygane was better na the
tyme at is. Item he fais, visdome is nocht profyt, but riches ; na
riches na worth, but wifdome ; for riches beris wyfdome befor
Wisdom and riches best together.
664 princes & defendis. Item he fais, wyfdome with riches makis
[Fol. 10.] the poffeffor her till have honore and gud endinge. Item he
fais, that na man may fynde faultis to correk werkis that he has
maid. Item he fais, that the gret god knawis al manis curage ;
668 and fum fore the vifdome, he cheß til hym felfe, and vthir fum
he difpiß and rafuß for thar wan-wyt and foleis. Item he
fais, men fuld in gud dais vß gud thingis, and kep þaim and
beware fore the Ill day. Item he fais, that gret vanite is, and
672 afflixione of gud fpreitis, to fe the rycht gud wyfman peryß with
his rycht and vyfnes, and terains in heill and velth lef lang.
Item he fais, a man fuld nocht be our Just, bot he fuld have pete,
Pity to be mixed with justice, and mell Justice and mercy to gider in Jugment. Item he fais,
676 fulys deis or half thar dais be gane. Item he fais, that it is gud
to defend the rychtwyß and the pur, fore god maid baith, and

knavis al dedis and thoekt. Item he fais, wyfdome is mar frenthly
na gret powere temporall of princis, and fais that few ar sa rycht-
wyß, that thai do na vrang, na fyne, to god na to man. Item 680
he fais, a man fuld nocht len his eris tyll all at he heris, na trow
nocht lichtly all relacions. Item he fais, a man fulde here weill, ore
he anfuerys, and mak hym, quhilum, to nocht here at he heris, and
namly trow nocht al vpone thar seruandis, that men will say for
pras; It may be for Inwy of thaim mar na fore profyt of the lord.
Item he fais, he assait al thingis in this world, that manis mynd
mycht have in knowlege with wyfdome, and said till hyme self,
“now sal I be wyß, and knaw al thingis that man may have 688
knowlege of in this world, and ay þe mar that I presyt to
wyfdome, the farere It fled fra me; fore thare is na wyt in this
erd, that may knaw the hicht, and the depnes of It; quhilk passis
al menis wyt in this world, bot anerly of the grete god. Item, I 692
confiderit the gret differens, betuex wifdome and foly, eroure and
rychtwifnes, and amang al thir I fand the woman mar bitter na
the ded, quhilk is the gyrene of the hunter to tak the wild bestis;
ande her hert, the netis of fyne; and handis, the fetteris of lust to
hald men in hir bandis; quharfor quha will ples god, fle fra thaim.”
Item, na wyfmen fuld behald the bewte of women, that thai be
nocht tan with thar suet blenkis. Item he fais, he socht amang men
quha fuld be wyß, and fand amang a thousand bot an wyß, bot
amang vomen he fand neuer an, in al his lyf. Item he fais, that
god ordanit the man to be wyß and rychtwyß, bot he mellis
hyme, of his awne wyll, within sa mony diuers materis, but end,
at nan may knaw bot god, quhethire ill or gud. Item he fais, 704
salamone fais mony vyß wordis in his bukis, bot quhay may knaw
be his wordis quheper he was vyß or nocht, for vyfdome schawis
nocht in wordis bot in dedis. Item he fais, þe wifdome of a
wyfman schawis by his contenans, part, and hawyngys of body, and
wysage, and the maist mychty schawis thare face quhilum. Item
he fais, he that is wyß kepis the bidinge of god, and his Juge-
mentis. Item he fais, thar fuld na man hyd fra god þe face of
god lang dueland in his Ill dedis. Item he fais, a wifman may 712
do quhat euer he wyll, and his wordis ar full of prudens, and

Few do no
wrong.

Do not
answer at
once, and
trust not ser-
vants' tales.
He tried all
wisdom, but
it fled from
him;

He found
women more
bitter than
death;

and one man
in a thou-
sand wise,
but of women
never one.

Wisdom
shewn in
[Fol 106.]
deeds not in
words;

and in keep-
ing God's
bidding.

- quha *fa* dois biding felis na Ill eftire. Item he fais, that na
 man may rapref the werk of god, na *spere* quhy dois god thus in
 716 this. Item he fais, al thing has tyme, na it is *nocht* in manis
 No man knows the time of his death.
 poware to know the tyme of þe paffag of his faul, out of þe
 body na to hald in his *fpreit*, quhen god will at It pas, na he
 fall haf na powere of It in the day of his ded, na than tholis
 720 nocht the paffions of ded hyme to tak rest, na *fal* *nocht* than the
mychtis of the wykit man fauf his lyf, na *profyt* hyme. Item he
 fuis, gret lordis ar quhilum hafand powar our mony puple, &
 mar fore thar ill na for thar gud, and thar dampnacione na
 724 faluacyone. Item he fays, mony men ar in haly placis louit in
 than good.
 is bot vanite. Item he fais, that god *strikis* his sentens fudarly
 vppone wykyt men. Item he fais, that *nocht* *withftanding* god of
 728 his hie *gracious* paciens tholis *fynaris* to ly in thar *fyne*, and
 takis na vengans one þaim lang tyme, þhit quhen he *strikis*, he
strikis his *straik* fudarly, quhen he feis thai wyll *nocht* amend.
 Item he fais, that the dreid of god is the begynnyng of wyfdome,
 732 and quha dredis hyme *nocht*, may neuer be wyß. Item he fais,
 The wicked sin more the longer they live.
 It is *nocht* *fpedfull* till a wykyt man, that wyll be *condampnit*,
 that he leif lang lyfe, for the langar he leif, the mar fynis and
 mar payne *deferuis* and the *fehortar* the leß. Item he fais, It is
 736 gret vanite that al thinge that cumis in this warld, to pure and
 to riche, to wyßman & to full, al is kepit *wncertane*, to the end
 that na man wat quheper he be worthy to Joy, or to payne, in
 the warld to cum. Item he fais, that a levand dog is better na
 740 a ded lyone. Item he fais, that loue, *hatterent*, Inwy and fyk
 No man knows his fate. A living dog is better than a dead lion.
 thingis endis al in this warlde. Item he fais, et and drink and
 mak gud cheir, and hald thi *persone* weill at pointe, and thi
vestmentis clen, and thi *conciens* qwhit, and lat *nocht* the a
 744 noyntment failþe of thi hed, and thi *membris*, and leid thi lyf *with*
 clean, and anoint thine head.
 thaim that the lous for the day of the vnstedfast lyf. Item he
 fais, that al men fuld be befy, to do *fum* gud in thar lyf, for thar
 ful neuer gud deid wnreuardyt be, in this lyf, na Ill deid wn-
 748 pwnift. Item he fais, as *fißch* ar tan *with* hukis, and foul *with*
 Do some good.
 lyme wandis, fo is *fynaris* tane be-for thare tyme. Item he fais,

that oft tyme has ben hard, that a gret cete has ben fegit with a gret princee, and ȝhit a pwre man has rafit the feg thar-of, but harme, quhilk was done with prudens and wyfdome; quharfore he lovis that mare na a gret mycht of princeis. Item he fais, that now is louit mar the mychty man, na the wyfman with al his wyt. Item he fais, the word of richmen is better hard in feylens, na the pwr manis word in gret audiens Ryt in the row. Item he fais, better is fewe worthi men in batall, na mony comonis, fore multitud na victour mais. Item he fais, It is gud to be lell, and kep condifione, fore feldom cumys fals man till honour. Item he fais, it is spedful till a man to do weill till hyme self, quhill he is her, for quhen he gais, he tynis the Joy of this warld, as the beis, deand, tynis the fuetnes of the hwny. Item he fais, the vifdome of the wyfman is in his rycht hand, and the foly of the ful in his kere hand, and the pert fulys wenis that na man fuld be maid of, bot fulys, with grete men. Item he fais, I faw ful fet one fegis of honore, and wyfmen fet one lawar fegis, and unworthy men ryd- and one horß, as lordis, and worthy men gangand one fut, as pagis or feruandis, quhilkis for wiidome war worthi to be princeis peris. Item he fais, mony man makis a flak, in an vthir manis vay, and fall fyrft thar in. Item he fais, a bakbytar may be lyknit till a neddyr, that ftangis men or thai may get knowleg of hyme in hyddyll. Item he fais, that vifdome is euer in the mouth of vifmen, ay ful of grace and gudnes, and the foly of the ful garis hyme fnapyr, quhen he venis to stand, and euer his deid and his word ar in foly and glakitnes, and with vthir fulys, and takis nocht tent, quhat folowis efter. Item he fais, that mekil multiplicacione of wordis may nocht be but fyne, and thar is oft tymis neid & mifer. Item he fais, al the fulys lawbor is bot tynt, trawell, vanite, and afflexione of fpreit, but profyt; na thai can nocht hald thar continans, na gang in the way eumandly. Item he fais, va is It to þe land, of the quhilk the king is a barne, the quhilkis the princeis ettis tymly, and the realme is bleffit that has a worthy kinge, and of the quhilk the princeis ettis in dew tyme, and erear for the restoring and refexone of his natur, na for lichory. Item he fais, men fuld loue the penny, for to the

752

Prudence
better than
the might of
princes.

756

Be loyal.

760

764

Fools sit on
the seat of
honour;
wise men on
lower seats.

768

772

776

Multiplie-
ation of words
cannot be
without sin.

780

Woe to the
land whose
king is a
child.

784

Money an-

- [Fol. 11b.] penny al thinge obeis. Item he sais, thar fuld na man ban his
swereth all
things. kyng, na *murmure* hyme in thar collacione, na *consent* to detrac-
- 788 cione of hyme, for the fowlis of the hevyne beris the woice to the
Ban not the
king. hiest kinge, quhilk sal gif the sentens thar vpone. Item he sais,
Feed pil-
grims. deill thi met to the *trawelouris* and *pilgrymys*, for þow sal finde
the froyt thar-of mony ȝere efterwart, and sal flok mekle fyne.
- 792 Item he sais, quhen the cloud flaikis, the rane our-strenklys the
Who dreads
winds and
clouds will
never sow his
corn. erde, and garis the corne grow in habonndans abwne the erde.
Item he sais, quha dreidis al vindis, and confiderys the clowdis, fall
neuer weill faw his corne. Item he sais, It is hard to a man
- 796 to knaw how the banis of barnis ar chapin in thar moȝeris
wambe, na quhen the faul pass out of the body, quhare It gais.
Item he sais, quha can gif a refone for al thingis that god has
maid in this erd, lytill and mekle. Item he sais, it is a suet
- 800 *fycht* and a *plefand*, to se the sone in the hevyne in a fair day, and
thane fuld a man have mynde in his lyfe one the mirknes that
is in the law parte, ande do sua her, that he serf nocht to cum
thar. Item till a ȝonge man he sais, at thai fuld lere vyfdome, and
- 804 do ay gud quhill thai ar here, and think at the gret Jug sal
do Justice off of al dedis that manis sone dois here. Item he
sais, that all men fuld fleme Ire fra thaim, fore It lattis the wyt
to determine trewly betuex gud and Ill, and loue weill paciens
- 808 and clennes of lyf here. Item, he bidis ȝongemen kep thaim Fra
wnprofitable delytis, in thar ȝouthag, fore al that is bot vanite
and *lycht*, transiture blychtnes, wnvalable, and thinke at a day of
punynging sal cum quhen al sal be pwnyft. Item he sais, at the
- 812 sone, the mone, and the sternis sal al twrne agan, quhen the
dreidful day sal cum, and thane sal al thinge apere. Item he sais,
that thar sal cum a tyme at the *vertuous* of the hie hewyne sal
mofe, and thane sal the starkest þat was before schawaris sal
- 816 be gryndaris of grauell, thate wont ware to schaw gud metis
falbe in cauernys and in ernes lukand out at het and stinkand
durris, and the rewis and fyne sal al ryf to gyddir at the vocis
of the angell, and sal al the dochteris of wykitnes al worth deife,
and al that trowis in thare enchantmentis; and than sal al, that
- 820 flesche bare, dreid the Jugment, quhen al men sal enter in this
and dread
[Fol. 12.]
- Young men
should learn
wisdom;
and all men
avoid anger.
Young men
should avoid
pleasure, and
think of the
day of pun-
ishment.
The sun and
moon will be
changed.
Men shall
hide in
caverns,

hous *eternall*. Item he fais, thane fal thar be mekle greting and
 gowlynge, and than the powdir that man was of twrn agan in
 the fyrst forme, and the spreit of man fal turn agan in the
 powdyr, and gange till hyme quhar it has *seruit* efter the Jug-
 ment; quhilk is gret vanite and afflixone of spreitis, to think one
 that day, that fal be fa dreidfull, that the angell of the hewyne
 fal bitterly gret. Item he fais, quhen was caliyt wyfest of the
 world, maid in his contemplacons mony prabolys full of wertew,
 that he had focht be his wyt & vyfdome, that god had
 gevyne hyme, and maid of thaim sondry bukis, to tech operis that
 fuld cum efter his day. Item he fais, the wordis of wifdome
 quyknys gud menis wyttis, and opnis thaim to confaue vyfdome,
 and the vnderstandinge of the caus quhy thai ar said; for the
 parabolys ar nocht tan be the fyrst face, bot that fuld be be the
 documentis of wyf clerkis that knawis the subtill ymaginacione
 of the fayar, gevyne to thaim fra the faper of hevyne. Item
 he fais, It fal nocht neid to manis wyt to sek ma bukis for
 wifdome, operis than thai that he has maid, for þe wyfdome of
 thaim was gevyn hym fra the hevyne, fra al mychty gode. Item
 he fais, quhen men sekis þe wyfdome in mony bukis, It stoppis
 his wyt, and fal neuer fynde ane ende, for the farer he sek, the
 leß he fal fynde at the ende. Item he fais, our mekle thoct,
 study and befyne, to our-seke bukis, irkis manis wyte. Item he
 fais, al wyfmen fuld tak tent to the ende of this buk, that is to
 loue and serf god our al thing, and kep his bydinge, and kep fra
 Ill, and do gud quhill he is here; for at the gret Jugment, all Ill
 fal be pwnist, and gud Reuardit, and thar fal al thys warld tem-
 porall take end.

judgment.
 There will be
 much weep-
 ing, and man
 824
 will be
 turned to
 dust.

828
 The wisest of
 men made
 many pro-
 verbs.

To teach
 others that
 832
 come after
 him;

but they are
 not to be un-
 836
 derstood at
 once.

His books are
 sufficient for
 wisdom.

840

Much
 thought over
 844
 books tires
 men. tises
 Serve God,
 keep from
 evil; for all
 will be
 judged at the
 848
 last day.

Expliciunt dicta Salomonis per manum V. de F. §c.

(7.) RATIS RAVING.

My son, study
this book, which
is left for thy im-
provement.

The good never
die; but there is
an end of the
wicked.

[Fol. 12b.]

Study this trea-
tise whilst thou
art young, and
canst be trained
as a tree.

Know that there
is a Maker of all
things;

- M**y dere sone, wnderstande this buk,
þow study, & reid It oft, and luk,
- 852 Her sal þow fynd thi sapers entent,
To the leste in amendement. 4
Think þow art growin of hyme memor,
As he of his sapis before,
- 856 And thinke at thai are neuer dede,
Quhill gud memore Is in thare stede : 8
Bot gyf thai laif viciously,
Think than thare tyme is al gan by.
- 860 And gyf swyk caus þal fal in the,
Trow weill at þow fal punyft be, 12
In this lyf here, with mekle scham,
For þow fordyd al thar gud nam.
- 864 Fore-thi, my gud sone, wnderstande,
And tak this tetryf oft in hand, 16
And set weil thar-one thi entent,
Quhill þow art yhonge and Innocent :
- 868 For so lang art þow able alle
To grow as tre up gret & small. 20
Gyf at þow schapis to bounte,
Thi branchis braid and gret salbe :
- 872 And gif þow schapis thaim to wice,
Infortune will wndo thi price : 24
Gyf þow vald wyt quhat thing It Is
Efter, as I can, I fall the wyß.
- 876 Thar is a makar of al thinge,
That gouernys thaim ay, but falsceinge ; 28
That gewys to mankynd Wyt & skill
Fore to depart the gud fra Ill :
- 880 That is vicious wyß doinge
The euil is vicious fals levinge : 32

- The fyrst Reuard wyll we see,
 The toþer mone ay punyfte bee ;
 884 We twa refemblis godis mycht,
 And neuer mar wyll do bot rieht ; 36
 Nan vthir infortone can I kene
 Departit here amange thir men
 888 Bot al sic punyfeione as this
 That gode wyll fend men for þer mys : 40
 Na gud fortune can I nan see
 Bot his reward for gud buntree :
 892 That we weil be ensample may
 Se fall, and fallis ilke day : 44
 That pwre men, cumyne of simpl blude,
 Wertuouß, and gevand cauß of gude,
 896 Worthis tyll erlys dukis and kingis,
 Quhill thai misknaw thar gouernyngis 48
 And fra thine-fureht luk thai abate,
 & fallys hail fra thare eftate : [Fol. 13.]
 900 Baith landys and lordschipis fra thaim fell
 And worthis wreechis bondis threll. 52
 Sua that fortune and infortowne
 Is reward of punyfeione :
 904 As men gevis cauß in thar doinge,
 Till have reward or pwnyng. 56
 That said salamone sum-quhill
 He saw a thing, hyme lykyt Ill,
 908 Sum Rychtwyßmen and god-lyk baith,
 With Wykyt men & wnewyne lyk seaith. 60
 To that, my gud sone, thus say I,
 And men may find weill varandly,
 912 In sanct dauidis falter buk,
 Quha can It wnderstand and luk : 64
 Thus nane may wyt quhy that suld bee,
 Bot he wyft ilke preuatee
 916 That is and was and sal be eft,
 And sic wyting till nane is left ; 68

who rewards
good and evil.

His punishments
are our only mis-
fortune ;

His rewards our
only good for-
tune.

Poor virtuous
men rise ;

48 but by their own
faults lose all
again.

[Fol. 13.]

Solomon saw
some righteous
and wicked men
fall alike.

64 But David tells
us that God only
knows why this
is.

- Bot till that god that knawis all
That was and Is and fore to fall :
- 920 Thai three *termes* ar ay put
In tyll his *rychtwyß* Jugment, 72
And thaffis cauß, wil, & qualite ;
Of thai tymis fa demys he,
- 924 Trow weill, my fone, he dois bot *rycht*,
How euer men thinkyt in thar ficht, 76
As I fal þhit mar opiny
Schaw *furth* sum cauß in to party.
- 928 Sum *rychtwyß* men, and god lyk baith,
Hawys gret anoys, schame, & scaith ; 80
Trow weil, It aw *rycht* fua to be
Fore cauß mowand, fore quhat is hee
- 932 For-out trespas that here can leif ?
þhit than wyll god fyk *grace* thaim geif, 84
That settis maift part thar lewyng
In *rychtwyßnes* and gudly thinge :
- 936 For *oper part* in thar myfdeid,
Sen nan al may *rycht* thaim leid, 88
Sal her have tribulacioune,
That fal be thare Remissioun.
- 940 Bot quhay so lewys viciously,
In wykytnes and terandry, 92
God wyll thaim *nocht* punyft be here,
Fore deuillyk dedis ar thaim deir ;
- 944 And fa his *rychtwyßnes* wyll fe,
That thai with deuill punyft bee. 96
This is the prologue, I begyne
To schaw how grace with dedly fyne.

Believe He does
but right; as I
will show.

Some righteous
men suffer, but
no man is with-
out sin;

[Fol. 13b.]
and their tribula-
tions bring for-
giveness.

God punishes
not the wicked
here, but with
the devil.

Explicit prologus Incipit liber, &c., &c.

- 948 **F**ore-thi, my Suet sone, *procur* grace,
To be so ferand of thi perches :
Fore, wit þow weill, fore out that thinge
May na man cum to hie þarnyng,
100 Procure grace,
without which
no man comes to
honour.
- 952 To honor, na to gud riches,
Na þhit to stat of worthynes,
104 Bot gif It be besyd refone
Fore causþ of wer conclusiõne :
- 956 As þow may se of mony thinge
Gret mischef folowis al vynyng,
108 Ande, gif þow þarnys to se the way
To met with grace, I trow þow may.
If thou desirest
to meet with it,
- 960 Cum thar-to best on this maner
Luk nane of thi fyve wyttis sere,
112 That is, the noble gret *treisour*,
That god gaf mankynd herebefore,
come to it in this
manner.
- 964 Be miskepyt, my sone, in the.
Fore, trow yow weill, gyf It sua bec,
116 Sum wyce wyll occupy that place,
And led the fray the way of grace.
Abuse none of
the five senses ;
- 968 þit sal I ken the quhilk ar thai
Sa that þow haue na causþ to fay,
120 þow knew thaim *nocht* and let thar by
þow kepyt thaim *nocht* tendrely.
which I tell thee,
that thou mayest
know them.
- 972 **T**he fyrst of thaim, I call the *fycht*,
That is a wertew of gret *mycht* :
124 Fore quhy, It makis the knowleginge,
And ledis the at thi þarnyng
The *first* is sight
which enables
men to go from
place to place,
[Fol. 14.]
- 976 Fra place to place, quhar þow wald be ;
Thane Is it misserfull to the
128 Till have thai placis veil in *thocht*,
And se gif þow may scatht the ocht :
- 980 For gif þow seis thaim lyk to Ill,
And takis thaim *furcht* fyne of thi will,
132 That vertew turnis þow in wyce,
And infortone thar next belys :
and to escape in-
jury. But if thou
neglectest the
warning,

punishment
follows.

The *second* is
hearing, which
enables men to
get learning;

and so rise to
honour.

Wherefore, abuse
not this sense,
lest some vice de-
stroy it.

The *third* is
Smelling, which
enables men to
distinguish sweet
and foul scents.

Through good
odours, a sick
man may recover
his health, whilst
corrupt odours
may kill a healthy
man.

[Fol. 14b.]

Bad air kills
sooner than the
sword.

- 984 For that is It that ryechtvisly
Wyll punyß thi wrang done vickitly. 136
Thak her to tent, gif þow will thrif.
 The toþer of thi wittis fyve
- 988 Is heringe of thine eris twa,
That gevys confait to the alfua, 140
 Throw wordis and recordis feir
 That þow may with thin eris here,
- 992 To ler sciens that masterer redis
That mony men til honore spedis 144
 To know profyt, and eschew fcaith,
 Tyll help the and thi frendis baith.
- 996 For-thi spend it nocht mys I red ;
Fore þow dois, into that sted 148
 Sum wyce will rut and haf repar,
 And for-do all that wertew fare,
- 1000 And þow may nocht aforþe the,
And fa for cauß it fuld swa be. 152
The third wertew is smelinge
 Of nes, that makis the knowlegeinge ;
- 1004 Quhilk is weil smeland fuet odore,
And quhilk is stinkand aire vnpure : 156
 It fuld be tendyr and kepit weill,
 A tyme a man may sic odore feill ;
- 1008 Sa weill smeland and fwilk thinge,
It may mak fyk recomforting 160
 Tyll hed and hart and al the laif
 Quhar throw a sekman heil may have :
- 1012 And he that is baith hail and ferre
May fite corruptyt ayris feir 164
 As at his hart and at his hed,
 That na man may hyme fauf fra dede.
- 1016 Tras weil the philosphuris word,
Than sonar flais ill air na fuord, 168
 As men supposis now, veill and mare,
 In thair dais than thai did aire,

- 1020 That ill corrupeionne of aire
Will schort levyng & mekle empare
The men that cumis quhar it is,
And kepis thaim raklesly & myß;
1024 And maisteris gud and kindly skill.
In thare bukis as laid ws tyll,
That thir thingis that I rakyne here
Wyll smyt men that are hail & fere.
1028 The fewir agow, the farnes of E,
The fellone byll that dois men dee,
The lypir and the faland Ill,
Wild fyre and scaw thai rakin till
1032 With vthir sum ar les to dout.
Fore-thi thir have I rekint out,
Sa that þow may perfaif thar-by,
To kep that vertew tendirly.
1036 **T**he ferd wertew is nocht vncouth,
That is the taist of manis mout^h :
That mais defferens and departing
Betuex fuetnes and vthir thinge.
1040 War It nocht comone to ws all,
A fair wertew men vald It call.
And for It seruice al comonly,
It aucht nocht be the mar vnworthy.
1044 þhit than thar Is ane vthir taift
Suld nocht dispendit be in waift.
That is the office of thi tunge¹
That seruice the baith auld & þong,
1048 To schaw quhat is thine entent,
It may do gret amendment,
And It be kepit wertuwowly,
Bot thai spend It in to foly,
1052 And bringis scaith schame and ded.
For-thi is profytable to led
- Corrupt air
shortens life, and
weakens men,
172
and masters all
skill.
176
These ailments
strike down
strong men ;
180
Quartan ague,
soreness of eyes,
boils, falling sick-
ness, erysipelas,
etc.
184
The *fourth* sense
is Taste, which
shows the differ-
ence betwixt
sweetness and
the contrary.
188
192
Yet is there an-
other taste not to
be abused.
196
200
204
- This is the office
of the tongue, to
express one's
meaning.

¹ "Nota de lingua" is written in the margin.

- Sa weill and warly thi spekinge,
It may the *nocht* to gret schathingē :
- [Fol. 15.] 1056 As our elderis has teehit ws,
To tak kep our speking till ws ; 208
Quhatt that we spek, and the place quhare,
Quham of fyne quhome til thai are,
- 1060 The wordis spokin in quhatt maner,
And ȝhit fe to the plaeis fer : 212
Gif þow this sex pontis feis,
þow may find findry qualiteis
- Understand these
six things, and
you will do
rightly.
- 1064 To do perfytt and sek fyk gudnes :
Quha takis kep to this fyndernes 216
It is a wertew maift of price,
In spekin to be war and wis
- Therefore, prac-
tise caution in
speaking, whilst
young.
- 1068 And þow may na ways vyne thar-to
Bot gif þow oyß the fa to do : 220
Fore nan may eum to his offee
But oyß that makis this masteris wys.
- 1072 Fore-thi, my sone, quhill þow art ȝonge,
With wordis of lawte vs thi twnge ; 224
Sua that þow may, quhar euer þow bee,
Haf that vs, but defykiltē.
- So, as in any case,
to have the habit.
- 1076 Gif þow the fyftt wnder standis,
That is the tuechingē of thi handis, 228
And baith has feling and graipinge,
And fuld be led with gud kepinge ;
- The *fifth* sense ;
the sense of
Touching is of
good service ;
- 1080 For [þai] ar instrumentis wyß,
And maid to serf of gud seruice ; 232
For men may with thar handis deid
Wyne gret riches, land and meid,
- for by their hands
men gain wealth.
- 1084 Quhen thai dispend thar instrumentis
In wertew, and in wyß ententis. 236
And gif thai spend that in foly,
The contrare Falt commonly,
- Some, however,
lose life and
lands by the
same means.
- 1088 As mony men throw werk of handis
Tyuis thar lyf, thar gud & landis, 240

- And worthis waryt that is were
 Than vthir tynfell is beferre :
- 1092 To tell the al how mycht befall
 To lang arang men wald It call. 244
 Quha kepis thar handis Innocent,
 Fow mekle a grace god has thaim lent,
 1096 As I sal the exemple tell,
 That gothra the bulþone fell, 248
 At anthioth vpone a bryg
 Ane armit man in myd^{is} his ryge
 1100 Baith Irne and steil & flesch & banis
 His awne hand straik in twa atanis. 252
 Sum said the wertew of his fword,
 And sum to gothray said this worde,
 1104 That thai had ferly of that strak
 That na man thar mycht frik the mak ; 256
 And [þit] was mony worthiar man
 Of strenth and body than vas he than.
 1108 And gothra anfuerd sympely,
 Sayand it fuld be na ferly,
 Bot al wais efter his entent
 That hand was kepit Innocent
 1112 Fra al wulefull ewil thinge
 Mycht mak It seham or defowling. 264
 Quharfor a gracious thing I say
 Is to kep weill thin hand^{is} tway.
 1116 Thire fyfe witt^{is} I haf the tauld,
 To profyt [baith] þe þong and the auld, 268
 Gif þow can weill tak kep thar to,
 As I haf said that þow fuld do.
 1120 **T**o the, my sone, þit ken I fall
 The four vertuouß principall, 272
 To gidder with thar sifteris three
 Efter, as I can, I fall tell the :
 1124 The vij to grace ar frendis maift,
 And gift^{is} of the haly gaift ; 276

God gives grace
 to those whose
 hands are inno-
 cent. Take God-
 frey of Boulogne,
 who cut a man
 in two at one
 blow.

Even stronger
 men could not
 have struck such
 a blow.

Godfreysays that
 he tries to keep
 his hands inno-
 cent of evil.

These are the five
 senses.

Next he will tell
 the four princi-
 pal virtues and
 their three sisters.

The *first* is Stal-
wartness of heart,
or Fortitude,

which, like to
the other six
virtues, is a mean
between two ex-
tremes.

The one extreme
is boldness.

Arrogance, envy,
etc., spring from
pride.

The other ex-
treme is coward-
ice.

- With-outin thaim I can nocht fee,
How grace fuld frendlyk be to the.*
- 1128 **T**he first of thai four principall
Is stalwartnes of hart at all 280
Be mouch discomfort in distres
No with *tratouris* in wykitnes,
- 1132 Bot It may nocht distres endure,
No wykitnes war in gud mesure ; 284
It is the men that standys ewyne
Betwex twa witis : fa standis al sevyne,
- 1136 Ilkan betwex witis twa
Ar wmbefet, and standand swa : 288
A-bowe thaim is one mekle thing,
And wnder thaim is thar vanting,
- 1140 As I fal schaw the opinly
The thingis that I men thar by : 292
It at I call one mekle thing
Is outrag, our gret zarnyng,
- 1144 Als weil to do that fuld nocht bee,
As It at refone gevis to the. 296
That wice is far abowe wertew :
For-thi It is for till enfchew,
- 1148 It is in rutis fals and fell,
As I fal tech the and tell. 300
The first of thaim is succudry,
Fellony the toper, the thride inwy,
- 1152 Prid is the stok at thai grew in,
I pray the kep the fra that syne : 304
Come neuer bot euil of thar of-spring :
Tharfore It is one mekill thing,
- 1156 It passis fare at one mesfour.
Forc-thi may nan in thaim assur. 308
Alfua gif þow will know *and* lere
The gret wanting I spek of ere,
- 1160 It is archnes that can bot hwn
Als weill lewis that fuld be done 312

- As It that is *nocht* for to do.
 For-thi my sone tak kep thar-to :
 1164 To men the gud leif the contrare
 And hawis thire dutis feire 316
 Radnes that dar *nocht* take one hand
 Scars wrechitnes that neuer wan land
 1168 Styll coueryt hatrente, that is he
 That will *nocht* luf nor louit bee. 320
 The stok of thaim is auerice,
 That tynis honore and al price,
 1172 And than nan vthir froyt may spring,
 Bot that I callt our *gret* zarnyng. 324
 That wice fra *wertew* far is vndyr,
 Se to men and have na wondyre,
 1176 The men dois al that done fuld bee,
 And thot fuld *nocht* be leuis hee, 328
 His *part* is bot at refone wyll,
 May na man say at it is ill,
 1180 Fore-thi the men is *wertew* maift,
 And trew halely of the haly gaift. 332
 Quhat misteris It mar of this to say ?
 My menyng weil confaue þow may.
 1184 **T**he next *wertew* is *rycht* wyfnes
 That zarnis neuer mar na les, 336
 Bot that þow pres to do, my sone,
 Rycht as þow wald to the war done.
 1188 Gif ilke man that his is knawinge
 And *rycht* sa tak to the thin awinge. 340
 Gif þow beis tretar at confaill,
 Quhar *rycht*vyß part is lyk to faill,
 1192 A-quit thi part, and ga thar fra,
 Or ellis schap to leif It swa, 344
 That *rycht* suppowell have of the,
 And thi *part* wnraprout bee.
 1196 Gif yow haf owyn frend or kyne,
 That wilfoly wald defend or wyne 348

Fear and hatred
 spring from
 avarice.

The mean is best.

The *second* vir-
 tue is Honesty.

Do as thou
 would be done
 by.

If any of thy
 friends wrongly
 claim lands,

- try to settle the
matter accord-
ing to right.
- Land, ore gud in Jugment,
And it be, *etter* thine entent,
1200 Contrar to *rycht*, or to the law, 352
Be befy concord fore to draw
Betuex thi frende and thi party,
So that It cum *nocht* wrangwilly.
- [Fol. 17.]
- 1204 To na fyk end gif that yow may,
Saifand thi consciens alway : 356
Gyf þow misgouernys that, allace,
þow gais out of the way of *grace*,
- 1208 And will *condampnit* be alfone,
And fra thin-*furcht* thi thrift is done. 360
Gif þow oucht tynis to be lell,
þow fal wyne *etter* thris so fell.
- Though wicked
men prosper,
- 1212 Tharfor, my sone, suppos at þow
Se wrangwyl men haboundand now 364
In lordschip and in gret riches,
Do þow my consail *neuer* the les.
- follow my coun-
sel.
- 1216 Set *nocht* thi hart in thar etlyng,
Na consent *nocht* to wrang *rynnynge*. 368
Gif yow confideris weill, and feis
Baith mischeif and prosperiteis
- 1220 Of our elderis, and of ws now,
þow fal se maiest part, as I trow, 372
Changand of *statis*, vp *and* doune,
For cauß mowand of gud refone,
- States rise and
fall according to
their deeds.
- 1224 As thai defalt mak of doinge,
Sa hapins maiest of thar ending : 376
þit wmquhill godis private
Wirkis the contrar, þow may see,
- Sometimes God
works differently.
- 1228 Bot *nocht* but cauß, wyt þow weill,
Quheþer euer it forow be ore feill. 380
- The *third* virtue
is Prudence,
- T**he thrid *wertew* is gud quantice ; ¹
That is discret, war and wys.

¹ In the margin, gud qwentice.

- 1232 To fle *perell* and wyne *profy*t,
Difes to chang in to delyt ; 384
I[t] can bring feid in rest & pece,
And wykit werk in foly seß,
1236 Til unknowin ken thar office,
And subtyll craft*is* as at dewice 388
þhit can seho, and pres hire *nocht*,
That neuer þhit strenth of body *mocht*
1240 Raftrenþe malis, and amend,
As that nobill frend hir kend, 392
Unrewlyt ryot red in rest ;
Me think this is a *wertew* best.
1244 Quharfor, my sone, gif þow be wyß,
Oft þow deill *wyth* gud quyntyts ; 396
Wyth It þow may thin erand speid,
Qwhen baith will failþhe strenth and meid.
1248 Quharfor gud quantice may
Baith stryf and dyselß put away. 400
My sone, luf *nocht* til haf in strif
Wyth thi nyctbouris, na *wyth* thi wyf :
1252 Gif þai or seho has *condiscione*
Of nobilnes, or gret Renown, 404
Do þow *rycht* sa, than ar þhe meit,
Ewynlik as athir *part* of det,
1256 Fall weill in concord and bounte :
And vthir ways gyf þat It bee, 408
That seho or thai be contrariouß
To resone, or to gud wertuousß,
1260 Affai thaim fyrst *wyth* gud quantice,
Gif þow wyll think to ek thi *price*, 412
Or to restrenþe that foly
That baith may be restrenit by.
1264 Agan to me gyf þow wald say
That þow one neid mone ilk[e] day 416
Tyne of thi gudis or of thi price,
Or ell*is* retwrn thaim wice fra wice ;

by which men
avoid danger.

Bodily strength
is not so power-
ful to assuage
tumult.

[Fol. 17b.]

Quarrel not with
thy neighbours,
nor with thy
wife ;

if they be unrea-
sonable, try pru-
dence,

that both be
restrained.

If this plan fail.

- consult thy friends,
1268 Quhen al gud quantice falyis the,
Than *with* thi frendis confalyt bee, 420
And do so wertowß thi part,
That all thi frendis, *afterwart*,
- that they support thee.
1272 Haf causß to wphauld the, but faille,
That þow has done *with* thar confaill. 424
- The *fourth* virtue is Temperance, which has two good qualities ;
The ferd is temperans, I trow,
A wertew gretly till alow ;
- one as regards eating and drinking,
1276 And havis gud qualiteis twa,
As I sal tel the quhilk ar thai. 428
A qualyte of temperans
Is ay weill reulyt *with* obseruans
- [Fol. 18.]
excess in which destroys health, etc.
1280 Of met and drink, in gud mesour,
That *manis* kynd dois best Indwre 432
In gud heill and prosperyte,
As þow may confaif and see.
- 1284 Gyf þow wyll thar-of have knowleg,
þow sal se few of gret outrage 436
Oucht lange in gud heil lewande be,
Or barnis haf of gret bounte ;
- 1288 For heil and generacione
Is turnyt in corrupcion, 440
And fordois nobilnes of kind.
For-thi, my sone, haf þow in mynd,
- 1292 And one mesoure maist þow think,
And namly in thi met and drinke. 444
For-thi *with* ilke day mone þow
Haf intermeting, as I trow,
- Be moderate, else not much good will befall thee.
1296 Be þow a glutone or drunksom,
Na mekil gud of the may cum. 448
- The othersoothes anger,
Alfua the *toþer* qualite
Of temperans I trow this bee
- 1300 Sobyр mesing of Irous wyll
In wrethfull tyme to do bot skill : 452
For worshipfull and Irous entent
Our-twyrns ikilful Jugement,
- which overturns men's judgment,

- 1304 And mouis men than for to do
 That schame and scatht oprauis [?] to 456
 Repruf, and mekill vthir thinge,
 Off es and honore the vndoinge. and undoes honor.
- 1308 For-thi have alway the remembrans
 Of that gud wertew, temperans, 460
 Quhen þow art stad ocht narrowly
 With Irous wyll and gluttony.
- 1312 Thir four wertews principall
 Ar to the said now al hall, 464
 That beris the þettis of thi refone
 Tyll opin and stek with discreccione ; These, then, are the four principal virtues.
- 1316 Throw thaim na wyte may have entre ;
 Be thar portar of gud bownte 468
 Oblift with all to thine entent :
 For he is heill and Innocent
- 1320 That is [in] purposß leftand ay
 To wyrk wysly and weill alway, 472
 And till fle foull cumpanye
 That þow may ocht be scaithit by,
- 1324 Alfua till fle al lyklynes
 Of yll, that berys lytill les
 Charg of repruf to manis sight
 Than dois the deid is done wnrycht : [Fol. 13b.]
- 1328 Quhill he Is hangit that neuer stail,
 For he was fundyne the theif with all. 480
 Sa demys men be lyklynes,
 Quhen naye bot god wat futhfastnes.
- 1332 **T**he formeft of thai sifteris three,
 The quhilk I spak of ere to thee, 484
 Is stedfast treuth in weill and way,
 And has gud qualiteis tway.
- 1336 The first of thaim is traift trowand
 In god, atour al thing levand, 488
 To louf and lufe and dout al thre,
 Sene he maid mankynd for to bee,

He is sound who
 purposes to act
 rightly.

for men judge
 by appearances.

The first of the
 sister-virtues is
 Faith, which has
 two good quali-
 ties ;

one, trust in God
 above all ;

- 1340 That is the maift gud, wyt þow weill,
 To be a man, and se and feill 492
 Havand the toþer *profperyteis*
 Faland to mankynd, as thow feis ;
- For God gave
 man life, 1344 Fore atte fyrft tyme god maid man,
 He gaif hyme lyf and *fpretis* than, 496
 That euer-mar monen lestand bee,
 That is a noble *profperytee* :
- and made him in
 his own image ; 1348 And formyt hym his awn fygur.
 Quhar is thar ony fyk honore ? 500
 And gaif hyme wyt, *refone* & *fkil*,
 To knaw and wyt baith gud & ill ;
- and has promised
 to raife all men
 at the laft day, 1352 þhit has he *heckt* to do weill mar—
 Tyll raifß al men, rycht as thai war, 504
 On domyßday, lewand ilk ane,
 And al *perfy*t, and [with] *fawt* nane,
- to be judged as
 they have lived. 1356 That tyme to tak thar Jugment ;
 Ilk man Jugit be his entent, 508
 Efter as his deid was gud or Ill,
 Hyme felf to *domen* fal be his will.
- [Fol. 19.] 1360 Thar men fal fe, throw godis mycht,
 That al thing fal be demyt Rycht. 512
 This treuth will have no questione,
 For god has grantit na *Refone*
- 1364 To men till knaw the qualite
 Of his micht, na of his maicftee. 516
 I-will *nocht* þow, my fone, for-thi
 Trow this in god al *fympilly* ?
- Simple truth is
 of more might
 than any cun-
 ning. 1368 For *fympill* trewth is mar of mycht,
 Than is al *feiens* of al *flycht*, 520
 As ancet lady ane the buke
 Can ken, gif the *lyk's* to luk,
- 1372 How treuth the godin hart vpbar,
 Quhen the vij *feiens* had falȝet are, 524
 Quhill ſcho com to the hieft hevyne,
 And wan price our the *feiens* fevyne.

- 1376 Can nan fa weill the vays *rycht*
 Till the first makar, maist of *mycht*, 528
 As simpill treuth can, trow þow me,
 And thar fal *grace* ay fundyne bee.
 Simple truth best
 leads to God.
- 1380 The quhilk suld maist mak the keping,
 Gif þow be worth to have fyk thing. 532
 Off treuth the tothir qualytee
 I call baith gud and fair lawte.
 The other quality
 is loyalty, which
- 1384 Quhar euer that vertew has rapar,
 It helpis weill and endis fair : 536
 It lous licht and cumpany
 Of ilke gud man & worthy ;
 loves honest
 men's company ;
- 1388 And thar is nan so fals a man,
 That he na wyll lawte luf þit than, 540
 And fay that gud war to be leill,
 þocht he wald ellis thar clathis steill.
 evil men praise it.
- 1392 It is honest in ilke place,
 And neuer þit wald displeß to *grace*. 544
 The farest merour in to luk
 The falow that neuer trouth forsuk,
- 1396 So sympill of state he can be sen
 That quha fa knew It wald nocht wein, 548 [Fol. 19b.]
 And he had lent thar pennis thre
 That neuer thai agan quit fuld bee.
- 1400 Bot It is feilar at al dewice,
 Thir lwmbartis gevis it mekle price, 552
 Thai dar weill better traist thar tyll,
 Than tyll the emperouris wyll,
 The "Lombards"
 trust to it more
 than to the Em-
 peror's bond.
- 1404 Or till his obligatioun, 556
 Fore all his riches and renoune.
 Quheþer þow may, sone, a pwre man bee,
 Ore gret riches growin to the,
 Rich or poor, fear
 not,
- 1408 At-our thi powar preß þow the nocht 560
 To tak to cryans þocht þow nocht :
 Fore ay quhill þow art funde leill ;
 All worthi man wyll with the deill,
 if thou be leal,
 honest men will
 deal with thee.

The *second* sister
is Hope, which
gladdens the de-
jected,

and is joyous in
distress.

Therefore do not
abuse it, nor
covet other men's
goods,

[Fol. 20.]

and so incur loss.

Trust in the Holy
Ghost, who first
suggests hope.

- 1412 And do the eß and grete honore,
And for na mischeif se thi dishonor. 564
Quhen ilke thing cumis to the lycht
Than lawte fairest is in sicht.
- 1416 **A**nd hop, the toþer syfter next,
Can weill mak blycht, & bailful brest 568
That discomfourt has maid al mate,
Scho can refresß and bring to state.
- 1420 Scho can refresch a fary thing,
And mak *with* wyt recomfortinge. 572
Gud hop left neuer hire frend at þe last,
For perell na for mischeif maist,
- 1424 And be *rycht* blytht in gret distresß,
Baith danß and finge weill neuer the lesß. 576
Gud hop left *is* *rycht* to the ded,
With hir comfort and hir gud red.
- 1428 Sen gud hop is of fik bounte, 580
Dispone It *nocht* in vanite,
Na þit in wnkilfull þar[n]ing ;
Gif þow will cum to thi etlyng.
- 1432 Hop *nocht* to have, atour refone, 584
Ane vthir man's possessioun,
His wyf, his gud, na þit *his* land ;
Sik hop is wnperfytt failþeand
- 1436 Als lang as þow, an vthir may 588
Haf lyf, and bruk þer þarnyng ay,
And þow may wyt nan vthir thing,
Bot errour of that wrang venyng.
- 1440 Gif hop be led *with* refone furcht 592
And wrang venyng vas neuer worcht,
Set al thi gud hop thar in maist
In lypnyne of the haly gaist.
- 1444 Trow þow *rycht* weill that it is hee 596
Bring *is* to purpos al gud bounte,
And fett *is* gud hop first in thoct,
Haldis hir vp, and falþeis *nocht*,

- 1448 Quhill gud purpos be brocht to end,
And levis hir *grace* vpone to spend :
Sa that gud hop in ilke place
Has gret fauore help & grace. 600
Hope has great favor.
- 1452 **T**he zongest sifter of thai thre
I wyll nocht be forzet *with* thee,
That is dem cheryte the meik,
Sa gud to pur folk and to feik, 604
The *third* sister-virtue is Charity,
- 1456 *With* twa en *gracious* at neid,
Full of peite and almouß deid. 608
full of pity and almsdoing.
pocht *sche* be zongest, wyt þu weill,
Scho is maist tendire for to feill :
- 1460 Thar is na *creatur* levand
Sa weill louit, I wnderstand,
With hyme that maid ws al to bee,
As is that madyne cheritee. 612
God loveth charity above all things,
- 1464 For is nan so witty and so wyce,
Na riches havand of *fyk price*,
Na gret lordschip, na dignite,
Beand foroutin cherytee, and without it, 616
all things are as naught.
- 1468 Than It is as a thing of nocht :
Fore-thi, my sone, have her in *thocht* ; 620
Scho has dispyt at all inwy,
And zarnis na thing vrangvisly,
She hates envy,
- 1472 Scho is louand in kind lawtee,
Vncouatice, of gyftys free ; [Fol. 20b] 624
Sa sais paull in his doctryne,
Thai are his vordis & nocht myne. as Paul says.
- 1476 Than luf as þow wald louit be,
And gif as þow wald tak to the ; 628
Luk þow gyf thi gud weil than
Gif that þow be to pwr a man
Give thy good will if thou art poor.
- 1480 And be anoyt in thi *thocht*,
Fore þow wald gyf and þow may nocht ; 632
A rich man gyf that þow bec,
Luk one thi almouß þou be free,
If thou are rich, give freely,

- 1484 To *thaim* that are in mistyr grete
Gyf of thi met and of thi drink, 636
And *alfua* of thi vthir thinge
To help thir nakyt *with* cleithinge.
- 1488 Sice dedis empleß maist to *grace*
and so queneh 640
God's wrath,
That fuld be lard to thi purches,
And stanch the vreth of god *almycht*,
And fordo wengans in his sicht.
- 1492 Scho berys *with* hire lycor schyr
as waterquenehes 644
fire,
That flokins fyne as vatter fyre.
Suppos þow had done al the fyne
That mocht do al thiue *euen* kyne,
- 1496 Scho is of powar, wyt þow weill,
whatever thy sin 648
be.
To get al forgevyne ilka deill.
- The *seven* gifts
of the Holy
Ghost are most
blessed.
1500 For thai rek vp *rycht* to the hevyne,
And al that *cumys* of thai fevyne, 652
Baith luf, lawte and chaifite,
And al gudnes, *with* al bountee,
- 1504 Springis fra *thaim*, and fra thar place,
Their place is 656
full of grace and
goodness.
As the deuifions ar of grace :
That place is futhfast in blythtnes
And ful of grace and al gudnes,
- 1508 That is to say the fyrst moware,
[Fol. 21.] 660
That gouernys al thing les & mare.
Quharfor leif nocht in wrang vynyng,
To call ocht elles bleffit thinge :
- 1512 Sa burly bewtee of *persone*
Call not beauty 664
blessed,
That failþeis *with* corruptioun ;
Fore bewte leftis bot a quhill,
And ȝet oft tyme It prowys Ill,
- 1516 Baith fals, fell, fainte and faikyne.
for it is deceitful. 668
Of ilkane couth I tell a takyne ;
Bot fore thai ar to heir hatsome,
Me lykis for to leif of as dwme.
- But I will leave
off, lest men call
me hypocrite.

- 1520 Sum *men mycht* have me in diffpyt,
 And call me lyk ane ypocryte. 672
 Bot *neuer* the les for fyk contrare
 Cal *nocht* the thing bleffit that is faire,
- 1524 Na *zit* cal thane na bleffitnes
 The gret haboundans of Riches. 676
 Vynge of *thaim* is cowatice,
 Tynfell of *thaim* is dolorus,
 Call not riches
 blessed,
- 1528 Keping of *thaim* is curaiouß,
 Ending of *thaim* is awantrous, 680
 In all this is thar bot difeß.
 Quhat bleffitnes has than richeß ?
- 1532 I trow quhai, that the futh will fay,
 Sal *nocht* fynd cauß to bleß *paim* ay. 684
 Fore quhen *men lypnis in thaim* maift,
 Thai fall & failßeis and has na left.
 for he who tells
 truth will not
 bless them
 always.
- 1536 Cal *nocht zit* bleffit be refone
 Wardly honore, na *zit* hit renowne. 688
 And farly *nocht thoct* I fay fay,
 Fore *men* may weill fe, ilke day,
 Call not worldly
 renown blessed,
- 1540 Renown and honore faill & fall.
 Suppos It faire *nocht* fa *with* all, 692
 It hapis oft in *mycht* to bee.
 Quharfore, my fone, I fay to the
 for it fails,
- 1544 Call honore bleffit bot in waift,
 Beand bot giftis of the haly gaift. 696
 Sic honore hapis in renoune
 Fore cauß of Her conclusioun
 [Fol. 21b.]
- 1548 Of tyrandry and fals vynyng
 That *neuer* had part of bleffit thinge. 700
 Call *nocht zit* bleffit gret delyt
 Off fleschlyk es, na appetyte,
 and when ill-won
 cannot be blessed.
 Nor so call plea-
 sure,
- 1552 To know thi imperfeccioun
 It blindis thi discrelioun. 704
 Ay quhill sum tribulacioun
 Mak thare Interruptioun.
 for it blinds us
 to our faults,

- while pain
teaches us to
know God, and
ourselves.
- 1556 Sa that difes is mar perfyт,
And better thinge than is delyт. 708
Throw difes may þow wyt & feill
To know god and thi-felwyne veill.
- 1560 A gret delyт is blynd alway,
And feis rycht nocht bot eß and play, 712
With wyll and þouthed duellis hee,
Quhill eild and defeß cumyne bee.
- 1564 Than ar thai all had in diffpyт
That ere ware maisteris of delyт, 716
And haldin wrechis for thare play,
Quhen fyk delyт is went away.
- The seven gifts
are at war with
the seven sins,
- 1568 Thir fewyne giftis I fpak of ere
With fewyne vicis thai are at were. 720
Thai ar the dedly synis fewyne,
With al thar branchis, od and ewyne.
- for a knowledge
of which go to
the book of con-
fession (as I am
neither monk nor
friar).
- 1572 Gyf þow will know thar condiscione,
Ga to the buk of confessione. 724
Thar fal þow fynd quhat that thai are
And al thar branches,¹ les and mare,
- 1576 Weill better than I can declar :
Fore I am noþer monk nore frere, 728
That can diferyf thar fals misbourys,
Sa weil as fum wiß confessours.
- This book tells of
the ten command-
ments,
- 1580 That buk can tech the and ken
Alfua the commandmentis ten, 732
That god wratt with his awn hand,
And gaif moyfes, till wnderstand
- [Fol. 22.]
which teach men
to live righte-
ously.
- 1584 How men fal led thaim rychtwisly,
And nocht displeß his senþory, 736
That gevis al gud honore & grace,
As he feis cauß in ilka place.
- If thou art a
clerk,
- 1588 Quharfor a clerk gif that þow bee,
I pray the reid the buk & see 740
And besy the till wnderstand,
- take the book in
hand.

¹ braiches MS.

- And take thai tretys weil one hand :
- 1592 Thai trawalys fal the think ful fuet :
Suppos þow think thai do the lete 744
Of fa lang tyme in vthir thinge,
It fal the cum to gud endinge :
- 1596 And gif þow be a lawit man,
Sum confessor þow get the than,
That gud consciens havis and wyte,
And tell hyme euer ilka wyte,
- 1600 That movis the one ony ryß ;
And as he fal the devyß, 752
Fulfill sic penans as he the gevys.
For þ^u wat neuer how lang þ^u levis :
and perform the
penance, which
he enjoins.
- 1604 þow fuld be tendyr of that halue
Well mar than the fleschlyk halue : 756
For war þow hurt and wondyt fare,
With al thi mycht þow walde nocht spare
- 1608 To procure the sum leich gude :
But trow weill he is were na void, 760
That seis hyme felf in dedly syne,
And can ly wondyt fa thar In ;
He is a fool,
who continues
in deadly sin ;
- 1612 Sa lang fall he neuer do weill,
Na neuer have hap to met with feill ; 764
And gyf he hapis sua to de,
It is na dout his sawll fal dre
- 1616 To mekle penans and to fell,
Gyf he enchapis the pyne of hell : 768
Fore thar is nocht bot mercy ane
To saufe the faule that swa is tane.
- 1620 þhit fulde þow knaw sum vthir entent,
Fore dout thai twrne thi Jugment, 772
And spill and perwert thi refone
With wrang determinacioun :
- 1624 Quhill one of thaim thi hart is nere,
Baith thocht and wyll is fet one stere, 776
And al thi spretis fet vnricht,
- [Fol. 22b.]
Some motives
pervert men's
reason.

- If thou art wise
let these pass by,
- 1628 And wit and refone out of ficht.
Quharfore, gif þow wyll wyrk vyfly,
Lat sik entent^{is} hail ga by ; 780
Quhill tho^{ch}t and will be stablit clere,
And w^{ith} [þi] refone frendis deir,
- 1632 Be fet to fay the thar awyß
To have honore and ek thi price, 784
And gif the confail of profyte :
At feham and fea^{it}h have thai diffpyt,
- and listen to good
counsel.
- 1636 And gevys confell to the beft ;
To thar awyß þow may the trest, 788
Bot fie motyf [may] mar the mare
As I fall tell the quhilk thai are.
- These motives
are,
- the *first*, great
Joy, which exalts
men's spirits too
much.
- 1640 **T**he fyrft motyf of thaim cal I,
Gret Joy that hapnis fudandly, 792
To feir thi fpreit^{is} hie one hycht,
That thai can noch^t determyne ry^{ch}t ;
- 1644 Fore wedand Joy beand in vages
Latt^{is} al futhfast gud knowleges : 796
Quharfor, quhill fie thinge is in tho^{ch}t,
Of thi purpos determyne noch^t.
- When thou art
under this, decide
nothing.
- The next is great
Sorrow, which
casts down men's
spirits, so that
reason is left
from them ;
- 1648 **T**he tothir motyve next I call,
Quhen sorow gret hapnis to fall, 800
And east^{is} doune thi fpret^{is} fwa,
That refone is al reft the fra.
- 1652 þow may noch^t dem quhat is the beft,
Quhill thai be brocht agane to reft. 804
That fuld reull the w^{ith} richt entent,
As fpret^{is} of gud Jugment :
- whilst east down,
decide nothing.
- 1656 Quharfor, quhill thai ar caftin doune,
Mak na determinaeionne. 808
- The *third* is great
fear, which
- T**he thrid motyve I cal gre^{te} dout,
That garr^{is} al thy fpret^{is} lout,
- [Fol. 23.] 1660 And bow for radnes of mefure,
Fore thai may noch^t distres endur. 812
In fyk tyme luk that þow be laith
- makes men sad ;

- For to mak ony band or aith,
 1664 Ore conclud ony vthir thinge,
 May twrne efter to repentinge : 816
 Wanhop I cal the thrid movar
 To mak thi spretis leß or mare,
 1668 In wauerand for-wynyngre,
 Or for sum vthir new ȝarnyngre, 820
 That nouthire wyt na refone may
 Remove fyk hop to put away,
 1672 Quhill hop of fyk wauerand venyngre
 Be broecht to rest fra fyce etlyngre. 824
 The fyrst movar I cal bot yre
 That byrnis in thi thoekt as fyr,
 1676 For malancoly and dislpyte
 As þow can Fynd nae for to wyte 828
 Na to prolong felony
 The cauß of thi malancoly ;
 1680 He is nocht wyß na happy man,
 Determys his entent as than. 832
 The mast motyve that I of red,
 That is misknawlege of ȝouthed,
 1684 The quhilk has mekle fyndrynes
 Tyll wnderstand, sum mar, sum les ; 836
 As I fal schaw the sum deil lyk
 Baith gudly cauß and ryecht kindlyke
 1688 Decernis of the kynd of man ;
 That thai can throw condiscions ken 840
 Condiscions of thi qualiteis
 That growis to thaim as propriteis,
 1692 As cauß and dispoßicione
 Hapnis in thar concepcioune : 844
 Sum quhill of elen and subtil kind,
 Sum quhill of mar and wondir strind,
 1696 Sum quhill as fader and moder is
 In flet of grace, sum mare, sum les, 848
 Sum quhill as conitellacions
 as the parent's
 state of grace,
 the stars, etc.,
 [Fol. 23b.]

- but thy free will
 can put none
 away.
- 1700 Ilkan of thir inclyn ze may,
 Bot nan thi fre wyll put away : 852
 Than þow may *vertew* lere & have,
 With thi fre wyll, atour the lave ;
- First it is good
 to know thy pro-
 bable qualities,
- 1704 Set the tharfor, in thi ȝouthed,
 To know thir pointis that I red. 856
 Fyrst is miferfull to thee
 To spek and know thi qualyte.
- 1708 Tuichand the dispocifioune
 Hapnand of thi conseptioune, 860
 That thow inclynis to throw kinde
 Rycht tenderly have in thy mynd.
- 1712 Gyf þat þow can *perfaue* thar by
 The weill disposyt and subtyll, 864
 And have of kind baith elen & pur,
 To set the for to wyne honore
- whether likely
 to win honour,
- 1716 With craft, sciens ore manhed,
 Quheþer ane ore al may better sped. 868
 Gyf þow be rud, and nocht subtyll,
 Na can nocht weill enschew perell,
- or, if thou be
 dull,
- 1720 Na mak diffynnulacione
 As wyll warldly *condiscionne*, 872
 Sat neuer thi hart, na thi etlyng,
 To have gret thing in *gouernynge*.
- give not thy
 heart to high
 office.
- 1724 To schap to leif in sympilte,
 Erynlyk honest and with lawte. 876
 For sen vnsubtill that are fals
 Eschapis vnhyngyt be the hals,
- Such men bring
 punishment on
 themselves, as
 thou may see.
- 1728 Fore rud men can nocht *gouverne* thare vice,
 Thai ar punyft and tynis thar price. 880
 As þow may weill enfampill fee
 Of weill ma na of twa ore thre :
- If thou art such,
- 1732 And gyf fyk be thy qualytee,
 The warld empleß nocht to the, 884
 Na þow can haf thar of delyt,

- Bot erer haf It in diffpyte :
- 1736 Quhen þow art ful eild cumyne to,
And þow can knaw, quhat þow can do,
And *nocht* repent efterwart ;
Than cheß the vyfly fyk a part,
- 1740 Quheþer it be to relegioun,
Or ellis gud deuotioun,
That hapnis to thi part to fall,
And hald the content thar with all ;
- 1744 And preß þe to nan vthir end :
Thank god of al thing he vyll fend,
And think thar ma na difeß bee
Than thar of neid fal grow to the.
- 1748 **T**wichand thi difpoficioun,
Mowand throw constellacioun,
Thir maistrys of austronomy
Can the cauß schaw & can *nocht* I :
- 1752 Quharfor better to be ftyll
Than fay vnknawandly thar tyll,
Bot luk one no wyß þou consent
For tyll determyne thin entent,
- 1756 Quhill skilfull tyme our passit be,
That thai may knaw thi propretee :
Sa that thi difpoficioun
And thi determynacioun
- 1760 Accordand be of an assent :
Than art þow weill at thin entent.
Be thai discordand, wyt þow weill,
Full gretly dyfeß fal þow feill,
- 1764 And oft in point gretly to blame,
That may the twrn to seait & scham.
Be war for-thi and haf gret dreid,
Quhill þow be passyt thi ȝouthed :
- 1768 Than efter difpoficioun
Mak thi determynacioun.
Bot gyf that þow difposit be,
- [Fol. 24.]
when old enough,
888
choose thy business,
892
and contentedly
896 thank God.
900 The stars he leaves to astrologers.
904
908
Let thy disposition and decision be accordant.
912
916
Be watchful over thyself, till thy youth be passed.

Avoid vice.

[Fol. 24b.]

He will not advise about taking a wife or not, as many things turn contrary to expectation.

If thou take one,

let her be of a good mother.

If she be badly led, she will become shameless.

Treat thy wife well.

If the fault be on her side,

Fra *vycis*, fone, restrenge the

1772 *With* wertwis, as I haf the tald,

Thai may help the baith jong & ald.

924

To¹ confail the a vyf to take

Or ȝit to leif, that I forfak :

1776 Quhill hapnis honor and quhill es

Of strenth, of kyne, & of riches,

928

To sum man ane to sum men all :

And contrar hapnis oft to fall :

1780 Agan al lyklynes of skill,

Sum hapnis gud, & sum ill,

932

As thai ar in thar qualitee,

Or ellis as thai haf caus to bee.

1784 Quharfor awyf gyf þow wyll haf,

Tak lyklynes, atour the laif,

936

Of *contynans*, and of *persone*,

Of gud lynag, and gud renown.

1788 For comonly thai folow kynd,

And gretly to the *moderis* strind,

940

Sen thar is bot the lyklyest

Hald ay gud *moþer* dochter best :

1792 And leid hir wytly *with* fauore,

Gyf þow wyll haf es and honore.

944

Be scho in langour led, & blam,

Scho wyll forȝet quhat is scham,

1796 And fra thin-*fureht* worth mar hardy,

Than ony best is vytterly.

948

Is nothir scaith, scham na dreid,

Agan hir wyll may than tak fied.

1800 Be war, my veddyt fone, for-thy

And treit thi wyf rycht tendyrly ;

952

And gyf hir caus of gud bounte,

Sa that defalt be nocht in thee.

1804 Quhill scho trespas to the in deid

Fra thyne-*fureht* lat hir self hir leid,

956

¹ In the margin *Nota de uxore*.

- And wyrk al-an *with* that wnskill
 That scho has chofin of hir wyll.
 1808 And þow had ere of hir delyte
 Haf than hir dedis in dispyt, 960
 And thar-of haf þow noys nane,
 Scho wyll tak hyr the contyrpan, [Fol. 25.]
 1812 And al the surpliee of the schame
 Scho wyll bere bauldly *with* the blam : 964
 Bot do þow fa thine awne part,
 That nane reprove the *after*wart,
 1816 Na fa that scho was cauß in the
 That fuld amove It so to bee. 968
 Gyf þow be man of spekin wyß,
 That can *with* lordys vyne gret price,
 1820 Set neuer thi wordis our mesour,
 Na pled *nocht* bot for thine awn honore, 972
 And for thine awne possesseione,
 That wrangvyßly It ga *nocht* done :
 1824 Fore wyll þow glaidly *Intermet*,
 þow fal *nocht* wyne thare-one abytt, 976
 Bot ay grow mar & mar *in* fed
 For cauß of mwtyue and of pled,
 1828 þow fal oft have ful gret magre,
 And lytill *profyt* to the bee ; 980
 Bot *trawell* gret for frend & kyne,
 And mar dispend na þow may vyne,
 1832 And vphald cauß wrangvyßly,
 And for-do *rycht* of thi party, 984
 That drawis *condampnacione*,
 That mone have gret punyscion :
 1836 Than war the better hald the fill,
 And spend *nocht* thi gud all in Ill. 988
 Trow weil, It mone be swa, ore vere,
 Fra þow be mwter at the bare.
 1840 **G**yf þow be set to *merchandis*
 Quhat thing þow byis, se to the price ; 992

act so that thou
canst not be
blamed.

If thou art clever
of speech,

plead only for
thine own.

If thou interfere
for friends, it
will be to thy
loss.

If thou be dis-
posed to trade,
deal wisely,

- And to the diffpens maid thar by,
And fell tharefter wyfly.
- 1844 þarn *nocht* vynyng at-oure mefour,
For dout It fal *nocht* weil Indwre. 996
Luf *nocht* gretly aithis to fwere,
Na fyrft *nocht* mekyll of thi gere.
- and for ready money.
[Fol. 25b.] 1848 Tak erare gud pay, and leß vynyng,
Than hecht of mare & fyxft thy chyinge; 1000
Fore *merchandice* wald, Ilka day,
By and fell *with* reddey pay;
- 1852 And It is wnreddy payment
That þow hafß friftit out or lent. 1004
Quharfor, fryfting me think *contrare*
To *merchandice* and mone empare,
- Trusting is opposed to trade. 1856 And fum quhill mak thi frend thi fa,
Or þow thin awne may get hyme fra. 1008
- If thou decide to serve a great man, be true to him;
Gyf þow be fet to *serue* a lord,
Thinkand to have fum gret Rauard,
- 1860 Be lel, lufand, and debonare,
Honest, wnfwere, & anſwer fare, 1012
Baith to thi lord and to thi pare,
And to the les als veil as mare,
- 1864 Of mefur and of gud manhede.
Gif þow may one this vyß the led, 1016
Thow fal *nocht* fail a gud revarð.¹
And, gud fone, *serue* a mychty man
- and thou wilt be rewarded. 1868 And kep weil to thi labour than;
And althir ereft *serf* a kinge; 1020
Fore tyll hyme fall mekle thinge,
That may *nocht* leß his stat to gyfe,
- Rather serve a king, 1872 And may his *seruand* weil raleif.
That ganis *nocht* a king to hald, 1024
May rich a *seruand* many fauld,
Gif he be graciouß and vyß,
- for he, without loss to himself, can give much.

¹ Here there is a space in the MS. as though a line were left out. There is no line to rhyme with 1017.

- 1876 And can haf er to gud *feruif*.
 Quhat lord that can *nocht* veil do fwa, 1028
 Leif of, and farly gang hym fra.
 Bot always *ferf* hyme elyk,
 1880 Quhill þow haf tan thi leif but swik,
 And alfua quhill þow haf gud wyll. 1032
 Bot gif he do the al wnskill,
 And þhit bot þow be knawin veill,
 1884 þow fal bere al the blame ilk deill :
 For comone voice is sum deil laith
 To greif a lord, ore mak hym *vraith*.
 1888 **G**yf þow wyl fauf þe *fra* *schowris*
 Of gret *difeif*, of new *amouris*,
 Be weil ware with the fyrst *meif*,
 Gyf þow wyll *etter* leif in *peif* :
 Luk *nocht* hire browis oft betwen,
 1892 Quhill þow have at dam *refon* ben,
 And tak thar thine *avyfment*,
 Gud hop is ay of hire *affent* :
 Thai twa be lyklynes can see,
 1896 Gyf þi *þarnyng* may grow to thee.
 Gyf thai twa *fais* the *nocht* bot nay,
 I pray the *vryth* thi wyll away ;
 And gif *dyffpyt* at *vantone* wyll
 1900 That hop and *refone* *fais* na tyll.
 þhit tell I *nocht* this tail to the,
 Tyll wnderftand in fyk degree,
 To gare the leif of thyne *amouris*.
 1904 Youcht, gret riches, & gret *honouris*
 Be lyk for to mak the *latinge*
 To bring to purpos thin *etlinge*.
 Fore manly men, worthy and wyf,
 1908 May vyne honore, riches & price
 That may thaim weill to purpos bringe, 1060
 And gar *entchew* of thi *lufing*.
 Bot gyf thyne *amouris* be to the
- Serve thy lord
 always the same,
 till thou hast left
 him.
- Rumour spares
 lords.
- [Fol. 26.]
- Beware of falling
 in love ;
- consult reason
 and hope.
- 1048 If reason and
 hope oppose
 thee, give up thy
 love.
- Yet give not up
 all love.
- Give up thy
 loved one if she

be too near of
kin : or if she be
wedded,

wait not for her
husband's death.

The best thing is
to leave off at
once, before her
charms over-
[Fol. 26b.]
come thee, and
thou find it

hard to escape.

Consult reason
and good hope.

- 1912 To nere of kyne or alye :
Or gyf scho be vedit *with* man, 1064
Say to gud hop and refone than ;
Gyf thai twa frendis can *nocht* find,
1916 That scho may fyk a band wnynd ;
I pray thee, reul the as thai red, 1068
And *nocht* abyd that manis ded.
Quha wyll abyd, and be *nocht* bet
1920 Quhill ded haf done *his* certan det,
Is feldin lord of his delyte, 1072
Bot tynis tyme, es and *profyt*.
The best remed of al sic thing,
1924 War to lef of þe bygynyng,
Befor that ficht *supprifit* bee 1076
Of swet *seruice* and gret bewtee,
With gud *continans* of gud havinge,
1928 With faire sembland of Suet lufinge,
With *cumlynes* of coloure clere, 1080
With blythnes of hir lauchand chere,
With farandnes of fair *fassone*,
1932 With plesandnes of *perfy*t *perfone*,
Sice ar the *perellus merouris* 1084
Entifand *zonge men* til *amouris*,
The *ofter* that *men* luk *thaim* in
1936 The were away fra *thaim* thai vyne.
Fore-thi, my sone, do as I fay ; 1088
And it *sal* lyk the, dare I lay.
Ore þow luk oft in fyk *meroure*,
1940 Tak refone to thi *consuloure*,
And gud hop, as I *faid* the ere, 1092
And *pres* to do as thai the lere.
With luf is *langfum* lyf to led
1944 Quhar thai twa can *nocht* help na *sped*.
Syk luf vanhop wyll were away, 1096
And wantone wyll *sal* tyne the pray.
Tak gud kep al wais to this pafe ;

- 1948 Fore here ar vrytin, in lytill space,
Sum thing^{is} that may help & fped,
To know the cours of thi ȝouthed :
And of the mydys, and of thin eild,
- 1952 As þow has feld, and mar fal feild.
Sum tymis at the princypall
Of eild, as the I rekin fall,
Ilkan of thaim haþ fere ȝarnyng^{is},
- 1956 And fere entent, and fere etlyng^{is} ;
Sa is our tyme vnstable here,
And led *with* mony fantefeis fere,
That chang^{is} ay condicione
- 1960 To thar fypmill perfeccioune.
The formeſt of thire eild^{is} fere
I ſet *within* the fyrſt thre ȝere.
Than buſk^{is} child to ſpek ore ga,
- 1964 And to wyt quhat is na & ȝa,
Sa lang can noch^t ell^{is} cheld think
Bot one the met, and one the drink,
On noryþ, and on flep, thai thre ;
- 1968 Syk is the formeſt *propyrt*ee,
Ryech^t as a beſt child can no mare,
Bot lauch ore gret for Joy & care,
Na beſt has thai twa properteis
- 1972 Bot feid of mankind, as þow feis.
This eild has kind of grovin thing,
And as beſt it havis feilinge.
- 1976 **T**he toþer eild, I wnderftand,
Is fra thre ȝer to vij leftand.
Sa lang havis child wyl alwaye
With flour^{is} for to ȝap and playe ;
With ſtik^{is}, and *with* ſpalys ſmall,
- 1980 To byge vp chalm^{er}, ſpens & hall ;
To mak a wicht horþ of a wand ;
Of brokin breid a ſchip ſaland ;
A bunwed tyll a burly ſpere ;
- 1100 Attend to what
is here written.
- 1104 Each age has its
various desires
and pursuits.
- 1108
- 1112 The *first* age up
to three years
old,
- 1116 [Fol. 27.]
when the child
thinks only of
food and sleep.
- 1120 laughing and
crying,
- 1124
- The *second* age
is from the 3rd
to the 7th years.
- 1128 The child plays
at building
houses,
- 1132 and making
ships,

- and decking it-
self with flowers.
- 1984 And of a feg a fwerd of were ;
A cumly lady of a clout ; 1136
And be *rycht* befy thar about
To dicht It fetesly *with flouris*,
- This age is inno-
cent, and neither
the best nor the
worst.
- 1988 And luf the pepane *paramouris* :
And be fyk vantone *vyrk* weill 1140
Thi dayly dawark is done ilk deill.
This eild is *lycht* and Innocent,
- 1992 Suppos It want gud Jugment :
For-thi I blef it *nocht* as best, 1144
Na jit I wary it *nocht* as verft.
It growis vp as gerß, or tree,
- 1996 And as a beft may feil & fee.
Ekand the thrid condifeioun 1148
þow fal confauf It as refone.
- The *third* age is
from the 7th to
the 15th year.
- 2000 **T**he thrid eild, *after myn entent*,
As fra vij quhill xv be vente ;
Than *springis* *rutis* of refone 1152
That beris the froyt difereffione.
Bot thai ryp *nocht* fa haftely :
- Then springs up
reason,
- most perfect after
the 30th year ;
- 2004 Quhen thretty þer ar paffit by,
Than cum thai to *perfeccione*, 1156
Baith refone and *discreccione*,
And bringis *furcht* gud Jugment,
- [Fol. 27b.]
- 2008 Tyll ordan weil of thar affent ;
Gif ony grace be grantyt thare 1160
Fore gud difert, as I faid are.
For, wyt þow weill, for out that thinge
- without this
grace, even em-
perors and kings
- 2012 That nothire emperour, na king,
Na *knycht*, na clerk of na degre, 1164
Than he fal oft anoyt bee,
And fchame or fcaith have til *his parte* ;
- shall have shame
and loss,
- 2016 And fum of his, thar *afterwarte*,
Sal dere aby, and fay “ allace ! 1168
We wat *nocht* quhy vs vantis *grace* ;”
Fore vnderftandinge haf thai *nocht*,
- and their succes-
sors, for want of
it,

- 2020 Na can *nocht* dem, na have in *thocht*
 Thar for-bear's werk na deid; 1172
 Na can *nocht* weil *thaim* felwyn led : cannot rule even
 Bot infortune *thaim* in grewys. themselves, but
 blame God, who
- 2024 Thai *lay* god wrangvyfly to *thaim* *prewys*,
 Aud *wnderstandis* *nocht* that he 1176
Confideris cauß, and qualytee
 Of al thing *sal* be and was :
- 2028 As gud *disfert* *which*, or *trespas*,
 Have revard or *pwnysfione* : 1180 grants it accord-
 And that is his *perfeccione*. ing to men's de-
 The first *movar* *withoutin* dout serts,
- 2032 Sa *evynly* *ledis* al about,
 That *with* a balance *batht* *haldis* hee 1184 which he weighs
 To wey *baith* *cauß* and *qualytee*, as in a balance,
 As gud *disfert* *wyll* thar to lay,
- 2036 Or *trespas* *wyll* tak away,
 Als *veill* a *kynryk* as a *croft* 1188 high and low
Beis in thar *balans* laid on *loft* : alike.
 For *wyt* *þow* weil, he *fittis* *heich*,
- 2040 And has a *balans* larg and *dreich*,
 That weil may *harvry* al at *anis*, 1192
Baith *vind* and *watter*, *erd* & *stanis* :
 All *haß* he *turnand* one a *pync*
- 2044 As *hyme* *lyft* *luf* and *deil* in *twyne*.
 Than, think me, *men* *fuld* be *rycht* *laith* 1196 Men should be
 To *greif* *hyme*, and to mak *hym* *vraith*, loath to grieve
 That honor, es, or *posseffione*, [Fol. 28.]
 Him, who can
 give or take
 away all honours
 and wealth.
- 2048 Throw *loue*, ore *grace*, ore throw *renown*,
 In til his hand has *hyngand* ay 1200
 To *gyf*, ore *len*, or tak away.
Cauß *quhy* I *spek* *sa* *mekle* here
- 2052 Off gud *disfert*, I *wyll* *þow* *lere*.
 In this *cild* that *spek's* her to 1204 Why I speak of
 good deserts.
 The thing that ilke man *fuld* do ;
 His *befynes* in that *seffone*,

In this age the
roots of reason
should be care-
fully tended,

as she tells us the
difference be-
tween things.

What to do and
what to avoid.

[Fol. 28b.]

Do nothing
against her
wishes.

She is now, how-
ever, young and
weak, and does
not prevent play-
ing at ball,

- 2056 Quhen *rutis springis* of *refone*,
That *thai* be *kepit fare & clen*, 1208
And *tenderly* always *meyne*,
That *refone geyrne* *vas to al men*
- 2060 To *gare vs vnderstand* and *ken*
Quhat is *wertew*, & quhat is *vyce*; 1212
And quha is full, and quha is *vyß*;
Quhar-for men *fuld have gud pardone*,
- 2064 And quharfor *Ill pwniffionne*;
Quhat is *soure*, and quhat is *fwet*; 1216
Quhat is *all fytand*, and quhat is *met*;
Quhat *thinge* is *foull*, and quhat is *fare*;
- 2068 Quhat may *help*, and quhat may *pare*;
With mekle *mare* than I can *say*, 1220
Dame *refone bringis with* *hir ay*.
Quharfor *fcho fuld be rycht welcum*,
- 2072 Scho and *hire branchis*, *al & fum*,
And *nan* with *wyce defoulyt bee*, 1224
Sen *fcho* can *al perfaue* and *fee*
The *stat* of *wyt* and of *wertew*,
- 2076 Quhat to *do*, and quhat *enschew*.
And *god*, that *ordanyt hire feruande* 1228
To *man and woman* here *growand*,
Quha *wyrkis nocht* at *hir dewyce*
- 2080 Efter *hir entent hym self pwnys*.
Be *ware*, my *sone*, fra *þow hire knaw*, 1232
Honore *hire*, and *stand [in]* *gret aw*
To *wyrk aganis hire entent*;
- 2084 Or *ellis rychtwyß Jugment*
Wyll *pwnyß the for thi trespass*, 1236
Hir *tyll allith* and *clyand was*.
Bot now *youcht ȝouthed in his eild*
- 2088 Sa *wrangwyßly hir werkis weld*;
For *refone* than is *ȝong & wak*, 1240
And may *nocht lat that eild to laik*,
Now at the *lwm*, now at the *kill*,

- 2092 Now at the prop, and vthir quhill
 Ryne at baris, and at the ball, 1244
 And at the caich play *with* all,
 Now at the tablis, now at the ches, and chess,
- 2096 Weill oft and feldin at the mes,
 And mekle *with* playing at the dyce, 1248 and dice, which
 That werk *þ*hit hald I maift wnwyrß : is worst of all
 For thar is aithis fet at nocht, games.
- 2100 And infortone to mekil foeht,
 In tyll entent of cowatice, 1252
 That is moder of ilk wyce.
 My fone, Set *nocht* thi happynes, Give not thyself
 to this,
- 2104 In na fyk plays, mar na les :
 And *þ*hit I may the *nocht* for-bed 1256
 Fra fyk as thir in thi *þ*outhed.
 Bot, gud fone, think ay vertwily
- 2108 To leif, and *nocht* fyk plays by :
 Bot *feh*ap to ber fum gud *feiens*, 1260 but get know-
 Ma help the to vphald thi *spens*, ledge.
 In eild and tribulacioune ;
- 2112 Quhen tyme of *vynynge* turnys down.
 This eild is thowles and wnwwere, 1264
 And *þarnis* play, and al *blycht* chere,
 And *fettis* trawall oft at *nocht* ; This age values
 not industry.
- 2116 Quhen play may halcely *ef þer thocht*.
 It louis weill to leif be wyl, 1268
 And callis *refone* oft vnkil ;
 It can *nocht* be *refrenþhit* weill, [Fol. 29.]
- 2120 Quhen It is wod, and wraith fum deill.
The ferd eild gyf þow lykis to know, 1272 The *fourth* age
 is from the 15th
 to the 30th year.
 Efter as I can, I fal the *feh*aw.
 Fra xv *þer* be pallit by
- 2124 It leftis weill til ful thretty,
 And growis bewtee & bountee, 1276
 And firenth of body and qualitee :
 & bewte, gyf I futh fal fay, Its personal
 strength and
 beauty,

- 2128 Is fyrft in place and fyrft away,
Fore failzeand fcho fallis downe 1280
Befor fcho met with full refone.
Fore-thi thar wnderftanding falzeis,
- 2132 Quhen fubtilyte hire oucht affalzeis.
Fore fcho is zong, and tendir baith, 1284
And can noch weill encheu the fcaith,
Na anfuer weil to argwment ;
- 2136 And be fcho trawalyt, fcho is fchent.
Thir women kind hir lous maft, 1288
And fpendis mekle gud in waift,
To have loving of hir that faire ;
- 2140 And fum tendis to be hir aire,
And bring hir fredome in hire tetyll, 1292
And haf na rycht ore ellis lytill :
And fum, for dout that thar be playnt,
- 2144 Wyll preß þaim prewaly to paynt :
Bot quha fa wyrkis that trefone 1296
Beis noch hir air, for gud refone :
For bewte cumys of propre kind,
- 2148 And payntit al of vthir ftrind.
Sen bewte may noch duel alway, 1300
Be fykire of bownte gyf þ^a may.
Be fcho weill tretit, as I trow,
- 2152 Scho wyll left as lang as þow.
And efter þit at þ^a be ded, 1304
Scho wyll be leftand in thi fted,
And do the fome preſent agan :
- [Fol. 29b.] 2156 Than, think me, þ^a fuld do the pan
Tyll hawe of bownte gret delyte ; 1308
That ilke wyce havis na deſpyte.
The aire of bounte is honore,
- 2160 That langer wyll thane life endure.
Gyf þow wyll wyt quhat is bounte,¹ 1312
Or quhar-of is his qualitee :
- ¹ In the margin is Nota of bwnte.

most admired by
women.

Some paint them-
selves, but real
beauty is
genuine.

Make sure of
goodness,

whose heir is
honour,

- Scho is gudnes fore-outin wyce
- 2164 That fore na gold wald tyne *hir price*.
 Sic frendys as scho *pryncypall* 1316
 Tyll hald hire vp, quhill thai ar haille,
 And gud kyndneß, fair honeste,
 2168 Suet hamlynes, & clen lawte,
 Ewyne *rychtwiines* in Jugment, 1320
 And vmquhill *mercyfull* entent,
 Metly mefwre withe manhed ;
 2172 To fyk as thir, my sone, tak hed.
 For thai ar frendis that bounte 1324
 Havis ay delyt vp-one to See,
 And ay ar maist in hir presens,
 2176 And stand fore hir, and mak defens.
 Quha hurtis thaim *with* ony wyce, 1328
 Thai tak fra bounte of hir *price*.
 Suppos fyk *part* amendyt bee,
 2180 Thar wyll remayne sum vem to fe
 Efter, as the hurt is les ore mare. 1332
 Fore-thi, my sone, do thaim na faire :
 Quha thaim engrevys, in ony thinge,
 2184 He dois to bounte defowlinge.
 And at this tyme of xv ȝere, 1336
 The tyme of bounte *cummys* nere ;
 For than may þow baith gang & ryd,
 2188 And ȝhit begyne to laik befyde,
 And wyrk fyk *werkis* as a mane : 1340
 Men wyll luk to thi bounte than,
 And als sone by thi *werkis* know
 2192 Quheþer þow to wyce or vertew draw.
 Fore þow art best havand refone, 1344 [Fol. 30.]
 And tyme is thane of dyuifione;
 That is to say, to mak vnyunge
 2196 Be twex vertwis and vicious thing.
 And fre wyll ek is grantit the, 1348
 As ȝe think to lifand bee.

and her friends,
kindness, hon-
esty, etc.,

are most with
her,

therefore hurt
them not.

At this age thou
wilt show
whether thou art
inclined to vice
or virtue.

- Bot kindly inclynacionne
- 2200 Ore vengans *pervert* thi refone,
And *zarnfull* prayar and *sciens* 1352
Agan *thaim* baith may mak defens.
As *areftotyll* and *ypocras*
- 2204 Has vyting in *fyk fymbly* caß,
And *profettis*, in thar *profesy*, 1356
Says prayar *ledis* vengans by,
That *sciens* and *perfeccione*
- 2208 May for do *disposiounne*;
Quhen hart and *wyll & gret zarnyng* 1360
Wyll pray to god to grant *sice* thing.
Fore *gret zarnyng* of gud prayar,
- 2212 Quhar *consciens* was hail & clere,
zed neuer away, but grant of grace, 1364
Sen *mekil* gud *fyrst* *movar* was.
For-thi, my sone, *gyf þow* be *wyß*,
- 2216 þow mone *forbere* *gret couatyce*,
Sen It for-*dois* *perfy*t *sciens*, 1368
And gud prayere, and *consciens*,
And *blindis* hart, *wyll & thocht*,
- 2220 That thai to *Refone* *se rycht nocht*.
Bot as the *Swetnes* of *vyunnyng* 1372
May *maist* *empleß* to þar *zarnynge*,
And *noþer* *schaith*, *schame* na *ded*,
- 2224 Agan *fyk zarnyng* may tak *sted*,
Bot ay the *eldar* that þow *bee*, 1376
The *mar* the *vyce* *encouerys* the,
And *makis* the bot a *kepar* *knawin*,
- 2228 Quhar þow *suld* lord be of thin *awin*.
And quhen þow *zarnis* al to have, 1380
Than *beis* þow *left* and all the *lave*.
In this *cild*, I *fay* to thee,
- 2252 Growis of body and *quantite*,
And *blud* *haboundand* is in *licht*, 1384
And *wyrkis* *wyll* to worth *sa wycht*;
- Prayer leads vengeance by.
- Beware of covetousness,
- which increases with age.
- [Fol. 30b.]

- That gudlynes, in that refone,
2236 And wyt and *rycht*, ewyne refone, Reason is some-
Beis al fore-ȝet in the ſum quhill. 1388 times forgotten,
Than ſtand*is* þow in gret *perell*,
& nan may help the in the caß,
2240 Bot gud diſferte, that ſter*is* *grace*.
For gud diſfert, before paſande, 1392
Reſtren*is* *grace* to cum folowand.
Quharfor, my ſone, I ſay to thee,
2244 Quhill þow art in proſperrytee,
And nocht preſſit *with* gret *perell*, 1396
For dout infortone the begyll
Thar eſterwart, quhen þow has ned,
2248 And nane bot *grace* thane may the ſped,
Sen hail purpoß, & gret ȝarnyng, 1400
Can gud diſfert ay to the bring,
And gud diſfert, as I ſaid ere,
2252 Can procure grace, ay for to were
Thi part fra miſcheiſ, and fra dreid, 1404
And neuer wyll failȝe the at ned.
This eild is Joly, proud and gay,
2256 And louis weil ay new aray,
And ſett*is* nocht by tynfell gret 1408
Bot think*is* ay mar to get :
And fore *perell* is nocht ful rad,
2260 Thocht It be ſumquhill nakyt ſtad.
The fyfte eild, as I can declare, 1412
Fra fully xxx to fyfty ȝere. The *fyfth* age is
Than ringis the perfeccioune from the 30th to
the 50th year, in
which ſhould be
the perfection of
reaſon,
2264 Of reſone and diſcreccioune,
That maiſt can of gud Jugment, 1416
Gyf *grace* be procuryt of aſſent,
Be ſcho nocht ſwa, thar beis a lat,
2268 And Jugment beis al forȝet, [Fol. 31.]
And vilfulnes and myſknewleg 1420
Ay wodly weildand, in a rage,

or else time is
misused.

Love God and
love thy neigh-
bour.

This age is some-
times filled with
envy,

- And waitis wyning al away,
2272 And lattis our-dryf, fra day to day.
Syk tyme is raklesly our-rwn, 1424 ✱
And eild our-gan, na *grace* begwn.
For, as I ere said, in a part,
2276 Grace will *nocht* be, but gud differt;
And gud differt will *nocht* vpspring, 1428
But hail purpos and gret *zarnynge*
Of godis help, that *zarnis* all,
2280 That was and is & for to fall.
Fore quhen god makis *men* alard 1432
He *zarnys nocht* tyll his reward,
And leif *nocht* refone wil at *rycht*,
2284 And luf and dout his mekle *mycht*,
And loue his *nychtbour* bot as he 1436
Wald *wilk* his *nychtbour* louit be.
And thai tway thingis *certainly*
2288 Ar hail the law and *profesy*.
Bot gret farly have I in *thocht*, 1440
That quhen *zouthed* to eild is *brocht*,
And tyme is cumyne, of al refone,
2292 Suld be of ful perfeccione,
I fe to few have gret delyt, 1444
To know *wertew*, ore be *perfy*t,
And eild, that fuld reprof & plenze,
2296 And pres al *wycis* to refrenze,
Wmquhill is twrnyt *wilk* inwy, 1448
And wmquhill led *wilk* lichory,
Wmquhill sa blynd, or couatice,
2300 Eild can *nocht* fe to rapref *wyce*.
Quhat ferly is than at *fyk* men, 1452
That eild may *nohir* help, na ken,
Wnhappely thar tyme our-dryf
2304 That *nohir* auld na *zong* *wyl* thrif?
Suppos thai be deelynand down 1456
And *fautis* of perfeccionne,

- Thai wyl *nocht* knaw, na haf in mynde,
 2308 Thar vrechit failþeand fenþit kynd ;
 Bot leif *furcht* as the best*is* wyld,
 Till courþ of eild have thaim begylyt.
 Syk men thar trefpas lewis *nocht*,
 2312 Bot It lef thaim, quhen thai na mocht.
 As I fal þit enfampil schaw
 Of fere men levand as I knaw.
 Bot þow fal *nocht* in speciall
 2316 Wyt quhome of that I tell my tail,
 Na war cald of discreccione,
 And falþeid of *perfeccione* ;
 For ay the vyfar that thai war,
 2320 Thar gudlynes suld be the mare.
 And ay the gretar fenþory
 Suld leid thar stat mar mesour by ;
 And gif that it war realtee,
 2324 Of al thing *rycht*wyþ suld it bee.
 For mekil god, the first mwar,
 Has hordand al thing, leþ & mare,
 And gudlynes, and evyne mesur,
 2328 And *rycht*wyfnes weil til endur.
 Bot now is ilkan, of thir thre,
 Misgouernyt in thar degree.
 For wyt is twrnyt in mail engyne,
 2332 And falsat *turnyt* in quantite fyne,
 And gudlynes Is al forþet,
 And malice portar at the þet,
 And gret lordschip and fenþory,
 2336 Is hail ourtan *with* tyrandry,
 That ay *with* mesur is at fed
 And fosteris felony in his sted,
 That louit neuer his lord a last
 2340 Bot he ware tyrand at the maist.
 And realte, that suld haf na peire,
 And king*is* now of land*is* feire,

[Fol. 31b.]

1460 and acts like the
beasts.

1464

1468

The wiser men
are, the more
godly should they
be ;

1472

1476

1480

1484 but men forget
all godliness,

1488

1492

and right and
law are asleep.

[Fol. 32.]

David tells us of

the wicked man,

whom God will
destroy, and the
good shall say
of him,

"This man
trusted not in
God."

Such a man was
Mortimer,

and there are
others such,

- Ryght as thai luf, or as thai dem,
2344 Ourtyrwand baith thai haf to zem.
Sa ryght and law is laid to fleip. 1496
Wyll thar na king to thaim ta kep?
Quha wyl ta gud kep to thar end,
2348 That thus wyll al thar lyf dispend?
þow fal fynd futh, in fanct dawy, 1500
Said in his buk in prophefy,
Quhy has þow Joy and mavyte,
2352 Man mychty in iniquite?
Al day fpak thar twng vnrycht, 1504
As scharp rafour þow dyd ill flycht,
þow lufyt malice atour gudnes,
2356 Wykitnes to spek, mar than evynes.
þow lufyt al wordys to gar men fall, 1508
With wyful twng, for-thi god fall
Distroy the our ryght to the end,
2360 And the out of his houß defend,
That na man fal thi rutis ken 1512
In to the land of levand men.
Gud men fal fe, and dout al way,
2364 And at hyme fuin thai lach & fay:
"Se þone man the quhilk wald noch 1516
Put godis help in to his thoct,
Bot traiftit hail in his riches,
2368 And neuer of vanite wald seß."
This was the superferiptione 1520
One mortymar was wrytin doune,
Quhen he was ded, vpon his graif
2372 Thir wordis ware his ypitaf:
In laiting twng, quha lykit luk, 1524
May find thaim in the falter buk:
In dout that fyk, and war than he,
2376 Amang our lardis levand bee.
Tharfor thar propre acciounne, 1528
With al thar procuraciounne,

- Wyll befy thaim, and gyf na taill,
 2380 Tyll hurt the comon profyt haill,
 And rakis nocht, thocht al war schent, 1532
 Bot thai mycht cum to thar entent.
 That wald haf gret pwniscioune, [Fol. 32b.]
- 2384 For It is wer than is trefone.
 Bot thai can couer so subtilly, 1536
 That few can weil persaif thar by
 The gret mischeif that is to fall, though few perceive the harm they do.
- 2388 To scaith the comon profyt all.
 Sum oper fellow men zit ar 1540
 That gyf a man had don hym fare,
 Lauchful or evyne pwniscioune Others are full of revenge,
- 2392 May thaim assith be na refone,
 Bot lyf and lordschip and lynag 1544
 War hail our-done with gret outrag;
 Sice men excedis in doing
- 2396 The courtois of goddis pwnisfing,
 And wald be gretar lord than hee. 1548
 How hapis of fyk men, now see,
 That wyll punys our mesure,
- 2400 That simplare fore thar gret erour,
 Outhir thai are yar's with gret pan 1552
 Sal as thai met refauf agan, who shall be punished as they have punished others.
 And be fordone out of memore,
- 2404 As thai wald have done before.
 Quhai wyll tak gud kep to this taill, 1556
 Has sen fal thus and efter fall.
 To that say I no forthir now,
- 2408 My wordis wyll nocht sum men trow :
 Bot quhay sa leffis, efterwart 1560
 Sall fynd to wytne weil my part;
 This eild can trawail best endure, This age endures toil best, and is pleasant.
- 2412 And wyne worship, and gret honore ;
 May nothir auld na yonge It blame, 1564
 Bot gyf thai do thaim felwyn scham.

[Fol. 33.]

The *sixth* age is
from the 50th to
the 70th, or 80th
year, in some
cases ;

God gives pros-
perity to some,
poverty to
others,

and changes all
things according
to his will,

- For It has part of gud ȝouthed,
2416 And of gret eild It havis na dreid ;
Thai thretty ȝer are to comende, 1568
Fore thai ar gud at athir ende.
The sext eild as I can ken,
2420 T Fra fyfty to thre ſcor and ten,
Ore to four ſcor of ȝeris fully, 1572
Leftis in men of kind mychty.
Bot now thar hapnis few of thai,
2424 Complexione ar failȝeand fay,
With tyme al thing mone were & wan, 1576
Bot goddis mycht and god allan.
Gyf god ordanit ilke thinge,
2428 For to endur for-out failȝeing,
Quhat wald men fay of fice a caſt ? 1580
Sum men mycht argew atte laſt,
And pruf with reſone his entent,
2432 Than war nocht god that kind has lent
To ſum lynage ay nobilitē 1584
And worſchip and proſperyte,
To ſum vthir powert al wayis,
2436 Neid and miſcheif in al thar days,
Al thire ar lyk tyll vthire ay, 1588
And ſtandis in a ſtate al waye,
Al vthir thing in a degre,
2440 And in a ſtat of qualytee,
But changinge of conditioune, 1592
Sa ware thar far conclufioun
To ſay that mekle god nocht ware,
2444 But courß of kind ware al movare.
It is nocht ſwa, luk now my ſkill ; 1596
Al thing changis at the wyll
Of mekle god, the firſt movare,
2448 And eſter as the cauſ ware.
For ſen with his perfeccioun,
He ekis wp or twrnys downe, 1600

- And changis tyme an wodus baith,
 2452 Sum men to profyt, and sum to scaith,
 Quhilys peß and prosperyte, 1604
 Quhilys weir and gret infyrmyte
 Of puple with gret pestelens,
 2456 Agains kind and al sciens ; [Fol. 33b.]
 Our tyrfand kindly cours ilk day : 1608
 Quharfore it profytis weil al way,
 That god wyll nocht he be forȝet, and will not be forgotten.
 2460 With thaim that suld hyme ken of det,
 As he thaim feis of bountee, 1612
 He wyll thai knaw his maieſte,
 To trow and ken hyme for thare lord,
 2464 To punys ore to mak rewarde,
 Bot ȝhit for al that he can do, 1616
 I ſe rycht few tak kep thar to,
 Als weil thir men of eldar ſtate, Few, whether young or old, remember this.
 2468 As childer that ar ȝong and hate,
 Miſteris of ſciens gret and wys, 1620
 And lordys baith, for couatiſe
 Ar blindyt ſa thai can nocht ſee,
 2472 With warldly corruppit qualytee,
 That failȝeis fautly ilke day, 1624
 And vanis vrechitly away.
 Quhen men has leuit an hundereth ȝer,
 2476 Thaim think it bot a dremynge here, A hundred years are but as a dream.
 And thai have ſen in a wyſiounne : 1628
 Lo here ſympyll perfecciounne
 That entris firſt with miſknewlege
 2480 Of ȝouthed, wedand in a rage,
 And ſyne with couatiſe blynd. 1632
 And at the laſt can na thing fynd
 That is perfyt of propertee,
 2484 Bot endis rycht as vanytee.
 This eild that paſſis fyfty ȝer 1636 This age is ſtable
 Is ſtable, couatus and ſwere, covetous,

- Bot gyf that kindly properte
 2488 Trespas and ere in that degre,
 And fuld be wyß in a dyßpens 1640
 And tender of gud consciens,
 For he wat *nocht* how lang to leif
 and few pass out of it,
 2492 Fra that god fyk tyme to hym gyf.
 Gyf ane fyk eild passis at-oure, 1644
 Comonly thar faylzeis four.
 For-thi the prophet, faint dawy,
 2496 Sais in the psalter graciously,
 That halynes in eild fuld bee, 1648
 Be kindly manis proprettee.
 For eild fuld haf *perfeccionne*,
 David says old men should be holy,
 2500 To know and mak diuifione,
 Betwen *trespas* and gudlynes. 1652
 For-thi fuld eild loue halynes,
 And haill declyne a proprettee,
 2504 Gyf It wald think haly to bee,
 That is to fay, gret couatice, 1656
 That baith encumbrice ful & wyce :
 Bot quhar a man fettis his entent
 Such should eschew covetousness.
 2508 Thar maift thar hart and wyll is lent ;
 Quhar euer a man's trefoure ware, 1660
 The wangell sais his hart is thar.
 This eild fuld stable be alway,
 2512 And lovis ernyft mar than play,
 And *rycht* zarnfull for to wyne gud, 1664
 And wyll for tynfell ga ner wood.
 It lwis furryt claithis wyde,
 2516 And has dispyt at cost, and pryd ;
 It zarnis gretly the assent 1668
 Of confail and awayfment.
 The *sevynt* eild that I rakin last,
 2520 **T** Fra that fourscore of *zeris* be past,
 Al kind away is worne fa ner 1672
 Has lytill es of lyking here,

- That fuld haf lyking es or play
2524 For wneß gange ore ster he may. and has little pleasure;
The ryg is growin al of lenth, 1676
And lymys al has tynt thar lenth,
That cumrtyly thai cruk al doune
2528 And falßeis al perfeccionne
Of wyt, and strenth, of hyd & hew, 1680
That neuer may be restoryt new. [Fol. 34b.]
It cheuerys as it war for cheill,
2532 And plenßeys, for default of heill.
And quhill haß appetyt and wyll 1684
As fallis wantone childyr tyll. and resembles childhood;
It changis kindly cours twrnand
2536 To latis jong & wneunand,
And forþetful alfua, and lycht, 1688
In thingis that it gart do or dycht,
Bot as a child fuld knaw ore hawe
2540 It wat na mare of al the laife, remembers no-thing,
That It has hard, baith feld & fen, 1692
It failßeis memore one to men.
þit is it wer of *condiscioune*
2544 Than þouthed, fore It haldis doune,
And worthis waikar ilke day, 1696
Quhar þouthed growis wp al way. is worse than youth, for it improves not.
Albert, the subtyll clerk and wyß, Albert, who wrote
2548 That in his tyme feruit gret price,
And honestly, in gud maner, 1700
Declaryt propreteis feir,
How kind dois man and best to bee,
2552 And fyseh and foull, in thar degree,
Thar findrynes of condiffioune, 1704
Throw his subtyll perfeccioune, so wisely on Natural History,
In tyll his tyme he opnit out
2556 þat war unknowing & to dowl,
And left findry *experimentis*, 1708
þat prove; weil fucht his ententis,

- þat ariftotil in til his days,
 2560 Na plato twichet, be na wais, 1712
 ʒet þai war wifar fere þan he,
 Schuld his part ʒhit *commendit* be.
 in his old age þan ʒhit þis eilde, I ſpak of eire,
 2564 Did him forʒhet him ſelf ſo neire, [Fol. 35.] 1716
 Quhen his diſciple had him ſchaving
 Syndry doctrynyʒ of his awn,
 He wiſt richtnocht quhat ſuld be doin,
 had forgotten all 2568 Bot as a child wald greit al ſoin, 1720
 his knowledge.
 And corth anſuer at na reſoun,
 Na wit quhat wes þar queſtioun.
 Old age þis eild is wnfair of faſſoun,
 2572 And failʒes of perfectioun, 1724
 Off ſeymlynes of hyd & hair,
 þat euer may be reſtoryd mair.
 Beand of wer condicioun,
 2576 It is forʒhet diſcrecioun : 1728
 And as of Child of ʒhong maner,
 Wil change fantaſiis feire,
 For lytil blythe, for lytil wraith,
 2580 For lytil leiſ, for lytil laith ; 1732
 Fra tyme haif woirn awaye reſoun,
 Sik is of eild conclufioun,
 As gryt ʒovthed has na knaving,
 2584 Richt ſa gret eild has tynt þat thing, 1736
 That it eir knev, quhat is þer þan,
 Lyvand by kynd, of ony man ?
 Richt nocht, bot gud recorde or evil,
 2588 As he determinit in his will, 1740
 Or in his deid, or þan *in* baith,
 Quheþer it proffit war, or ſkaith.
 Bot geve he fet him in al thing,
 2592 To be werteus in his liſſing, 1744
 It is to deme þat he nicht empleſe
 Til wertu and to gudlineſſe.

- And for þe gud of richt riches¹ Virtuous men
enjoy life,
- 2596 On to wiſe men rewardit be, 1748
For lyf in Joie ſal ſie as he,
Baith in his tyme and efterwart.
Bot quha ſa cheffþ nocht that part,
- 2600 And wyciouſly, quhill he is here, [Fol. 35b.]
Diſpendis furtʰt ſyk werkis fere, but vicious men
Rycht of diſeþ al thing mone have ; have annoyance,
For thoct, and will, and al the laiſ 1752
- 2604 Of his ſpreitis ar ſet to bee 1756
In anger and perplexitee,
To bring to purpoſ ill ʒarnynge,
In al the tyme of his levinge.
- 2608 Of angre and ire fulfyllyt is, 1760
Sa ſal he here have lytil blis : and little plea-
And efterwart pwniſcionne, ſure, with pun-
Ffor he diſpendyt his reſone iſhment after-
ward for miſuſed
ability.
- 2612 In wycis agan kindly ſkill 1764
That mone be pwniſt, at his wyll
That lord is our al kindly thinge,
And ordand thaim in thar doinge
- 2616 For gud deid fuld revardyþ bee, 1768
And pwniſt for iniquitee. Without reward
And þocht thar war noþer hell nor hewyne,
ʒit this opvnyone haldis cwyne
- 2620 All the philoſophuris, leþ and mare, 1772
That to be wertewis better it ware men ſhould be
Than viciouſ in ony thinge. virtuous.
For fyrſt wertew of al moving,
- 2624 That ſterys kind in al degre, 1776
Wyll ay reward al gud bounte,
And punyþ wyce be ſumkyne way,
þocht ilke man it ken ne may :
- 2628 For nane may knaw, na wyt, na fynd, 1780
The fyndrynes of courþ and kind.

¹ Apparently from the rhymes a line is lost, though there is no space left in the MS.

Believe the wisest
men,

[Fol. 36.]

who say that
virtue is better
than vice ;

as all possessing
reason should
remember.

The treatise now
is ended,

which well de-
clares what men
should know.

May he, who
wrote it,

come to the bliss
of heaven.

- For-thi trow to the vifest men
Of sciens, that couth tech and ken,
2632 As virgyll, plato, socratas,
Ypocras, arastoteles, 1784
And alfua salamone the wys,
Al thir *determinys* one a wyß,
2636 With vthir may than I can say,
That better is to be vertwiß ay 1788
Than vnhoneft or viciouß.
For vertew is ay *pretiouß*,
2640 And wyß *corrumpt* is al way,
That nan may efter of it say, 1792
Bot *scath* and blam and wnfarnes.
Quharfor It fuld be lufyt les
2644 Than fuld *wertew* be courß of kind,
Than fuld al *bestis* have in mynd 1796
That kind has grantyt to knawinge
Be twene vertew and vicious thinge.
- 2648 Now pene, I pray the rest the here,
For now is endyt this matere ; 1800
The quhilk is ratis raving cald,
Bot for na raving I it hald ;
2652 Bot for *rycht* wys and gud teching,
And weill *declaris* syndry thinge, 1804
That is *rycht* nedfull for to knaw,
As the fentens It wyll schaw.
2656 And to gret god be the lovyng
Quhais graice has grantit this ending, 1808
And tyll his blis his faul mote bringe,
That *trawell* tuk of this treeting.
2660 And the vrytar, for his meid,
God grant hym euer weill to speid, 1812
And gyf hyme grace fa here to do,
The blys of hevyne that he cum to.
2664 Amen, etc.

(8.) "THE FOLY OF FULYS AND THE THEWIS
OF WYSMEN."

	SEN wysmen that be fore our dawis		[Fol. 36b.]
	Studyt in prophefy, and in lawis,		The men of old
	In fyndry fciens of clergeis,		studied pro-
2668	Cornykes, Romans, and storys,	4	phcey,
	Mayd diuerſ compilaciounys,		
	Eftyr thar inclinaciouns,		
	Sum of myraclys & halynes,		history,
2672	Sum of conquest and riches,	8	
	Sum of armys and honowris,		
	Sum of luf and paramouris,		
	Sum of luftis and of delyte,		
2676	Ilkane efter thar appetyte,	12	
	Fore to remayne efter thar dais,		romance, to teach
	To tech wn-letteryt folk al ways,		the ignorant ;
	For word, but writ, as vynd our-gais,		
2680	& efter that ſmal profet mais,	16	
	And wryt remains and prentis in hart,		
	To thaim that ſal cum efterwart.		
	Quharfor thir men, that has knowleg,		so men should
2684	Suld tech that ware of tender age.	20	do now ; for to
	For quha confelys wyſdome or wyt		hoard knowledge
	And nocht delitis to tech of It,		is worſe than to
	He fynnyſ mar exceedandly,		hoard gold ;
2688	And offendis god mar grewoſly,	24	
	Na for tyll hurd gret quantyte		
	Of gold, that neuer fundyne ſuld bee.		
	For we find, wrytin in prophefy,		
2692	That men ſuld preach, tech and cry,	28	
	Rapruſand erour, foly and wyce,		
	Lovand wyt, wertew and Juſtice.		

- For he gevis mar, at wertew schawis,
 2696 And techis god and manis lawis, 32
 Na to del gold in haboundans,
 To folke that ar of Ignorans.
 For vyfdome paffis all Riches,
 [Fol. 37.]
 since wisdom
 surpasses riches.
 2700 Als far as lycht paß myrknes, 36
 Or hevyne is na the erd mare hye,
 Na stan of wertew that may bee,
 And fuetar als, and of mare luft,
 2704 Than erdly thing that man may guft. 40
 And qubay-fa lykis wyfdome till heire,
 Dreid nocht thai mone be wyse, but veire ;
 Fore wyfdome luviss al at it lovis,
 Wisdom loves all
 that love it.
 2708 And fleiss fra thaim that It raprevis. 44
 Qwhay is of god delytiss hymne ay
 The word of god tyll heir alway.
 Quhay with wyfmen haldiss company,
 2712 Thai cum to wyfdome comonly. 48
 And quhay the romans lykiss to rede,
 Wyfdome fal folow, have na dreid.
 Men suld nocht weine at thare prudens
 Wise men do not
 invent new know-
 ledge,
 2716 Couth mak new wyfdome, nore sciens, 52
 Na mak new wyt, that neuer had ben
 Techit before our tyme and sene.
 Quhen men makiss bukiss, traift werraly
 2720 Thai do bot opnis the erde newly ; 56
 As lawboureriss dois, teland thar land,
 Quhilk lang before had ben Reftand.
 And nocht renewis, bot fyklyk corne
 2724 Thar cummys agane, as grew beforne. 60
 Sa dois maisteriss, that sciens techis,
 And clerkiss, that to the puple prechis,
 Our-feis thar bukiss, and takiss out fedis,
 they only restore
 it.
 2728 The word of god, quhilk faulys fedis. 64
 For man levis nocht al-anerly
 Of fwde of breid, bot spretualy
 Man lives not by
 bread alone,

- The faul be fed *with* teching ay ;
- 2732 For *rycht*wyß man levis one the fay. 68
 Wyt, but cheryte, mak*is* na sted,
 And faith, but gud deid, is bot ded.
 Quharfore men fuld do, as thai fay, [Fol. 37b.]
- 2736 That werk folow the word alway. 72
 Sa, be thar werk*is*, men may see,
 That gud fruyt cumys ay of gude tre.
 Fore al mankind is knawin, I wys,
 and the tree is known by its fruit.
- 2740 Be froyt that of hyme cumand Is. 76
 M*EN* knawis quha levis her vyßly,
 Be al the gift*is* of thar body,
 Thar luk, thar ferys, and thare paifß,
- 2744 The wyßdome blwmys in thare face, 80
 Thar hawing, and thare menteinyng
 Sett*is* thaim weill, in euer-ilk thinge ;
 The wise man is known by his countenance,
 In wyßmanis face the wyt flwrys,
- 2748 The mouth schawis wyßdome of the vyß, 84
 His lypis honorys fciens ay,
 With mychty spech, full of gud fay ;
 The wyßman venis he want*is* ay wyt,
- 2752 Suppos he have Ineuch of It. 88
 And he lous al men that hyme blamys,
 Swetly argowis, and nocht hyme fchamis.
 He lovis thaim weill, in al degree,
 argues kindly, and
- 2756 That correk*is* hyme in *prewatee*. 92
 He her*is* confaill radely,
 And al with confail dois glaidly.
 He sper*is* of wyßdome euer, and wyt,
- 2760 And euer his ere rady tyll It. 96
 He settis his wordys ay wyßly,
 And hald*is* hyme with gud cumpany.
 He gouernys euer with paciens,
 searches wisdom ; after
- 2764 And euer is of fair eloquens. 100
 Men knawis thaim be thar phifnomy,
 Quhar nocht apper*is* of felony,
 is eloquent,

	Nocht loud of lauchtyr amang men,	
	2768 Thar fmylyng scantly may men ken.	104
jocose,	Bot fyk a bourd may quhilum fall,	
	That al men lauch, baith gret & small.	
[Fol. 38.]	He is euer dreydand fore the Ill,	
	2772 He dois confaill, and levis his vyll,	108
sober,	He is euer fobyry, but exces,	
	He is weil content of his riches.	
not covetous,	He is nocht our cowatice of gud,	
	2776 Deligat, na liccorus of his fud.	112
	Bot efter as It may gudly bee,	
	In fobyryneß suetly takis hee.	
honours not men for their wealth,	He honoris na man for riches,	
	2780 For honore is nocht gevyne for claithis.	116
	Mén lufys nocht for the gyrthis the wyne,	
	Na full men of thar cleithinge fyne.	
	Thai ar benyng, ful of paciens,	
	2784 And takis thaim ay to thar defens;	120
hears gladly, speaks little,	Thai here gladly, and lytill spekis,	
	Laith for to crab and feldin wrekis.	
	With wykitnes, na subteltee,	
	2788 Na wrang wyllis, nocht delys hee.	124
	Thar god thai dreid euer wnder aw,	
	And euer is redy to do the law.	
	To goddis seruice þai are ay boune	
is no hypocrite,	2792 In mydlyng way of deuocioune.	128
	Nocht our oft creip the corß one kneis,	
	For in this warld oft tyme men seis	
	Syndry folk fyk manerys hald,	
	2796 That ypocrytis here are thai cald.	132
	Quharfor, tyll hald the mydlyng vay	
	Is best, as I hard wyfmen fay.	
	Wyfmen luvis na scornnyng,	
	2800 Thai hait learis at our al thinge.	136
	Fore god scornys euer the scornouris,	
	And to wyfmen dois ay honouris.	

- And fleichouris and fulys þai hate,
 hates fools,
 2804 Suppos thai be of gret eistate. 140
 Thai lufe na man, be day na nycht,
 and wrong-doers,
 That menteinys vrang agan the rycht.
 Thai mak na diffimelacioune,
 2808 Quhar cauþ is of pwnifcioune. 144 [Fol. 39b.]
 Of budis na bewfertis by thai nocht
 To flok Justice out of thare thocht;
 Thai have thare er euer to the rycht,
 2812 And euer thar mynd one god almycht. 148
 Thai desyr neuer na wrang conquest,
 covets not other
 One vthire menys erd to byg thare nest.
 men's goods,
 Bot owthir the parteis thai content,
 2816 Or governys thaim be Jugment. 152
 Thai luf al men that are rycht-wyce,
 Al thare delyt is in Justice.
 Thai luf nocht to mak of blak quhyt,
 makes not black
 2820 Mak gud man Ill, na Ill man qwyt. 156
 white,
 Quhen euer thai deme, thai knaw na face
 Bot doys Justice, efter the cas.
 Thai ruþ thaim nocht of done foly
 2824 Thai dyd in ȝouthed raklesly. 160
 is not proud of
 Na wanttis thaim nocht of thar gud deid,
 wrong, nor vain
 Fore, and thai do, thai tyne thar meid,
 of good deeds.
 Bot it war sampill for to gyff
 2828 Tyll vthir folk, weill fore to leif. 164
 keeps the law,
 The faith of god and law of man,
 Full weill prent It in hart thai can,
 As may suffice in generall,
 2832 Na wyt may comprehend al haill. 168
 Nocht our gret wordy, na our blait,
 Bot mes rd ferand that eistat.
 Wyfmen gud hour in spekin bidis,
 2836 And takis thar tyme, quhen It betydis. 172
 Thar ȝha is ȝhai, thar nay is nay,
 his yea is yea,
 Thai wyþ thaim weill, ore at thai fay.

	Thai wyll <i>nocht</i> lichtly mak a grant,	
	2840 Thai fet thare wyt thar wyll to dant.	176
	Thai ar <i>lordis</i> of thar awn cwrage,	
	And <i>haldis</i> thar lustis at serfage.	
	Abwne thare Ire and thar mocioune	
he checks his anger,	2844 Thai have hail domynacioune.	180
	With anys þha amend þ ^u may	
[Fol. 39.]	þocht þow a thousand tymis say nay.	
	Bot thai may <i>nocht</i> tyll domyfday	
	2848 Amend thar þhay thoct þai say nay.	184
and is full of charity,	Thai ar full of petye and almouß deid,	
	And helpis al pwre folk at neid.	
	Thai ar ay reddy for to ken	
	2852 All fypmill and wnletteryt men.	188
	Thai have ydill men abhomynable,	
	And furtheris al men that are able	
	To clergy craft or lawbourage,	
	2856 To wyne thar levyng in thar age.	192
is not moved by loss or gain,	Fore gret tynfell thai move thaim <i>nocht</i> ,	
	Na fore gret vynyng changis thoct.	
	Thai crab thaim <i>nocht</i> , na is <i>nocht</i> crouß,	
	2860 To ramp as lyone in thar houß.	196
	Thai pwnis <i>nocht</i> oure cruilly,	
	Quhar thai have ourhand, ore maiftry,	
	Na tynis <i>nocht</i> thar wyt to see	
	2864 The thing that may <i>nocht</i> mendyt bee.	200
is moderate in all things,	Wyfmen kepis reull in thar lufinge,	
	Gud dyet, and gud gouernyng,	
	Thai are patient in aduerfyttee,	
	2868 That neuer man fal one thaim fee	204
	To chang thar chere, quhar euer thai wend.	
	Thai tak in thank, at god wyl fend.	
	Thoct a day strublyt be the are,	
	2872 Ane vthir efter cumys faire.	208
takes things as they come,	Quhill were, quhill better, as cumys the caß,	
	Thai are ay content of goddis grace.	

- The natur of this world daly
2876 Is euer changand *continually* : 212
Tharfor wyfmen fuld tak in gre,
Thank god of thar aduerfyttee,
And in gret welth thai fuld fare dreid,
does not wish for
reward in this
world,
2880 That welth be fend thaim for thar meid 216
Of fum gud verkis, at thai haf vrocht.
Was neuer gud deid done for nocht.
Quhen all gud is Rewardyt here [Fol. 39b.]
2884 The Joy of hevyne Is al in weire. 220
For prosperyte perpetuall
Is takyne of dampnyng eternall.
Thai hald euer falofchip *with* thar feris,
2888 And plays thaim *nocht* bot *with* thar peris. 224
For our hamly to folk lawly
Cauß diffipifing comonly.
Mek and lauly in gudlynes
2892 And mekille wyll tholl in to fum caß. 228
Quhen vyfmen beris thaim our lawly
It is reput to gret foly.
Thai think and wyllis al gudlynes
2896 Quhilk in thar hart euer rutyty vas ; 232
With fair talking but velany
Hyd Ill fpek gud of alkyne wy ;
Nocht lefull dafit bot delygent,
2900 And dedly hatis al neglygent. 236
Thai rich deland thar riches
Quhar vtheris rewis and euer has leß.
Quhai euer be large in almous deid,
2904 Sal euer habound and neuer haf neid ; 240
Quha gredy is and faft haldand,
Thar fal na *grace* be folowand.
Wyfmen *with* pwre has neuer debait,
2908 Na wyll neuer crab thaim air na lait ; 244
Bot fair and gudly *with* thaim fpekis,
Kepis fra wrang and harmys vrekis.
- is familiar with
his equals only.
- The liberal shall
never have need,
but the greedy
shall have no
grace.
- Wise men do not
debate with poor.

They honour
churchmen.

To kirkmen do thai *euer* honore
2912 And ledis thaim in al fauore. 248

They honour all
estates.

Thai ar ful of worſchip air *and* lait,
And dois honoure tyll al eſtāt ;
All thing thai wyrk *with* wyß *conſaill*,
2916 And al labour dois for awaill. 252

God makes all
men for labour.

For god for lawbor al men mais,
And na thing in vaine ordand has ;
Wyſmen ar wylfull to do *grace*,
2920 & mercyable in petwouß caß. 256

[Fol. 40.]

They keep their
loyalty, and love
God above all
things.

Thai forgeif gladly matalent,
And thai be foucht in gud entent,
Thai kep thar lawte but fenȝeing,
2924 And luſis thar god at our al thing, 260
Thai ſet al haill thar delygens
Fra warldis wyſdom and prudens.
And fettis thar beſynes al way,

They flee the
world's vain-
glory.

2928 For hevynly Joy that leftis ay 264
The vainglore of this varld thai flee,
Thai gyf na fors quhen *euer* thai dee.

They are much
occupied in pri-
vate prayer when
others sleep.

Thai ar *euer* in ſaeret vriſone ,
2932 Hyd prayere, ſtyll dewocioune ; 268
The nycht quhen ſum men venis thai ſleep,
Thar obſeruans to god thai kep,
Thai ſchriſ þaim oft and takis pennans,

They value not
the world's
goods, except so
far as food and
clothing.

2936 Thocht ſew wyt of þar obſeruans, 272
Thai ſet nocht by this warldis gud,
Bot al may ſuffice for claithis and fud,
Thai priß mar wyſlome & gudnes,

Wisdom will not
dwell with fro-
wardness.

2940 Na al the gold that is or was, 276
Bot wyſdom enteris in na wy,
That frawart is and Ill wylly,
Na wylly nocht reſt in corß that is

Wise men con-
sider both past,
present, and
future.

2944 Sugget to fynis and to wyſis. 280
Wyſmen *conſideris* tymis thre,
That is, and was, and *euer* ſal bee,

- And our-cumys malys *vertuifly*,
 2948 And difponis al thing fobirly. 284
 Thar is na thing may thaim diffeuer,
 Fra cherytee that is *with thaim euer*.
 The well of wifdome proprely,
 2952 Ys knaw and luf god foueranly, 288
 Tyll honor ferf and kep biding,
 And hyme to love atour al thing,
 And for his faik his werkis haill
 2956 Luf as he lufis in generall. 292
 Vyfdom proferis hym tyl al men,
 Bot ful few of vs can that ken,
 Thar for we fal It rew ful fare,
 2960 Quhen we are aild and ma na mare. 296
 Thir are the thewis in fum party,
 Quhilk wifmen vfyf comonly,
 For to goueren thar awn perfone,
 2964 As langand thar condifcioune. 300
BOT Sen It is *nocht anerly*
 Spedful that jongmen proprely
 Hawe knowlege of wyf menis thewis,
 2968 Bot als of fulys, trumpouris, and fchrewis, 304
 To hant the gud, and leif the Ill,
 To folk that has a gudly wyll;
 Bot be fere takins men may knaw,
 2972 To gud ore Ill quhey at thai draw; 308
 And thare ferys men may ken,
 Quha wys ar, quha vncunand men;
 Baith be thar maneris, and having,
 2976 Speking, lukiing, and gangiing, 312
 Thar manteinyng, and thar *contenans*,
 And wordis fchawis thar ignorans;
 For of al takins of foly,
 2980 That may be knawin proprely, 316
 In manis perfone be femblans,
 The principall is ignorans;
- They cannot be separated from charity.
 The well of wisdom, what it is.
 If we neglect wisdom we [Fol. 40b.] shall rue it in age.
 Such are the virtues which wise men cultivate.
 But it is also good that young men should hear of fools, so as to beware of them.
 There are tokens by which men may judge of their companions
 Of all tokens the chief is ignorance.

Ignorance and
negligence love
not wisdom,

but listen to ill
advice readily.

They are quick
at claiming ac-
quaintance,

to give a sem-
blance of kindli-
[Fol. 41.]
ness to their be-
haviour.

They like not to
be taught,

but think those
who reprove
them their ene-
mies.

They hate no-
thing more than
wisdom.

They will take no
trouble after
truth.

If invited to a
good work they
sham sickness.

- For ignorans and negligens,
2984 Ar ennemys till al sciens. 320
Wyt and refone thai diffpice,
And lufis na wyfdome one na vyß;
Thai here Ill confaill radely,
2988 And drawis thaim till Ill cumpany; 324
Thai can *nocht* bere prosperitytee,
Na warldis welth in na dugree;
Thar ar of fudan acquentans,
2992 And fair calland *with* gret plefans, 328
And fone wyll compt of Cufingage,
Thocht thai befor haf na knowlege;
And makis thaim fone for to be frend,
2996 To gar men vein at thai ar kinde. 332
Thai wald haf al thing at thai See,
And *euer* fais gyf me, gif me;
With mekil langag but mesure,
3000 Smyrkand one *euery* creature. 336
Thai cum *nocht* glaidly quhar thai prech,
Thai fauor nan that will thaim tech;
Bot haldis thaim as thar enemy,
3004 At thaim reprevis of thar foly; 340
Al thar diffport and thar blychtnes
Is al in foly and glaikitnes;
Wyfmen delitis thaim *euer* in wyt,
3008 And thai hate na thing mar na It; 344
The foly of fwlys thai had leuer here,
Na ga to preching of a frere;
Thai hait na thing mar bitterly,
3012 Na wyfmen and gud cumpany; 348
For fuernes thai wald neuer wyrk,
Thai cummyr *nocht* our oft the kirk;
Quhen wyfmen drawis thaim to gud verkis,
3016 Than ar thai fek ore thar hed werkis; 352
One mornys thai luf weill to flep,
To thrifand men thai tak no kep;

- Thar study and thar befyne,
- 3020 Is al in plays and wantounes ;
 Thai fet thaim neuer for gret honore,
 For lestand worſchip na valour ;
 Thai cum wncallyt to conſaill,
- 3024 And ſyne thai can na thing conſaill ;
 Thai do but conſail al thar deid
 That garris thaim ſpwrn quhen thai fuld ſpeid ;
 Quhar euer thai be thar is ay ſturt,
- 3028 Thar blychtnes Is vtherys tyll hurt ;
 At wantone plays thai ſpend þer gud,
 And manſueris goddis fleſch, and blud ;
 Thai mak gret aithis for lytill thing,
- 3032 Gret wouß and gret manafing ;
 Thai ar fa darf in thar entent,
 Thai dreid nochtt goddis Jugment ;
 Thai ruß thaim ſelf & priiß euer,
- 3036 And vthir folk thai honor neuer ;
 Thai wyll men reddy ſcorn & knak,
 And mak anrow behynd thar bak ;
 Cutland and tratland in the toune,
- 3040 Ay makand mermeracionne ;
 Thai borow rady and quitis nochtt,
 And wald neuer pay the thing thai bocht ;
 Thai tak debait one lytil evyne,
- 3044 For lytill querell and wnewyne ;
 For lytill cauß ſone vraith or blycht,
 Thar by ma foly ſoneß kith ;
 Thai wyll nochtt waind for ſmal valour,
- 3048 To len an aith to thar nychtbour,
 Thai ar of haſty Jugment,
 And ſon ſchawis furcht al thar entent ;
 Thai fynd ſone fautis to thar frend,
- 3052 And ſenßeis cauß to be vnkind ;
 Thar pur frendis thai vyl nochtt ken,
 Bot clamys of kyne to mychty men ;
- 356 They are delighted in wantonness.
- 360 They come uninvited to council, but have nothing to adviſe.
- 364 They delight in doing harm.
- 368 They are ready to take oaths on ſlight occaſion.
- [Fol. 41b.]
 They are ſo bold they fear not God, they are proud of themſelves, and ſcorn others.
- 372
- 376 They borrow and buy, but care not to pay.
- 380 They quarrel readily ;
- 384 are haſty in judgment ;
- given to fault-finding.
- 388 They ignore their poor friends, but claim kin with the great.

	That thai trow may thaim mend or beit,	
	3056 And of vtherys na thing thai leit ;	392
	And quhen thai cum to gret honore,	
	Of helynes thai pass mesour ;	
	Nyß proud and wangeloriouß,	
	3060 And <i>conterfyttis</i> hie gratiouß ;	396
They desire to keep great state, that men may think them wise.	Thai wald have stat & gret service,	
	To gar men veyn at þai ar vyß ;	
	Thai can weill craif quha ocht thaim aw,	
	3064 Bot thai wyll neuer byd the law ;	400
	Thai ar vneunand in thar play,	
	And wald be forborn alway,	
	Gif ony man be mar thrifty	
They are envious of those more thrifty than themselves, and rejoice at others' ill.	3068 Na thai, thai haf hyme at enwy,	404
	Of vthiris menis scaith thai ar ay fayn,	
	And leif to scan an vthir in payne.	
[Fol. 42.]	Thai geif one frangers and thai keik,	
	3072 And al thar faltis one thaim thai feik,	408
They think them- selves wiser than others.	Thai wen thare self vifest of all,	
	And vthir folk fulys thai call ;	
	Thai ar loudest of all the hous,	
	3076 Gret, vordy, claiterand and maist crouß,	412
They are bold where they get the upperhand.	Thai ar darf and full of felony,	
	Quhar thai have ourhand or maistry ;	
	Of pure folk haf thai na petee,	
They have no pity.	3080 Bot scornis thaim quhar thai thaim See,	416
	With woid wordis ful of vanitee,	
	And nyß bourdis but honestee.	
	Tyll vthir men faultis thai find,	
They are blind to their own faults.	3084 And in thar faultis thai ar blind,	420
	Thai lak al menys gouernans,	
	Wenand throw that thaim self to vans,	
They are push- ing,	Thai ar presumptus, ful of boß,	
presumptuous,	3088 And euermar lyinnist in the ost,	424
wavering,	Thai can nocht wonen quhen thai ar veill,	
	Bot tolter and turnand as a quheill.	

- Thai *ſper nocht* quhat men ſais of thaim,
 3092 Quheþer lak or honor, loß or ſcham,
 Thai wyll *nocht* tak in hart & fee
 How god pwniſß Iniquitee,
 And how that ſorow cumys for ſyne,
 3096 And mekle wraik for vykit vyne,
 Na thai dreid *nocht* before the Ill,
 Or the miſſforton fal thaim tyll.
 Thai caſt na *perell* of before,
 3100 Na luſys na forſicht corn na ſtore.
 Thai are euer rakleß in thar deid,
 And falþeis euer thar frend at neid.
 Thai ill all *ſeruandis* to thar lord,
 3104 And reddy ay to mak diſcord.
 Thai wald be prowð & deligat,
 Thoeht thai the payment na thing vat.
 Ffaþer and mothir thai vill diſples,
 3108 Bot thai be prowð and weil at es.
 Thai do thare dedis al in haift,
 And mekle *trawell* makis in vaiſt.
 Thai ar *rycht* fyrre our the laiſ,
 3112 Quhar thai may ony maiſtry have.
 All wrangvyß cauß radely
 Thai wyll *manteine* throw thare maiſtere,
 Thai ſet *nocht* by quha thai diſples,
 3116 And warcis god of thar mail-es,
 With wnreſt baith at mes and met,
 With wowis aithis and crakis gret.
 Thoeht thai be blunt of eloquens,
 3120 Thar word is fyrſt in awdiens,
 With fenþeand falſat ay reddy,
 To draw a ſnek *rycht* ſubtely ;
 Of al men thai wyll ſpekand bee,
 3124 Qwhar thai Syt in that maieſtee,
 Thai wyll correk al *gouernowris*,
 All lordis and thar conſalouris,
- 428
 They will not regard God's judgments, nor
- 432 how wickedness is punished.
- 436
 They think not of the future.
 They are reekless, and not to be trusted,
- 440 quarrelsome,
 proud,
- [Fol. 42b.]
 444 disregard their parents.
- They are hasty,
 and hottempered.
- 448
- 452
 They care not whom they displease.
- 456
 Though blunt, they are the first to speak.
- 460
 They speak freely of every body.
 They will presume to correct their superiors.

- And euer raprewand lord*is* lat*is*,
 3128 Wenand thai couth amend al estat*is*. 464
 Bot wy; wyll haf al thar wyne,
 Quhilk thai conquest with scham and fyne,
 For haly vryt fais futhfastly,
 3132 That wyfdome aire is to foly. 468
 For atte last thai failze all,
 Thar foly tak*is* a sudand fall,
 Quhen thai wen to stand althir best,
 Fortune fails them. 3136 Thar fortune failzeis as tempest. 472
 Thir ar the thewis in party,
 Quilk*is* full*is* oys comonly,
 Quhay lovis honor fuld thaim vmbeschew,
 3140 Be war and wys, and kep þow now. 476
 Explicit the foly of fulys, and the
 thewis of wysmen.
 And fyne here efter folowis þe confail and teiching
 3144 at the wys man gaif his sone. 480

(9.) [CONSAIL AND TEICHING AT THE VYS
 MAN GAIF HIS SONE.]

[Fol. 43.]
 Whoso takes
 pleasure in
 knowing good,
 should seek good
 company.
 Therefore I ad-
 vise you to seek
 good com-
 panions.
 Men are known
 by their com-
 panions.

- Qwhay tak*is* Plefans In þouthage,
 Off gud and Ill to have knowleg,
 And to know refone be foly,
 3148 Suld draw hyme to gud cumpany; 4
 Gud cumpany, gud men mak*is*,
 And of the Ill oft men ill tak*is*.
 Thus confail I quhat euer þow do,
 3152 Gud cumpany thow draw euer to, 8
 Fore be thar cumpany men may knaw,
 To gud or Ill quhethir at thai draw,
 Fore fyk inclynacione and fyk wyll,
 3156 Syk cumpany euer drawis tyll, 12

- With* gud men ay men may gud here,
 And euery day fum vertw lere,
 And *with* Ill men gif that þ^u beis,
 3160 How fuld þ^u leir bot al þow feis,
 Fore of the gud the gud ay cumys,
 And of the Ill oft tyme Ill sumys :
 Sen god haß gevyne ws in fre vyll,
 3164 To ches the gud, and leif the ill.
 Than may þow knaw the futhfastnes,
 Gyf þow inclynit be to gudnes,
 þ^u fal perfaif be thin awn wyll,
 3168 Quheþer mar þow fauoris gud ore Ill,
 Quheþer men of lychtnes or godlyk,
 Syk as þow lufis fyk art þow lyk.
 Thus our al thing fyrst confaill I,
 3172 Thow draw the to gud cumpany,
 For al suppos wnwylß þow bee,
 3it fal þow mend in al degre,
 And *with* Ill folk men vynis ay blam,
 3176 And euer the end is ded or scham.
 The next poynt fyne mon be meknes,
 Quhilk growand is of the way of grace,
 And fet thi hart weill till endure,
 3180 Fore ill endurand may nocht lang dur :
 Till gud paciens gud grace is fend,
 Quhen angry hart fwn takis an end ;
 Strow nocht thi stra in flytaris fyre,
 3184 For byrnand wordis bettes Ire,
 And quhay weill tholis al ourcumys,
 Befor wykit men wyfmen dwm Is,
 And quhay fa will hyme lychtly vreith,
 3188 It bringis men in a byrnand breith,
 Syne in that breth oft tyme thai brew,
 Quhilk efterwart ful fare thai rew.
 Syne mone thow think one verytee,
 3192 Gyf euer þow wald at honore bee,
- From good men
 you learn virtue,<
- but with ill men
 you must learn
 16 what you see.
- As God has given
 us freewill,
- 20
- so you will be-
 come such as
 those to whom
 you incline.
- 24
- 28 Seek good com-
 pany; for if un-
 wise you will im-
 prove thereby.
- 32
- Then pursue
 meekness and
 patience.
- 36
- [Fol. 43b.]
 Have no dealings
 40 with the quarrel-
 some.
- Whoso is lightly
 angry often after-
 44 wards has to rue
 it.
- Truthfulness
 must be your
 48 next thought.

	That euer thi word be trew & traift, And to al men thi hart fiedfast,	
Lie not ;	That þow be neuer leif to lee,	
	3196 Na Ill of anfwere for to bee,	52
But be kind of speech. Have good men for your friends,	Bot fuet of fpech til al mankynd, And hald al gud man to thi freind, And with na trwmpouris haf na daill,	
	3200 Na with thaim cald fals in speciall,	56
for other friends will blacken your fame.	Fore all fuppos þow ferf na blame, His faloschip fal blek thi fame. And als þ ^u kep the our al thinge,	
Never be sullied with a lie;	3204 þow be neuer taynt with a leifinge ;	60
	For lefing is fa foul a smyt, That quhay fa euer be taynt with It, It smytis fa fare It partis neuer,	
for the injury it inflicts on your character is never to be remedied ; for good men will shun you.	3208 And fra al gud men garris thaim feuer.	64
	Quhay euer of lear beris the name, Thai fet nocht comonly by schame, And fra the schame be passit thar hed,	
A liar would be better dead.	3212 Than war thaim fare better be ded ;	68
	Thar lyf suld lytill be alowyt, Quhen thai ar nothir louit na trowyt. Syne of thi hand þow fykir bee,	
Such a man is never loved.	3216 That neuer man may preif one the	72
	A taynt of falsat of his gud, þow art Wndone, and euer þow dud, For wnlawte of tung & hande,	
Untruth has made many lose [Fol. 44.] both life and land.	3220 Garris mony ane loß bai the lyf and land ;	76
	And al fuppos thai get lyf grace, þit have thai scham in euery place, Fra pruf and wytnes baith vnable,	
	3224 And fra al office honorable.	80
	And gif þow wyll gud men the price, Be neuer bakbytar one na wyf, Of nakyne perfone Ill þow fpek,	
If you would have good men value you, be not a backbiter. Speak evil of none.	3228 For that is bot a vyvys vrek,	84

- Quhat may It gud the thar myfleid,
Traist nocht for thi þow better speid,
For wyfmen fais secret Inwy,
- 3232 Makis mony enwyous wnthrifty,
Thai displeß god & vynis thaim fed,
And bringis men spretualy to ded.
And serve thi maister weil at poynt,
- 3236 And luk þow failþe hym in no poynt,
And luf weil al thing that he lous,
And commend nocht at he reprwys.
Be nocht to hym contraryouß,
- 3240 Spek gud of hyme quhat euer he dois ;
Kep weil his gudis and his prophet,
Na lak hyme nocht of his delyt,
Na thing that he in plesans tais,
- 3244 Bot mak of al thing that he mais,
þow may nocht pleß hyme to rapruf,
Gyf euer thow thinkis to wyne his luf,
Schaip nocht to be his medefynere,
- 3248 To lak the met he lufis dere ;
Na hald hym nocht in argument,
To throw his wyll to thin entent.
Quhen only thing he chargis the
- 3252 Say nocht, " I wat It wyll nocht bee ;"
Bot þow wyft weil þow fuld nocht fay,
Bot do thi det cum as It may.
Na gang nocht fra hyme murmurand,
- 3256 Quhen he the chargis his erand,
Na tholl na man spek of hyme Ill,
Bot euer conforme thee to his vyll ;
Tell nocht all tratlingis at þow heris,
- 3260 Tell hyme the futhe quhen he inqueris :
Be nocht our ryatas na crous,
Bot mek and lawly in his hous :
Schaip nocht al faltis for to mend,
- 3264 Tak nocht in Ill for to be kend,
- For envy causes
envy.
- 88
- Serve well thy
master ;
- 92
- commend no-
thing which he
reproves ;
- 96
- speak good of
him,
and give heed to
his property.
- 100
- Approve of what
he chooses.
- Do not thwart
his wishes ;
- 104
- nor tease him
with arguments ;
- 108
- nor say when he
charges thee
with any com-
mission, that it
will not be done.
- 112
- Go not about thy
duty in a mur-
muring way.
- Let no man
speak evil of thy
master ;
[Fol. 44b.]
repeat not all
tales you hear.
- 116
- Tell him always
the truth.
- Don't try to cor-
rect everybody's
faults.
- 120

- Fore fely barnis are eith to leire,
 And wyktyt wyll na teiching here ;
 Be *nocht* yrus in cumpany,
 3268 In thi defalt disples na wy : 124
 But grett profyt schaip *nocht* to pleid,
 Na but gret cauß wyne the na feid.
 Be *nocht* of gud deid done vnkind,
 3272 And hald al gud man to thi frend : 128
 Hald the in al gud manys grace,
 And to thi frendis kep thi kyndneß,
 And gyf þow may na better do,
 3276 Fair suet langag gyf thaim to ; 132
 And be þow neuer fa hely born,
 Dryve neuer pwre na riche to ſcorne,
 It grevis god, and feid the makis,
 3280 And oft god lufis at men here lakis : 136
 Be of faire chere, and of faire effere,
 Be *nocht* leful to waitt thi gere,
 Bot quhar þow may ſum profet have,
 3284 It is far better hald na craif, 140
 And gyf faire langage in asking,
 Fair answer and kep weil thi thinge ;
 Luf *nocht* fa peny corn na ſtore,
 3288 Bot god and honore be ay before : 144
 Be befy euer and luf na flueth,
 Be *nocht* our lefull of thi treuth ;
 For brokin faith oft brekis luf,
 3292 And after folowis gret reprof : 148
 Suppos for lytill thing It bee,
 3it wyll men fay he is leiſ to lee,
 And lytyll forfalt raß blame,
 3296 And bringis aman ſone in Ill name, 152
 A man is ſone broecht in to ſelandyr,
 For manis honore is ful tendyr.
 Gyff þow in court be raparand,
 3300 Hals glaidly be fair farand ; 156

[Fol. 45.]

It brings a man
a bad name.Honour is a deli-
cate poſſeſſion.

- Here al men fay and lytill ſpek,
Thoekt þow have cauſt bot *nocht* to vrek,
 Fore quhen þow boſtis to mak venginge,
 3304 þow warnis thi faa of thin etlyng ; 160
 Bot lat hyme vyt he has the wyt,
 For gentill hund gyrnis or he byt.
 For defyans of myſtraifting,
 3308 In weire fuld ga be for al thing. 164
 Be *nocht* lefull to *hicht* na grant,
 Bot fet thi wyt thi wyll to dant,
 And quhen þow grantis kep veil thi *hecht*,
 3312 And couer neuer thi *hecht* with flycht ; 168
 For lawte wald neuer ſenſhed bee,
 Na fek hyrnis in na degree,
 For atte last lawte is kend,
 3316 And falſat fal neuer mak fare end. 172
 For god is grund of verytee,
 And feindis are faþeris of falſatee.
 Crab *nocht* lychtly for lytill thing,
 3320 Na be *nocht* dangerous of met dichtung ; 176
 Na couet *nocht* our hie to fyt,
 For diſpiſing oft folowis It ;
 Here goddis ſeruiſe quhen þ^u may,
 3324 And love thi god onis one the day, 180
 For mekle grace folowis the meß,
 And riches cumys throw godis bleß.
 Luſ *nocht* raginge na rebaldry,
 3328 Na our loud laughtyr na ladry, 184
 For maner makis man of valour,
 And bringis aman to gret honor.
 Tak not delyt in morne ſlepinge,
 3332 Wntymous eting na drynkynge, 188
 Fauore na dyſe, na drunkynnes,
 Hald euer thi hart one gudlynes,
 And euer be maſtyr of thi twnge,
 3336 And wyne gud nam quhil þ^u art þonge. 192

Hear all and ſay nothing.

Be not ready in making promiſes,

but when you have promiſed, keep your word.

Truth wins in the end.

God is the foundation of truth, and fiends are fathers of lies.

Covet not high place.

Go to God's ſervice when you may.

Riches come from God.

Manners make the man.

Be not fond of ſleep, eating, gambling, or drunkenneſs.

[Fol. 45b.]

Keep well thy tongue.

A man without reason is worse than blind.	& luk at refone ay the bind, Fore man but refone is ver na blind. Be nocht our changable in thi thoecht,	196
Be eareful of whom you speak, and when, and where.	3340 That word and deid contrary noecht, Repref na folk þoecht thai be Ill, Behald thi felf, and hald the styll; Think one the har is in thi nek,	200
Follow good qualities.	3344 And be weil war quhome of þ ^u fpek, Quhen and quhar to quhome & quhy, And gar thine awne ene be thi fpye. Conforme the to gud thewis ay,	204
Trust not all counsel.	3348 As tyme raqueris euery day. Al thing that hinder may or feaith, Forber It þoecht thi hart be layth. Traift nocht al men that confalis the	208
Be on thy guard against sudden acquaintance; heed not their flattery.	3352 Confider fyrft quharfor It bee. Be war with fudane aequentans, With fleiching pride and Ignorans, Thow knawis thi felf thoecht men the Ruß,	212
Keep your own secrets;	3356 Far better than the rufare dois. Thi fecret confail neuer wndo, Bot neid or fors dryv the thar to, For þow may tell It tyll a frend,	216
for a friend may become a foe.	3360 Quhilk eftyr may be vnkend, And chang his loue, and be thi fa, þow art vnfikir quhen It is fwa; For findry folk ar Ill to ken,	220
Men are ill to know,	3364 And fenzeis frenfchip oft with men, And quhen thai wat thar fecretis all, Thai may the gif a ternyt fall. At lell men ask thi confall ay,	224
and may deceive you.	3368 To fykir leich thi wound þ ^u lay. Strif nocht agains a comynite, Na with kirkmen in na degre. Be nocht redy to raiff A blame,	228
Strive not with any community or with churchmen. [Fol. 46.] Be not fault-finding,	3372 Heil at þow may al menis fcham;	

- Be *nocht* blycht of na manis fall,
 Bot pray to god to comfort all ;
 Be blycht and besy, quyk, & smert,
- 3376 And lat na langour throw thi hart,
 Bot fle langour and ydilnes,
 Quhilkis bringis disspar & hevynes.
 Tak ay betwen dissport and play,
- 3380 Put langour and disspar away.
 Tak nocht in hart aduerfyttee,
 Na prid the *nocht* in prospertytee ;
 Bot do weil, and na demyng dreid,
- 3384 And to the best men ay tak hed.
 The confaill of thi traift frendis,
 Disspis *nocht* that weill levand Is,
 Bot mend thi frendis of thi riches,
- 3388 Thi gudis sal grow and neuer be les.
 And dissples thaim *nocht* at þow may,
 Bot luf thaim and thaim honor ay.
 Spouß *nocht*, and þow wyll me trow,
- 3392 Bot þow wyt weil quhar, quhy & how ;
 And quhen þow spouß kep weil thi hand,
 Thai thrif *nocht* weil at brekis that band ;
 Bot quhen a wyf þow takis for the,
- 3396 Se fyrst of gud burgione scho bee :
 Gud moþer-child gud we presume,
 Sa scho be kepyt fra Ill custume ;
 Fra Ill rapar and ill cumpany,
- 3400 Na Ill ensampill se hir by.
 Tak na byrding, bot þow may bere,
 Nother ane in tyme of peß na were :
 And gif þow thinkis to be wyß,
- 3404 Set neuer thi hart one cowatice ;
 For cowatice is rut of al evill,
 And makis obediens to the deuill.
 Thai ar bot *seruandis* to thar gud,
- 3408 And sugettis for thar lyvis fud,
- 232 nor idle, for that
 brings despondency.
- 236 Be not downcast
 in misfortune,
 nor proud in
 prosperity.
- 240 Do well, and
 dread not judgment.
- 244
- 248 Marry not without great
 thought.
 Be faithful to thy
 marriage.
- 252 See that thy wife
 be of a good
 family.
 The child of a
 good mother will
 be good, if she
 be kept from bad
 example.
- 256 Undertake no
 burden beyond
 thy strength.
- 260
- Be not covetous.
- 264

[Fol. 46b]
Covetous men
will be con-
demned.

Fret not against
fortune.

Thank God even
in poverty.

Serve him and
thou shalt not
want.

Wrong winning
never did good
to any.

Desire no office
where the law is
not regarded,

nor under a de-
spotic prince.

Use fair language
to all;
harsh words
breed ill love.

Guard thy
tongue, for in it
is life and death.

Those who steal
are not the only
thieves;

but those who
would steal if
they could.

It is theft not to
restore what you
find.

Thai ar eondampnit al and fum,
And in tyll hevyne fal neuer cum.

Wary nocht god for thi misfahans,

3412 Thi misdeid askis revengans, 268

Na wyt nocht fortune thoekt þow bee

Misfortwnit that misgouernys the :

Thank god and love hym our al thinge,

3416 And put in hyme thi confortinge, 272

And thank hyme thoekt thi gud be seant,

And serve hyme, and þow fal nocht wante ;

Na desyr neuer wrang vynyng,

3420 For It fal profet the na thinge ; 276

For wrang vynyng the vynnar to

Dyd neuer gud na neuer fal do ;

Desyr neuer kepinge of Justice,

3424 In land quhar na law kepyt Is, 280

Na service office na maistry,

Wndyr princis that levis by tyranny.

Quhay vyfly virkis with confaill,

3428 Is worthi till have gouernall ; 284

For wnwysmen in alkyn sted,

Is cald ane ymage of the ded.

Oys fare language in alkyne thinge,

3432 Harik wordis generys myflovinge, 288

And reul thi Word quhill þow art zonge,

For lyf and ded lvis in thi twnge :

And kep thi hart ay elen of syne,

3436 Fra al desyr of vrangvyf wyne, 292

For as belangand payne and meid,

The wyll Is reput for the deid ;

For stelar's only thevis are nocht,

3440 Bot als at wald stell and thai moecht, 296

Thus is man theif als weil but dreid,

For his diffir as for his deid,

And quha restorys nocht fundyne thinge,

3444 He is a theif for his helinge ; 300

- And he It hyd, and heil, and hald ;
 He is a theif *rycht* as he stald.
 And *rycht* sa is It of vthir thing ;
- 3448 Thai are art and part fore confelinge.
 Thar is ful few fulys in the land
 A bag of gold gyf at thai fand,
 And fyne of It hard na speringe,
- 3452 In kirk na *market* na fore curfing ;
 Suppos thai wyf It wytterly,
 Quhai suld that gold aw werraly,
 That thai wald gar in *market* cry,
- 3456 To sfer quhay tynt It opinly,
 And gyf thar come na man clamand,
 Wald put It in the Justice hand,
 To cry in *marketis* thre ore foure,
- 3460 Quhyll 3hire and day war passit our,
 And fyne gyf nane *mycht* fundinge bee,
 To clame that gold in na degre,
 To deill It to the pure petail,
- 3464 Tyll almouß houß ore hofpetail,
 I wald sey and I kend hyme than,
 He *mycht* be cald a *rycht*-wyß man ;
 And quha dois *nocht* in this degre,
- 3468 Be law a theif may callyt bee ;
 For thus the law fais in latin,
 Quhai vnderstandis *nocht* sfer may fyne,
 Quod qui inuentum non reddit,
- 3472 De facto furtum committit.
 Fle axceß in al kind of thinge,
 And rew *nocht* schamful techinge ;
 Lat *nocht* lichtly of a lytill fa,
- 3476 For gret men war default swa ;
 For throw dissipinge of lytill feid,
 Mony gret man Is brocht to ded ;
 Forße a *perell* ore It eum,
- 3480 For sudane casß is ay vylsum ;
- 304 [Fol. 47.]
 There are few
 fools who, if they
 found a bag of
 gold,
 and heard no in-
 quiry about it,
- 308
 would cry it in
 the market
- 312
 for a year and a
 day, and if no
 owner were
 found,
- 316
 would give it to
 the poor.
- 320
 Such a man I
 should call up-
 right.
- 324
 The Law says
 concealment is
 de facto theft.
- 328
- 332 Many great men
 have fallen from
 despising little
 offences.
- Foresee danger
 before it comes.
- 336

- And lichtlear hurtis that is fore sen,
 Na wnprowyfytly cumyne had ben ;
 Ruß noch*t* thi felf, na loif, na lak,
 3484 Na want, na wanglore to the tak : 340
 Strik noch*t* ay furt*ht* thi fellony,
 Q*whar þow* has our hand ore maiftry,
 And namly tyll wnknawin men,
 3488 It may be quit þow wat noch*t* quhen. 344
 Love and reward fore curtafy,
 Eftyr thi powar thankfely ;
 Do honore tyll al honorable,
 3492 In ry*cht*wyfe cau*ß* be noch*t* changable ; 348
 Be stark and stedfast in thi ry*cht*,
 For lawte breki*s* noch*t* for no mycht,
 And fuppos for a tyme It bow,
 3496 It fall recouer I dare la wow ; 352
 Al thing has tyme wald men tak heid,
 Quhai dois noch*t* fwa the were fal fped ;
 And quhen tway ways hapnis the
 3500 Tak fykyr and lat wnfykir bee, 356
 And lipin noch*t* in a new cumyne geft,
 Lat vthire hyme pruf ore þow hyme traift ;
 And help all power at thi powar,
 3504 For god*s* faik do thaim no dere ; 360
 Gyf þaim gud wyll and furthiringe,
 And quhen þow may fum confortinge ;
 And gyf reward*s* fore thi behuf,
 3508 Fore lytill gift drawis mekil luf ; 364
 With crabyt men hald na cumpany,
 Na falow the noch*t* with our gredy,
 Na with our fill men, na our fture ;
 3512 Na nan that mankyt is be natur ; 368
 Na with glutone of pafinge fud,
 Na nan that lewys one Ill wone gud ;
 Be weill wylyt in thin office,
 3516 For heritage is na feruice ; 372

Boast not, nor be
vain glorious.

[Fol. 47b.]
When you have
the upperhand,

repay courtesy
with kindness.

Be steadfast in
thy right.

Truth may bend,
but not break.

There is a time
for all things ;
would men but
take heed.
Of two ways
choose the sure,
and let the in-
secure alone.

Let others test
new friends.
Help the poor.

Little gifts earn
much love.

Flee crabbed
men and greedy,

and gluttons.

- Lak *nocht* quhar þow has louit mekle,
 Fore men wyll fay þow art our fekle ;
 Be of few word*is* in cumpany,
 3520 Gret ſpech is takin of foly ;
 Su[e]re neuer bot þow compellyt bee,
 For leif to fuere is leif to lee ;
 Bere na wytneſ bot þow be cald.
 3524 Quhat is he worth na tunge can hald ?
 As lekand weſchell hald*is* no thinge,
 Sa opin tung has na traifinge ;
 Bere þow wytneſ but ſomondyng,
 3528 þow may be fet fra wytneſinge,
 And gyf þow ony cunnand mak,
 Se ay gud wytneſ at þow tak ;
 Leſ *nocht* a gud place gyf þow bee,
 3532 Fore hecht at may be maid to the ;
 Ill neuer na ſeruand to thar lord,
 He ſal the neuer luſ the better ford ;
 Fore he wyll traift it is leiſinge,
 3536 For enwy, hattrent, ore fleching :
 Be *nocht* lefull to mak debat*is*,
 Fore comone tulþour*is* al men hat*is* ;
 Traift *nocht* thine honore in a fulle,
 3540 Na weng *nocht* quhil thi blud be culc ;
 Fra fulys ferys and thar havinge
 þow kep the weil at our al thinge ;
 Fore men are prewyſt be thar wertewþ,
 3544 As goldſmyth gold in furnas doiþ ;
 Wyſnen of fulys has rycht knowlege,
 As in a meroure thar wyſage ;
 Conſent neuer to trefone nore trane,
 3548 Be neuer blycht of nan vther*is* payne :
 Gar thi gud deid lof thi perſone :
 Al riches paß gud renoune ;
 Preß neuer to batail na to feicht,
 3552 Bot þow be thret throw princ*is*¹ micht ;
- Speak little in company.
 376
 Bear no witness except when called upon.
 380
 [Fol. 48.]
 An open tongue is like a leaky vessel.
 384
 If you make a bargain, have good witness.
 Leave not a good master.
 388
 Blame no servant to his master.
 He will think it false.
 392
 All men hate talebearers.
 396
 Take no vengeance except in cool blood.
 Men are tried by their virtues as gold in the fire.
 400
 Wise men are ware of fools.
 404
 Rejoice not at another's pain.
 Good renown is above wealth.
 408

¹ In margin.

Strive not with a
fool.

Covet not that
which belongs to
another.

It engenders
feud.

Chastise children
when young.

[Fol. 48b.]

For want of cor-
rection children
oft turn out
badly.

Their parents
will be con-
demned.

Read Scriptures.

Keep the com-
mandments.

Forget not your
end,

and that you
must give
account.

Trust not in
dreams or witch-
craft.

Confess to the
priest.

- Tak na debait *wit* full na fryve,
That fore a word wyll ware *his* lyve ;
A levand manys *benefyce*,
3556 His lyf, his land, ore *his* office, 412
His wyf, his dochtir, na *his* seruand,
Na our his hed to take his land,
Defyr *nocht* fore It generys fed,
3560 And oft tymis efter folowis ded. 416
Chaftee thi childyr quhil þow may,
þow fal compt for thar deid a day ;
For bettir is opine chafment,
3564 Na luf that is hid in thin entent ; 420
For fault of frendis chafstifinge,
Garris barnis oft mak ill endinge ;
Than fal thar frendis ful dere by
3568 That wald thaim *nocht* be tyme chasty : 424
And oft tymis garris thaim have dreid
Be dampnyt for thar barnis deid ;
Reid oft and here worthi scriptouris,
3572 And folow teichinge of doctouris ; 428
And our al thinge þow be neuer Irke,
To kep the mandments of the kirk ;
And euer haf mynd of thingis three,
3576 That is, and was, and euer fal bee ; 432
And als forþet *nocht* thyne endinge,
Quhar þow fal ga, and wat na thinge,
And how þow mone gyf compt of all
3580 Thi dedis heir baith gret and small ; 436
And owthir thow fal have hevynis meid,
Ore dampnyt fore thine awne misdeid.
Trow *nocht* in dremys nor focery,
3584 Na wichcraftis, na charmery ; 440
Gyf þow has ony soleis done,
Schaw to the prest, and mend It founne ;
And ly *nocht* lange in dedly syne,
3588 Na grace folowis quha lyis thar In ; 444

	Bot ſchrif the oft and tak penans,	Oft do penance.
	Lat few wyt of thin obſeruans;	
	Amend in tyme al thi miſdeid,	Amend in time.
3592	þow ſal haf grace to better ſped;	448
	Quhen þow thi ſelf accuſſ heir,	Accuſe yourſelf
	The fend of the has na powere;	and the fiend has
	The till accuſſ one domiſday,	no power over
3596	Than may þow frely paß thi way,	452
	Wnaccuſyt befor the kinge,	
	Tyll leſtand Joy <i>with</i> out endinge;	
	Al thus the wyſman taucht his ſone,	These are the
3600	And bad hyme at It ſuld be done.	456
		wise man's
		lessons.

Explicit, &c., &c.

(10.) THE THEWIS OFF GUDWOMEN. [Fol. 49.]

	T HE gud wyf ſchawis, fore beſt ſcho can,	The good wife
	Quhil <i>kis</i> ar thewis of gud women;	shows how wo-
	Quhil <i>kis</i> gar women be haldin deir,	men are held
3604	And pouer women princ <i>is</i> peir;	4
	<i>With</i> ſum Ill maneris and thewis,	
	That ſolowis ful women & ſchrewis.	
	As to the firſt, men ſuld confidyr	
3608	That womenis honore is tendyr & flydder,	8 Women's honour
	And raithar bre <i>kis</i> be mekil thinge,	is tender,
	As fareſt roß tak <i>is</i> ſoneſt faidinge.	fades like a
	A woman ſuld ay have radour	rose;
3612	Of thinge that gref mycht her honoure;	12 therefore women
	Ful of piete, and humylitee,	should be cau-
	And lytill of langage for to bee,	tious, pious,
	Nocht loud of lange, na lauchtyr crouß,	humble,
3616	And euer doand gud in her houß:	16 always doing
	Nocht oyß na tratlynge in the toun,	good,
	Na <i>with</i> no þonge men rouk na roun;	not gossipping,

	Weill of hir smylinge fimpyll and coy,	
not proud nor assuming.	3620 <i>With</i> fenȝeand fair <i>nocht</i> mak our moy.	20
	<i>Nocht</i> nyß, proud, na our deligat, Na contyrfyt <i>nocht</i> our hie efftait ; Fauore na dedis of dishonore,	
Be respectful,	3624 <i>Kep</i> worſchip tyll al creatoure ;	24
	Be <i>nocht</i> lefull tratlyngis to here, Nore to reherß quhai wald thaim ſpeir.	
and obedient ;	Tyll hir frendis obedyent bee,	
	3628 In gudly thingis that may ſupple ;	28
not outrageous in dress,	<i>Nocht</i> outragouß in hire cleithinge, Bot plane maner and gudly thing. <i>Nocht</i> our coſtlyk, na ſumptewouß,	
to make others envious,	3632 To mak vthir at hire Inwyouß ;	32
	Na couet <i>nocht</i> cleithing mar deir Na be refone ſuld hir effeir ; And þocht ſche be cled honeſtly,	
not to dress for show,	3636 Deſyr <i>nocht</i> to be ſen forthi.	36
	Quhen ſcho is proud to ſchaw her than Is takin of a licht woman ; Bot quhen It ſuld be refone bee,	
lest she be deemed a light woman.	3640 Tyll ſchaw hir thane is honeſtee,	40
[Fol. 49b.]	<i>With</i> ſuet hamly round contenans, <i>Nocht</i> our fer preß hire till awans. To ſchaw hire proud, at men may ſee,	
There are proper times for wo- men to ſhow themselves,	3644 Is pryd, wanglore, and vanite.	44
	Bot euer <i>with</i> dreid and ſchamfulnes Scho ſuld draw to the laweſt place, And erare lawar place to tak,	
but it should be done with modesty.	3648 Na fra her place be put abak ;	48
	God dois honore to lawlynnes, Quhen prid is punyiſt in al place, Quhilk in women is maiſt to blame,	
God honours lowliness.	3652 For eftyр prid oft folowis ſchame.	52
After pride comes shame.	<i>Nocht</i> than thai ſuld be honeſt ay, <i>Efter</i> thar ſtat euerilk day ;	

- Fore God *commendis* honestee,
 3656 Quhilk of al gud is best of three,
 And efter honore cummys profyt,
 And of al gud leift is delyt.
 Gud profytable is ane of three,
 3660 And it be *Refone* takin bee;
 Bot quhen thai tak It our mesour,
 Thai turne in wyf and *in* arroure.
 Kep thaim fra delyt nocht wable,
 3664 And fra al deid dihonorable;
 Bot nocht fra deid al anerly,
 Bot fra al thinge that is Il lykly.
 Fle ill folk and susspekkit place,
 3668 Gret lak folowis Il lyklynes.
 Fore euer defamyt cumpany
 Defad^s the honor of al wy;
 Dant nocht women our wantonly,
 3672 Na feid paim nocht our delygatly;
 Fore met^s and drink^s delyceyus
 Cauff^s lichory: men fais thus.
 Na gift^s gyf, na drowreis craif,
 3676 Na bill of amour^s to refais,
 Be nocht our fyre till hir frend^s,
 Bot mek and lawly quhar seche lend^s.
 Oyf noght flityng, sturt, na stryf,
 3680 Preß nocht to greif man, na wyf;
 In thrift stryf ay *with* thi nychtboure,
 Quha best can thryf but dihonor.
 Preß nocht in feist to syt our hie,
 3684 Na euer ilk day lyk proud to bee;
 Na our clen wefching onne verk dais,
 Na 3hit onne werk dais oyf na plays.
 Flam nocht the flour^s at wyll faid,
 3688 To mend hir mak at god has maid,
 With payntyng wattrys to gar her sehen:
 One haly dais hir hyd hald clen:
- Of those good
 qualities honesty
 is first.
- Profit should be
 taken in reason.
- Keep women
 from all dis-
 honourable
 deeds,
- from all suspect-
 ed places.
- Bad company
 damages cha-
 racter.
- Give not women
 too delicate food
 or drink.
- [Fol. 50.]
 Let them indulge
 not in strife,
 but vie with their
 neighbours in
 thrift.
- Be not proud,
 nor lazy on work-
 days.
- Let not women
 use painting;

- for it is a shame
to be white and
red one day, and
faded the next.
Keep the hue of
nature.
- Be piteous to the
poor.
- Speak well of
people behind
their back.
- Let a wife keep
her husband's
honour.
Be sweet and
debonnaire.
- not wandering in
the streets,
- for that is folly.
[Fol. 50b.]
- Let her associate
with her equals.
- Love not sleep.
- Keep wise com-
panions.
Imitate the best.
- Bot *nocht* with colouris, na payntry,
3692 For fyk thyng is bot gyglotry. 92
Schame is to day be quhit & red,
And *onne* the morne waleyt as a wed;
Bot kep þe hew of hir nature,
3696 For fyk fairnes fal langeft dure. 96
Kep biding and leif clenly,
Thank god and love hym ythandly,
Be euer of pur folk petoufable,
3700 Do almouß deid, be cherytable, 100
Gyf folk gud word behynd þer bak,
And love al leid, and nane to lak.
And gif ſche be in godys band,
3704 Se euer honore to her hufband, 104
And be graciouß to his menþe,
Kepand her hufbandis honeſtee;
Tyll al folk fwet and debonar,
3708 With gudly wyll at hire poware. 108
Be ferme of hed, fut, and hand,
Nocht oft in fret to be wanerand;
For wanerynge betaknis wylfumnes,
3712 Wanwyt, welth, ore wantonneß, 112
Ore elles to sek ſum cumpany,
At war *nocht* lyk to be gudly.
Bot ay hald rownd and plan maner,
3716 Haldand ay falowichip with her feir; 116
Fle fra defamyt cumpany,
Lyk drawys to lyk ay comonly.
Luf *nocht* ſlepinge, na gret fuernes,
3720 Fore mekill ill cummys of ydilnes. 120
Nocht leif to wantoune giglotryß,
Kep feris of women at are wyß;
And euer conferme hir to þe beſt,
3724 Of women that ar worthyeft. 124
Do na thinge that ill lyk may bee,
Gif na occaſioun for to lee;

- Fore quhen ſcho dois that is lyk ill,
 3728 Traift *nocht* that folk wyll hald thaim fill. 128 Folk will not
 conceal evil
 doing.
 Hant *nocht* with men our anerly,
 All be thai neuer mar fa worthi;
 Ga *nocht* alane in hir erand,
 3732 Tak child ore maidinge *in* her hand ; 132 Seek not men's
 company.
 It is no point of honeſtee,
 A gud woman allane to bee.
 In cumpany of mony ane,
 3736 And mekill leß with ane alane ; 136 Go 'not alone on
 errands.
 It is no point of gud cuſtum ;
 Fore na man wyll the gud preſum.
 And quhen ſcho paß hir erand,
 3740 Byd *nocht* lang one It tareand, 140 It is not good for
 women to be out
 alone.
 Na fyt *nocht* doune to hald talkyne,
 Quhill ſcho forþhet hir hame ganging :
 Think quhat ſcho has ado at hame
 3744 And ay be dredand to have blame. 144 Be not long on
 errands.
 Think of what is
 to be done at
 home.
 Women that haß a thowlas hart
 Ane houre ore twa thinkis bot a ſtart ;
¹Gyf men thaim withgang wantonly,
 3748 Than wyll thai cowet the maiſtry. 148 Women like to
 rule,
 Thar is na thing thai cowet mare
 Na fredome, fauore, and gud fair ;
 Na wald neuer correkyt bee,
 3752 Na þit reprovwt in no degre : 152 [Fol. 51.]
 but ſhould be
 obedient.
 Thai fuld kep lawte, day & *nycht*,
 And maiß quhar thai haue lawte hicht.
 Hait *nocht* but gret cauß manißeß,
 3756 The fyrſt luſ ay be lowyt beſt ; 156 Indulge not
 hatred.
 That ſche of luſ have neuer reþruſ,
 To do wnlawte to hir luſee
 Preß to be lowyt with her menze,
 3760 Fra drunkyne folk and tawarne flee ; 160 Stick to a firſt
 love.
 Flee drunken-
 neß.

¹ In the margin here is "Nota bene."

- Go to church ;
 behave well when there.
- Be leif of prayer, quhen sho may,
 And her meß one the haly day ;
 Fore mekle gud cummys of praynge,
 3764 And garris men mak gud endinge. 164
 And our al thinge kep *her* in kirk
 To kek abak, to lauch, or smyrke ;
 And efter nwne, one the haly day,
 3768 Owthir pray, or play at honest play, 168
 To reid bukis, or lere wefinge,
 Be occupeid euer in sum thinge ;
 But leif fet *nocht* hir hart to luf,
 3772 Thar folowis efter gret reprof. 172
 Leif thare awne wyll & do confaill,
 Ore It fall turne *thaim* to tynfaill ;
 Tait *nocht with men* na mak raginge,
 3776 Fore oft It makes a foul endyng ; 176
 It is a takine a full women
 To tyg and tait oft *with þe men*.
 And our al thing, as oft said I,
 3780 Kep hir fra cankyryt cumpany, 180
 Fra foul wordis and wnhonest ;
 Fare langag is euer prafyt best.
 And tak ay sampyll be *her* nichtbour,
 3784 Gif euer scho thinkis to haf honour. 184
 Fore quha defamyt war, or wyke,
 Wald al the laif war to *thaim* lyk,
 Be *nocht* redy chargis to tak,
 3788 Na erandis bere, na mesage mak ; 188
 Fore thai are condisciounes of barnis.
 At E *nocht* feis, hart *nocht* þarnis ;
 Tharfor fuld women kepyt bee,
 3792 At thai may *nocht* na licht women fee ; 192
 Suppos It war agane thar wyll,
 It kepis *thaim* oft tymis fra ill.
 Fore ful women ar so smytable,
 3796 And till al wykit wycis able, 196
- Always be honestly employed when at home.
- Follow advice.
- Toy not with men.
- Keep from bad company and foul language.
- Bad people wish others to be like them.
 [Fol. 51b.]
- Be not a go-between.
- What the eye does not see the heart does not miss.
 So women should be kept close,
- and not allowed to see wicked ways.

- That *eu*er the cumpany quhar thai tak
 Sal neuer chap *without* a lak.
 Men bind*is* oft folk agane thar will,
- 3800 Quhill fum gret cure be done thaim till ; 200 Such restraint
 Quhilk war *nocht* forþ þai wald *nocht* dud, may be used for
 And þhit it¹ cummys thaim al for gud. their good.
 And þhit weil mar fuld madenis þhinge²
- 3804 Be fratty kept *with* gret awinge ; 204 This rule should
 In teiching *with* a gud maistrefþ, be particularly
 Quhilk knawis gud thewis, mar & leþ ; observed with
 And chaifte thaim, quhill thai are child the young.
- 3808 Quhill wyfdome cum throw wyt or eild. 208 Correct girls
 For þouthed ay *inclynis* to wyce, while young.
 For felding find we barnis wyþ ;
 Folk may in þouthed tift a child,
- 3812 That fore na gold wad do in eild. 212 You cannot
 Forthi þunge lord*is* ar put to cur, correct them
 Quhill wyfdome cum thaim be natur ; when older.
 Or ell*is* throw document*is*, ore age, Young lords are
 put under go-
 vernors ;
- 3816 To gouerne weill thare heritage. 216
 Sa suld madenis fra ill cumpany
 Nan ill ensampill fee thaim by ;
 Fore falt of aw, and of teichinge, so maidens
 should be kept
 close.
- 3820 Gerr*is* madenis oft tak ill endinge, 220
 Quhilk and thai had in thar þouthage,
 Quhill thai of wifdome have knowlage,
 And chaste thaim, quhen thai do mys, [Fol. 52.]
- 3824 Fore wantone thowleþ rakleþ Is, 224
 Thai fuld be chaift and cheritable,
 Worthi women wyþ and able,
 And efter cum to gret valoure, They should be
 chaste and chari-
 table.
- 3828 And do thar frend*is* gret honour. 228 But if their
 friends fail to
 train them,
 And quhen thai haf na Instruceyoun,
 Na for thar misdeid punifcioun,

¹ is. MS.² This line and the following are transposed in the MS.

	Bot lattis thaim flow in wantounnes,	
they are much to blame,	3832 And fauoris thaim in thar wykytnes,	232
	¹ Than of thar Ill thai have the wyt,	
	And, do thai weil, the mar meryt.	
	For oft tymis frendis, have no dreid,	
and shall be punished;	3836 Ar dampnit for thar barnis deid,	236
	And puttis thaim self in sturt & stryve,	
	And oft in perell of faul and lyve.	
	Quha will kep baith fra perischinge,	
therefore correct your children.	3840 Teich thaim in ȝouthed, our all thinge ;	240
	And pwnis thaim quhen thai do Ill,	
	And lat thaim nocht have al thar wyll.	
	Bettyr pwnis thaim, and gar thaim mend,	
Keep them from poverty;	3844 Na faul and lyf tak baith Ill end.	244
	And kep thaim fra neid & mistere,	
	That pouerte gar thaim nocht myffare ;	
	For pouertee tynis mony gud woman,	
for want often leads women to do wrong;	3848 Quhilkis, and thai had thirtee men,	248
	With gudly fuet neidfull lewyng,	
	Thai wald neuer do mys, for nakyne thinge.	
	For oft tymis wrecht nedy kynne	
	3852 Syk neid and freß haldis madenys In,	252
	That thai are pynd with pouertee,	
	Quhill gret neid garris thar hartis dee ;	
	And may nocht, for thar wrechitnes,	
	3856 Gret couatice, and gret nedynes,	256
so they should not be exposed to the temptation.	Put thaim in tyme to thar profyt.	
	Thus, do thai mys, thai have the wyt,	
	And al the chargis of thare syne,	
	3860 That neid and myfter puttis thaim In.	260
[Fol. 52b.]	Thai have na craft how suld thai leif,	
	And frendis will thaim na thing gif ;	
	Than is thar nocht bot do ore dee ;	
	3864 Onc fors thus mone thai fulys bee.	264

¹ Here is in the margin "Nota bene."

- For mony lordis ar nocht larg,
 Thinkand thai have our gret charge,
 To mary thar barnis to *per* estat;
 3868 And ofte thar lang baid cummys to lait. 268
 For natur drawis euer to kynd,
 And lukis nocht quhat may cum behind;
 And quhen thai forfeit, thai are fane,
 3872 & garris men veyne It dois thaim pane. 272
 Quhen scho is tred her sho one heill
 Than will thai fay, "Had scho done weill
 Scho had ben maryt richly :
 3876 Now lat her chewys her, fore thi." 276
 Thus mony gud madyne oft tyme,
 For fault of mareag in tyme,
 Ar tint, for fault of warldis gud ;
 3880 Thai can nocht wyne thar lyvis fud 280
 With trawail, craft, and laborage ;
 And thus in to thar tender age,
 In thar maift farhed, dois foly ;
 3884 And in thar eild nan fettis thaim by. 284
 Thus mone thai begaris be alway,
 And oft tyme deis before thar day ;
 Of quhilk thar frendes has the wyt,
 3888 And god and natur has diffpyt, 288
 & quha his barnis puttis nocht to lare,
 And garris teich thaim at his poware,
 And noryß thaim to perfyt age,
 3892 And purway madenis of mareag 292
 Eftir thar stat, and gyf thaim aw,
 Thai ar al curfyt be godis law.
- If parents, from
 desire of good
 matches, are too
 long in marrying
 their children off
 it is not well.
- Then they are
 sorry if their
 children go
 wrong.
- Girls should be
 married young,
- or else their
 friends have the
 blame of their
 errors.
- Children should
 be well taught.
- This is a parent's
 duty.
- Here ends my
 advice
- Now have I tald þow mine awyß,
 3896 How ge fudl knaw men that are wyß, 296
 And als ful men in sum party,
 Be findry poyntis generaly ;
 And als of findry documentis

to young people.	3900 To fsharp 3ong men in thar ententis;	300
	Of wyfmen that before has ben,	
	And mekil honor knawin & fen,	
It is drawn from the lessons of wise men of old.	Quhilk thai drew out throw thare gret wyt,	
	3904 And efter maid feir bukis of It:	304
	Quhilk thai drew out of bukis old,	
	Quhar It lay, as in myne the gold.	
	Quhat thank ferf I 3ocht It gud bee?	
The thanks are due to them, not to me.	3908 Sen gudnes cummys nocht of me,	308
	Bot of thir worthi mennis sawis,	
	That fyrst maid profecy & lawis.	
Let all readers pray for the maker of this book.	And here I pray ye redaris all,	
	3912 And als ye heraris, gret and fmall,	312
	That ay, quhen at thai one It luke,	
	Thai pray for hyme that maid the buk;	
	And fore al criftynne man, and me;	
	3916 Amen, amen, fore cherytte.	316

*Explicit liber moralis, secundum dicta antiquorum patrum,
etc., etc., etc. Amen.*

(11.) [VERTEWIS OF THE MESS.]

Her begynnis the Vertewis of the meß, apprewyt be the haly wryt, baith be our lord Ihesu cristi's wordis, and vthir haly fanetis and doctouris of þe cristyne faith. And fyrst *and* formist.

Testimonies
to the vir-
tues of the
mess.

Sanet paul sais that rycht as our lord Ihesu cryst is mar worthi and mar preciouß than ony vthir creatur that god maid, fa is þe meß mar worthi and mar preciouß than ony vthir ofesone or sacrifice that may be said or maid in this erd.

3920
St. Paul's.

Item, fanet barnard sais, that It is mar spedfull, neidful, and profitable to the manis faul heill to her meß, with clen hart & gud deuotioun, na for to gif for þe luf of god þe fee of fa mickle land as a man may ourgang quhill the meß is in doinge.

3924
St. Bernard's.

Item, our lord Ihesu sais that quhat sum euer thing þat men with clen hart and gud deuocioun askis at the meß in thar praieris, *It salbe grantyt thaim or elles bettir and mar profitable thing, na thai ask hyme, be mekill. Item, quicquid orantes petitis &c.

3928
Our Lord's.
[Fol. 53b.]

Item, fanet Jerome sais that till here meß with clen hart and gud dewocioun garris the faulys that he prays for feil na payne in purgatory quhil that meß is in doinge.

St. Jerome's.

Item, fanet ancelyne sais that to her a meß with clen hart and gud deuocioun, or gar fay a meß in a manis lyf is mar meritable till his faul heill, na that hes executors or frendis gart fay 1^M mess for hyme efter at he be ded.

3936
St. Anselm's.

Item, fanet ambrosi sais that quhat euer met or drink a persone tak efter meß perfitis hyme mar till his heil and lang lyf, na It that he ettis befor meß.

3940
S. Ambrose's.

Item, fanete augustine sais that for al the tyme þat a persone be at þe meß he standis in sted, and eildis nocht, bot haldis hym in the famyn ȝouthed he was in quhen he come to þe meß.

St. Augustine's.
3944

Item, the famyne fanet Augustyne sais that the tyme of þe meß that a man heris lenthis his lyf fa lang mar, na he fuld leif, and he hard na meß in his lyf.

Ibid.

3948
St. Chrysostom's.

Item, os aurii sais that quhat woman that takes her child

bed that day that feho has hard meß, feho fal ber *her* birth
with leß payne *and* dolour, na feho had *nocht* hard meß that

3952 day.

St. Luke's. Item, fanct louk fais that quhat *perfone* hapnis to deceß þe
day that thai here meß, thai fal be reput and done *with*, as lang-
and þe dewyteis of haly kyrk, as thai had tane al þe *sacramentis*
3956 of haly kirk that day.

St. Mat- Item, fancte matho fais that the tyme that a *perfone* hiris
thew's. meß, thai fall fall in na dedly fyne, and all waneall fynnis
fal be forgewyne thaim throw the wertew of the meß.

3960 Item, sancte gregore fais that fore ilke meß that is said
St. Gregory's. deuotly fundry faulys ar deliueryt and fred out of þe payne of
purgatory, *and* mony levand men ar turnyt fram þer ill lyf to
gud lyf for euer.

3964 Item, fanct auguſtine fais that the gud angell that kepis þe
St. Augus- manis faul comptis wp and wrytis al the steppis at a man*
tine's. makes to the meß, and fore ilkane of thaim god fal reuard
[Fol. 54.] (hym) her or hyme.

3968 Item, fancte gregore fais that the day that a *perfone* heris
St. Gregory's. meß deuotly, *and* at the ſicht of the ſacrament fais his *pater*
noſtere, he fal *nocht* that day want his leuyng ſufficiently.

St. Bede's. Item, fancte beid fais that ſuppos a man her meß or gyf
3972 almous in deidly fyne, or uthir gud dedis, It *profytis* hyme to
thre thingis. It kepis hyme fra miſaduenturis and perell to
cum and garis hyme be mare able to ryß out of his fyne, &
gif he paß to hell It leſys his panis thar.

3976 Item, fancte Auguſtine fais that the day that a man ſeis godis
St. Augus- body, and makis his prayaris to hyme deuotly, he fal *nocht* that
tine's. day tyne his ſicht.

Ibid. Item, fancte Auguſtine fais that the day that a man fal here
3980 meß *with* clen hart & gud deuocioune he fal *nocht* de of a
ſudane ded.

Ibid. Item, fanct auguſtine fais that for þe tyme of the meß ſuppoß
þe ewill ſpreit be in a man ſynfull, that in the tyme that he
3984 ſeis the haly ſacrament, þe evil ſpret fleis out of þe man fore
the tyme of þe meß.

Item, os aurii sais that the meß is als worthi as þe felf ded and pasciounne of cryft quhen It was donne of deid proprely. St. Chrysostom's.

Item, sancte Augustine sais that in the tyme of the meß the hewyne opnys, the angel descendis, and beris cumpany to þat haly sacrament. 3988
St. Augustine's.

Item, sancte gregore sais that the cloud settis his besynis to here meß, and failþeis noch in hyme he sal have the meid as he had hard meß, and he be one forþ ore vthir ways haldin tharfra. St. Gregory's
3992

NOTES.

Page 1, line 5. *thaim that are put in the fech[t]ing of dede.* This passage in the Cambridge MS., Ff. 5, 45, alluded to in the preface, stands thus: "þat bene in poynt of dethe." So that the word *feching*, which the MS. gives, is most likely a mistake for *fechting*, struggle. 10. *as*, here, is for the relative *which*. Perhaps it may be an error for *at*, which is the more common. 13. *doutable to be tholyt*, terrible to be endured. 16. *ell*; here and elsewhere this form is probably for *ell*=*ellis*. cf. 487. 21. *ded o neide men*, death of needy men.

P. 2, l. 24. *at ever*, so ever. 34. *baide the cummyne*, awaited the coming. 43. *he*, i.e., Jesus Christ. 44. & *safurth*, etc., and so on throughout the New Testament. 49. *fore It gret comfort*, for its great comfort. 57. *It is to wyt*, you must know.

P. 3, l. 60. *wreukis* should be *wrenkis*. The word occurs in the "Ayenbite," p. 129. "Man may longe his lyues wene, and oft him lyeþþ his *wrench*." The analogies of the Kentish and Northumbrian dialects have been pointed out by Mr. Kemble, Philolog. Trans., vol. ii. p. 36. 81. *to have thaim to thare bruper*; this is a slip of the scribe, and should be, to have *him*. 88. *tyll he is*; i.e., while he is. 92. Probably this was a rhyming proverb current at the time:

"Sufficiandy forthocht,
Syne noyis nocht.

pocy: this word evidently refers to what is said afterwards of the position of Christ's limbs on the cross.

P. 4, l. 100. *murtheresar*: Fr. *meurtrisseur*, a constant form in Scotch. cf. Lyndesay's *Monarche*, 3692:

"That prudent Prince was trampit down
And murdrest in his counsall hous."

- Other examples occur in ll. 4213, 4219, 5107 of the same poem, and the verb *to murdres* in line 5828. 104. *at ar knowing*, which are all for the best if they were well known. 126. *that in the paciens tharof we may wyne*, which (joy of heaven) in the patient bearing of (our tribulations) we may win.
- P. 5, l. 131. *þan sum*, apparently a clerical error for *þat sune*. 157. *and syker—in the faith*: and certain it is (that) he, who feels sorrow or uneasiness in the leaving of these cardinal delights, is not firm in the faith.
- P. 6, l. 177. *maid thairby go*, ordained thereby (i.e. by its heavenly origin) to go. 184. *at the law lewis*, which the law allows.
- P. 7, l. 203. *he vynand*, while he wins. These words are inserted as a case absolute. 213. *be the faith of him and ded*, i.e. by the faith and death of him (Christ).
- P. 8, l. 248. *For in the thoct, etc.*: For in the thought in which the soul passes from the body it is taken for ever. 250. *angell*, may be for *angelt=angellis*, angels. 257. *saint*, perhaps an error for *sauit*, saved.
- P. 9, l. 270. *sursastnes* should be *surfastnes*. 271. *with suernes*, against laziness. 272. Make no attempt against force wherein you may fail. 273. *laitis*. This is from the Islandic *lát*, and applies to gestures and habits, as of woman *í láti manna* with men's manners; generally in a bad sense. The word occurs in "The Three Tailles of the Three Priests of Peblis," l. 984:
- "Then on his kneis he askit forgiveness,
For his licht laytes and his wantones."
276. *Lak na lofe*. The first word seems an error for *luk*; the sense would then be: Take care not to praise too much; or the text may mean, "Don't blame or praise too largely." 277. Take care that you don't, through faintheartedness, commit a fault. 287. Be stout against wrong when men meddle with you.
- P. 10, l. 304. *Wayue thi lust*: this is probably for *Wayne*, i.e. remove. 310. *orne*, a mistake for *Ene*. So also in 329. 316. *Ris steppis few*, an error for "*His steppis sew*," his steps follow. 317. *Exill all wyte* for *wyce*, i.e. vice. 320. This stanza, which is not in the MS., but which belongs to the poem, is added from "Ane Compentious Booke of godly and spirituall Songs, newlie corrected and amended by the first originall Copie., Edinb., 1621." 8vo. The poem there has the colophon. "Finis. ¶. Quod King James the first." An older version of the date of 1578

was reprinted by David Laing, in 1868, in "Gude and Godlie Ballates." I append it in full:—

"Sen throw Vertew in excessis dignitie,
And vertew is flour and rute of Noblesse ay,
Of ony wit, or quhat estait thow be,
His steppis follow, and dreid for none effray :
Ejeet vice, and follow treuth alway :
Lufe maist thy God that first thy lufe began,
And for ilk inche he will thé quyte ane span.

"Be not our proude in thy prosperitie,
For as it cummis, sa will it pas away ;
The tyme to compt is schort, thow may weill se,
For of grene gress sone cummis wallowit bay.
Labour in treuth, quhilk suith is of thy fay ;
Traist maist in God, for he best gyde thé ean,
And for ilk inche he will thé quyte ane span.

"Sen word is thrall, and thocht is only fre,
Thou dant thy tounge, that power hes and may,
Thow steik thy ene fra warldis vanitie :
Refraine thy lust, and harkin quhat I say :
Graip or thow slyde, and keip furth the hie way,
Thow hald thé fast upon thy God and man,
And for ilk inche he will thé quyte ane span,
Quod King James the First."

From "The Gude and Godlie Ballates," 1578, *rep.* 1868, p. 202.¹

323. *wallowed hay*. Another example of this word occurs below l. 3694, "waleynt as a wed." 324. Work out truthfully what you believe to be the truth.

P. 11, l. 329. See above, 310. 337. Should do such labour as befits them.

P. 12, l. 363. *assithit*. The more usual form of the verb is *assethe*. The noun occurs in "Pricke of Conscience," 3610, 3747. 379. Dele the point after *hym*, and put a comma after *Fore*. The capital letter is in the MS. 384. *and*, an error of the scribe for *are*. 389. *hir* should be *hie*, high.

P. 13, l. 390. *thar* should be *thaim*. 391. *full*, written in the MS. full, perhaps=fullis=fools. Cf. Lancelot, preface, p. xix. 397. *and reput, etc.*, and I considered mirth and laughter great error.

¹ Page 202. "Sen throw Vertew in excessis dignitie." This is the only authority for attributing these verses to King James the First of Scotland (1406-1437). In Bannatyne's MS., 1568, fol. 58, they occur anonymously, with numerous verbal differences. In neither copy do we find the language of the early part of the fifteenth century.

408. *stankis*. Lyndesay: Monarchie, 5020-3, speaking of Solomon, says:—

“ His plesand Habitationis
Precellit all vtheris Nationis
Gardyngis and Parkis for Hartis and Hyndis,
Stankis with fysche of diuers kyndis.”

412. *at our al thaim tat was*, above all them who were. 413. *of*. This seems to mean *over and above*; if so, it is connected with *Isl.* of=over much, so much used in composition, as *of-mikill*=too much, etc. 417. *weschell*, vessel. This word formerly was used as a plural; cf. Trevisa's translation of Higden, vol. iii. p. 181: “He shulde *ȝelde* the holy vessel *ȝen*,” for a rendering of *et vasa restitueret*; and p. 185, for *concessit ei rex vasa templi*, “*ȝe* king graunted him *ȝe* vessel of *ȝe* temple.”

- P. 15, l. 472. *till leif to a full vaistour, etc.*, to leave to a foolish waster all their goodly realms and possessions. 487. *fore he shall nocht, etc.*, for he shall have nothing else for his portion of the world. 493. *cure of waist*, i.e. anxiety about waste. 495. *na hap to good hyme*. No hope to benefit himself. I have not met *good* used as a verb elsewhere.
- P. 16, l. 512. *Item he sais that*. After these words there is an omission of, *he consideryt*, which must be supplied from the preceding sentence. 522. *Remowand in singularite*, i.e. All things are perpetual in their kind and nature, although in individual cases they be unstable. 530. *and all elyk wnder lyis vanite*, and vanity underlies everything alike.
- P. 17, l. 540. *challenging*. Here used for *accusing*. 556. *and oft tymis fall*, i.e. The goods oftentimes fall into the hands of those who most hated him. 560. *ocht misteris*, needs anything.
- P. 18, l. 584. *his lewing*, his living, that which he can consume on himself. 589. *in were*, for the worse. 590. *he walkis in wntymis*, he awakes at irregular times.
- P. 19, l. 629. *mar master*, i.e. a greater master.
- P. 20, l. 651, *flethit=flechit*, flattered. 655. *lowable to god*, praiseworthy in the sight of God. 662. *but riches*, without riches.
- P. 21, l. 683. *and mak hym, etc.*, and make himself, at times, as though he heard not that which he hears. 702. But he mixes himself up, of his own choice, with so many various concerns, without end, of which none but God may know whether they be good or ill. 708. *part*, i.q. port, carriage, bearing. 711. The first

god in this line is inserted by an error of the scribe, and should be omitted.

P. 22, l. 719. Nor do the pains of death then permit him at all to take rest. 744. And lead thy life with them that love thee for the period of this uncertain life.

P. 23, l. 756. *Ryt in the row*, should be *eryit in the row*, i.e. published as in a roll-calling. See Jamieson. 764. That no men, but fools, should be made (much) of by great men. 770. *fall* for *faH=fallis*, falls. 780. *cumandly* should be *cunandly*.

P. 24, l. 787. *murmure hyme in thar collacione*, revile him in their private meeting. Collacione, in this sense, occurs in Lyndesay's *Kittie's Confession* :—

“ When Ladyis makis collacione,
With ony lusty companeone.”

817. *in cauernys and in ernes*. The last two words are wrong. The MS. has the letters *mīr nes*, the *īr* being written by an abbreviation above the *m*. I would therefore conjecture *mīrknes* as the word intended. It is not unlikely that the scribe, having turned up the final stroke of the *m* to make the abbreviation-mark, should proceed to add *nes* as a termination, this being so much more common than *knes*. 818 *The rewīs and, etc.* The last two words should be united. The verb *rewess* occurs in the sense of “to clothe anew” (See Jamieson), and these two words united form the present participle of that verb. In the very next sentence the rehabilitation of the body is described, and the sense of this clause will be : “And those who are assuming their bodies anew shall afterwards all rise together.” Mr. Murray says, *rewīs* here=*streets*, and in Eccl. xii. 4, the words are “And the doors shall be shut in ‘the streets;’” but this leaves the word *and*, in the text, unaccounted for, and makes a very clumsy translation. 819. *worth deife*, become deaf.

P. 25, l. 823. The dust of which man was made shall return into its first form, and the spirit shall return again into the body made of dust. The side note (for which the Editor is not responsible) is wrong. 828. i.e. when *he* was called the wisest of the world *he* made, etc.

P. 26, l. 858. *Bot gyf thai laif viciously*. The verb should be *leif*, and the sentence means, But if they (i.e. the children) live viciously, think then that the parents' time is all gone by. 868. *alle*, an adverb, utterly, entirely. 880–885. In these six

lines there has been some slip. We perhaps should read *vertuous* for *vicious* in 880. The two first evidently had some words explaining how to *depart* the good from the ill, practically, by *doing* the good and *leaving* the ill. In 882 the insertion of the pronoun *he* after *Reuard* makes the sense complete, or if *Reuard*=*Reuardit*, the p.p., which would improve the metre as well as the sense. The last two appear to have had some such meaning as: "Whoso remembers God's might, he never more will do but right." From a careful perusal of the MS. I cannot suggest any alteration in the text.

P. 27, l. 884. To read *pe* for *We* improves the sense, and if in the original the Saxon letters were used, the scribe might easily mistake the one for the other. 896. *Worthis till*, become, attain to be. 898. *luk thai abate*, i.e. they decline from luck and prosperity. 901. Become the bond-thralls of strangers. 903. *of* should be *or*. Cf. 905. 915. Unless he knew each secret thing.

P. 28, l. 927. *in to party*, in some degree. 947. From the line which follows this, it is clear that in this line something had been said of the power of grace to help against deadly sin. But the line as it stands is not intelligible. Either there is some error, or else the sentence is not complete, and a couplet has been lost which explained the action of grace against sin. Mr. Murray suggests *þow* for *how*.

P. 29, l. 949. *so ferand*. This is one word=soveran. 954. Unless it be contrary to reason for the sake of bringing him to a worse end. He is allowed to climb that he may have the farther to fall. 957. *al*, an error for *il*. 967. *And led the fray*, and lead thee from. 980. For if thou seest the places like to evil, and yet afterwards choosest them of thy free will, thou turnest the virtue of sight into a vice.

P. 30, l. 992. *masterer* should be *master*. 997. *Fore þow dois*, should be *Fore gif þow dois*; and this insertion improves both the sense and the metre. 1000. And you may nowise excuse yourself, and say that for some cause it must be so. Thus the earlier sense of *shall*=*debere*, to owe, comes out. 1006. *tendyr*, read *tendyt*. 1012. *ferre*, read *feire*=fierce, strong. 1013. *site*, read *sice*. 1016. *Tras weil*, i.e. Trows well, or it may be an error for *Trast*, trust.

P. 31, l. 1024. The good and kindly advice of masters in their books has said to us. The side note is wrong. 1030. *lypir* is

leprosy; *byll*, bile; *the faland ill*, epilepsy; and *wild fyre*, erysipelas. 1032. *With vthir sum ar les to dout*, with some other (diseases) which are less to be feared.

- P. 32, l. 1064. *sek*, appears both from the metre and sense to be superfluous. I have my doubts whether *perfynt and* should not be one word, and then *to do perfyntand syk gudnes*, would mean, to bring to perfection such goodness. 1082. *handis deid*, hands' deed, the actions of the hands. 1087. *falt*, falls out, happens.
- P. 33, l. 1090. And they become accursed, which is worse than any other loss by far. 1093. *To lang arang*, too long harangue. 1095. *Fow mekle*, full much; a full great grace has God lent them. 1097. *Gothra the bulzone*, Godfrey of Bouillon. 1113. *Myght*, i.e. (which) might. 1121. *vertuouf*. This is a frequent spelling of the noun. Cf. 814.
- P. 34, l. 1130. *Be mouch*. An error. There should be something like *But noucht*. Compare the next couplet. 1135. In this and the next line for *witis* read *wieis*. 1139. *thar ranting*. Their deficiency, that by which they fall short of the mean: as the *mekle thing* is their excess above the mean. 1142. *It at*, that which; and in 1145. 1147. *enschew* for eschew. 1156. *at one*, should be *at our*, over and above. 1160. *bot hwn*, without shame or scruple. The more usual form of the word is *hone*. See Halliwell.
- P. 35, l. 1164. Seems to be a continuation of the exhortation in the previous line. To mind the good leave the contrary. And it has these several roots (for *dutis* read *rutis*). 1177. And that (which) should not be done he lets alone. 1178. *at*, that which. 1188. Give each man that (which) is known (to be) his, and right so tak to thee thine own.
- P. 36, l. 1201. Be diligent to bring about an agreement. 1210. *tynis to be tell*, etc., lokest by being upright, thou shalt gain thrice as much afterwards. 1226. Yet occasionally God's secret counsel works contrarily, but not without cause.
- P. 37, l. 1236. She can teach the ignorant their duty, and acquire crafts of subtle device, and yet not press her (i.e. make it a great trouble). 1242. *red*, to regulate. 1250. For *haf* we should apparently read *leif*, live. 1254. *Do þow ryeht sa*, etc. These two lines contained some explanation of the means by which the discordant persons might *fall weill in concord and bounte*. But as the words stand I have not been able to make out what the means intended were. 1265. *one neid*, of necessity.

- P. 38, l. 1275. *gretly till alow*, greatly to be praised. 1286. *Oucht lange*, for any long time. 1300. *Sobyrr mesing of Irous wyll*, etc., calm mitigation of angry desire to act without judgment. The verb is used in Lyndesay's *Monarche*, l. 4159 of a master's behaviour to his scholars :

“Quhen thay obey, and *mesit* bene his yre,
He takis the wand and castis into the fyre.”

Another form *to ameis* occurs in Lyndesay's *Complaint*, l. 42 :

“Quharethrow the first men wer displesit,
Bot he thame prudentlie *amesit*.”

1301. *bot skill*, without reason.

- P. 39, l. 1313. *al hall*, entirely. 1314. *beris the zettis*, bar the gates. *Stek*, in the next line, is still a common North-country word for *to shut the door*. 1316. for *wyte* read *wyce*. 1318. *Oblist*, etc., Bound by pledge in every thing to your intentions. This form of the participle is used of the pledges of Monks and Nuns in the “*Satyre of the thrie Estaits*,” l. 1231, where the Prioress drives Chastity away, saying :

“Go seik ludging at sum auld Monk or Freir
Quilks ar *obleist* to yow, als weill as I.”

1331. When none but God knows the truth.

- P. 40, l. 1342. *prosperiteis* should be *properities*, properties. 1367. For *this* read *thus*. 1370. *Ancet* (or *Antee*) *lady ane*. I am indebted to Mr. Bradshaw for pointing out to me that the work alluded to by this name, written *divisim* as printed, is “*Anticlaudianus*,” a book composed at the end of the twelfth century by Alanus de Insulis (the younger writer so called), and which has the additional title “*De viro optimo et in omni virtute perfecto*.” 1372. *godin*=god in, i.e. good in.

- P. 41, l. 1407. *growin to* read *grow into*, increase unto. 1409. This line should be written,

“To tak to tryans jocht þow mocht,”

and means, “to take to Stratagems though you might have the opportunity. *tryans*=trynis. Fr. *traine*, trick, art. The word “train” in this sense occurs in Shakspeare. *Macbeth*, Act iv. Sc. iii. :

“Devilish *Macbeth*
By many of these trains hath sought to win me
Into his power.”

- P. 42, l. 1437. *bruk þer ȝarnyng*, enjoy their ambition.

- P. 43, l. 1479. *to pwr*=too poor.

- P. 44, l. 1517. Of each one could I give an example; but because they are hateful to hear, I think it best to leave off as though dumb.
- P. 45, l. 1538. And wonder not though I say so. 1544. *Waist*: apparently this word is equal to *careless expression*. Don't call honour blessed, if it be without gifts of the Holy Ghost, unless it be in a mere careless mode of expression. 1547. *Her*. I believe this should be *Wer*. The first letter of the word is written in a very curious manner, unlike any other letter in the MS. It looks very like H, but not at all like the form of that letter in other places of the MS. *Wer*=*Worse* makes a good sense (cf. supra, 955), while *Her* makes none.
- P. 47, l. 1593. Although you may think that it hinders you for so much time in other things, yet it shall turn out well in the end. 1609. *were na void*, worse than mad. void=wode. Cf. woid in Glossary to Lancelot. 1618. There is nothing but mercy alone. 1620. Yet should you be aware of some other motives for fear they turn your judgment. 1625. *one stero*, i.e. *astir*.
- P. 48, l. 1638. But such motives may mar you more, which I shall describe unto you. 1644. *vages*. This word, which I cannot find elsewhere, seems to be from the root *wag*, to waver, and mean *a state of wavering*. So that the sense of the line would be, For maddening joy, being in a wavering unsettled condition, hinders all truthful good knowledge. 1660. *of*=above. See note on line 413.
- P. 49, l. 1665. *May tworne*, i.e. (which) may turn. 1674. *fyrst*, a clerical error for *ferd*=fourth. So in Lancelot. 1677. *nae*, i.e. *naen*=none.
- P. 50, l. 1713. *The*, i.e. *Thee*. 1717. *ane ore al*, one or all. 1726. *sen*=seldom. 1731. In many more than two or three cases.
- P. 51, l. 1748. Touching thy disposition, which is influenced by the stars. 1753. *thar tyll*, i.e. thereto, upon that matter. 1756. Until proper time have elapsed in which to form a judgment.
- P. 52, l. 1780. Contrary to all the probabilities of reason. 1791. *mother*=*mother's*. 1796. And from thenceforth she will become more stubborn assuredly than any beast is. 1799. *tak sted*, make a stand.
- P. 53, l. 1806. And let her work by herself with that folly which she has chosen. 1811. *contyrpan*. I cannot explain this word. It seems to mean, *the contrary part*, but I cannot find an example elsewhere. 1824. If you willingly neglect. 1827.

- pled*, quarrel. 1838. Be sure, it must be thus, or worse, from the time you become a pleader.
- P. 54, l. 1849. *fyrst thy chyng*. These words, which occur in the last line of one page of the MS., are written with very long and flourishing tails to the letters, and look exactly like what is here printed; but there is no doubt they are for *fyrst thy thyng*, i.e. let thy property go on credit. 1855. *mone empare*, must injure it (merchandise). 1873. That which it is of no advantage to a king to keep, may enrich his servant many fold.
- P. 55, l. 1880. Without any deceit, till you take your leave of him. 1882. If he do you unreasonable wrong, unless you be well known, you will bear the blame. 1899. And show despite to your wanton wishes when hope and reason say *No* to them. 1905. *to mak the latinge*, to cause you to be hindered. 1910. *gar enschew*, cause a successful issue.
- P. 56, l. 1919. The man who will wait, and allow no alleviation of his desire, till death have carried away his rival, is seldom lord of (i.e. seldom obtains) his delight. 1936. The worse (i.e. with the more difficulty) do they get away from them.
- P. 57, l. 1952. *feild*, feel it. 1969. A child knows no more than an animal. 1973. This age participates in the nature of growing things, etc.
- P. 58, l. 1997. *Eland*, adding on, i.e. to feeling and sight, the third condition of reason.
- P. 59, l. 2028. *which*, perhaps better *will*. Cf. 2035. 2040. He has a balance large and stable, which may well take in all at once.
- P. 60, l. 2066. *all* should be *ill*. Then *ill sytand*, ill suiting. 2081. Beware, my son, from the time that thou knowest her. 2086. Here is some error. In the next line *youcht*=*poucht*, though.
- P. 61, l. 2092. *prop*, here is something put up as a mark to aim at. *Ryne at baris* alludes to the game still called *Prisoner's Bars* or *Base*. *Cuich* is a game of hand ball. In Lyndesay's *Satyre*, 3411, the *Persone* says:
- "Thocht I preich not, I can play at the *caiche*,
 I wait thair is nocht ane, amang þow all
 Mair ferlie can play at the fut ball.
 And for the carts, the *tabils*, and the dyse,
 Aboue all persouns I may beir the pryse."
- Tabils* here, as in our next line, means *backgammon*. 2108. To live virtuously, and not by gambling. 2117. *leif be wyll*, to live by will (i.e. as it pleases).

- P. 62, l. 2154. For *leftand* read *lestand*, lasting. 2256. *do þe pan*, take the trouble. 2158. The sense seems to require *in* instead of *na* in this line. "Goodness which holds each vice in despite."
- P. 64, l. 2204. *vyting* apparently for *vryting*, written. 2213. Never went away without a grant of grace. 2234. And the will endeavours to become so strong.
- P. 65, l. 2270. *Ay wodly weildand*, always madly running wild.
- P. 66, l. 2281. *Alard*. I have great doubts about this word. *Lard* is used, by Dunbar, for a stupid person (see Jamieson). If *alard* be the adjective of this word, the whole passage would mean, "When God makes men sluggish and stupid (i.e. gives them up to their own listlessness), each man then is not eager for his reward, and will not lightly believe in reason, and praise and fear God's might." 2291. And the time is come (which) in all reason, etc.
- P. 67, l. 2317. *Na war*, i.e. Except (that they) were. 2331. *in mail engyne*, into bad disposition.
- P. 68, l. 2351. *and maryte*. This, I believe, should be *in maryte*, i.e. in wickedness. Fr. *mauvestiē*, malice. 2373. *quha lykit luk*, whoever likes to look.
- P. 69, l. 2379. *and gyf na taill*, and give no heed. 2392. *May thaim*, i.e. (he) may them, etc. 2401. *are yaris*=*are þaris*, or theirs; the sense being, either they or theirs shall receive as they measure to others.
- P. 70, l. 2428. The sense of this passage is: If God made all things to last for ever, it might be urged, with reason, that, as some were always in prosperity, while others continued in adversity, there was no God, but the course of nature ordered everything.
- P. 71, l. 2451. *an wodus baith*. This seems to mean *in both ways*, as explained in the next line. Can it be for *modus*, moods? 2476. *Thaim think it*, to them it seems.
- P. 72, l. 2506. Encumbers both fool and wise. 2514. And will nearly go mad about a loss. 2515. It lets alone furred clothing.
- P. 73, l. 2524. He may hardly go or stir, owing to the difficulty (of so doing). *wæf*=*unnethes*, hardly. 2542. *one to men*, i.e. unto men, with regard to persons. 2544. Its tendency is downward, and it grows weaker every day. 2558. *sucht*=*suth*, sooth, true.
- P. 74, l. 2574. *euer* for *never*. 2586. *Lyrand by*, leaving out.
- P. 75, l. 2608. *is* for (*he*) *is*.

- P. 76, l. 2635. *one a wyf*, in one and the same way.
- P. 77, l. 2679. For speech, without writing, passes by like the wind.
- P. 78, l. 2702. The meaning is, "(Wisdom is better) than any stone of virtue (i.e. precious stone) that may be." But the construction is imperfect. 2727. They look through their books and pick out seeds, etc.
- P. 79, l. 2751. The wise man always thinks he has too little knowledge, although etc.
- P. 80, l. 2772. He follows advice and leaves his own way. 2793. *creip the corf*, to creep to the cross; a penance imposed by the Roman Catholic Church, and often undertaken in self-humiliation or (as the writer hints) for ostentation. See Nares' Glossary, under *Cross*. See also *Piers Plowman*, text B., xviii. 428.
- P. 81, l. 2809. *bewsertis*. This word evidently means *bribes*; but I cannot find it elsewhere. Mr. Skeat suggests that it is from Fr. *beau*, *desert*. *Beau* is certainly often written *bew* in compounds, and *serf*=deserve, occurs more than once in these poems; but *beau desert* does not, as far as I know, occur in the sense required. Yet *serte*, *desert* (?), occurs in the *Morte Arthure*, Ed. Perry, l. 2927. Mr. Perry says *decree*, but this seems wrong. Mr. Murray suggests *beneficeis* for *bewsertis*, and that the scribe has miscopied. 2826. For, if they do, they lose their merit.
- P. 82, l. 2845. If you have said *nay* a thousand times, you have still an opportunity of changing and saying *yea*; but when you have once said *yea* (and done anything) you cannot recall that.
- P. 83, l. 2884, *al in weire*, all in the worse, i.e. there is less chance of getting it. 2899. *lefull dafit*, wilfully thoughtless. 2902. *rewis*=*rives*, plunder, are ever grasping at more.
- P. 84, l. 2930. *Thai gyf na fors*, they take no anxiety. 2943. *wyll noch rest*, i.e. wisdom will not rest.
- P. 85, l. 2972. *quhey*=*quheþ*, an abbreviation for *quheþer*, whether.
- P. 86, l. 3025. They do without counsel.
- P. 88, l. 3056. And of other people they make no mention, or take no account. 3085. They find fault with other men's management.
- P. 89, l. 3116. They curse God for their uneasiness.
- P. 90, l. 3129. *wyz*=*wyse*, wise.
- P. 91, l. 3185. He that endures well overcomes everything.
- P. 96, l. 3343. *The hair in your neck* was a common proverb.
- P. 98, l. 3413. And do not thou, that misgovernest thyself, blame

fortune, though thou be unfortunate. 3437. For as far as punishment and merit are concerned, the will is counted for the deed. For stealers are not the only thieves.

P. 99, l. 3448. They are part and parcel with the wrongdoers for their concealment. 3452. *Na fore cursing*, Nor even when the cursing was pronounced in church. 3474. *rew* should be *trew*. Do not trust to bad teaching. 3475. Don't let off your little foe lightly.

P. 100, l. 3482. Than if it had come without being foreseen. 3496. *la vow*, lay (make) a vow. 3510. *Ne falow the nocht*, do not match (or compare) yourself.

P. 102, l. 3562. Thou shalt one day have to account for their doings.

P. 103, l. 3609. And in comparison with a greater thing is sooner broken.

P. 104, l. 3642. *our fer*, over far; too far. 3653. Nothing should ever be more honest than they.

P. 105, l. 3685. *wesching*, washen. 3689. To improve the fashion of her whom God has made.

P. 109, l. 3801. Which, were not force used, they would not do.

P. 110, l. 3864. *One fors*, of necessity.

P. 111, l. 3868. And oft that which they had long prayed for comes too late. 3872. *is* should be *hes*, has; and in the next line *Thay* should be *Than*.

P. 113, l. 3924. Portions of this piece on "The Vertewis of the Mess," are like parts of "The Vertue of ye Masse," printed by Wynkyn de Worde. But St. Bernard's testimony runs thus in the verse (Stanza 68):

"herynge of masse gyueth a grete rewarde,
goostly helth agayne all sekenesse,
and medeyne recorde of Saynt Bernarde,
to people Innocent that playne for weykenesse,
to faythe refresshyng in werynesse,
and to folke that gone in pylgrymage,
it maketh them stronge set them in sykenesse,
gracyously to explete theyr vyage."

3943. Other portions assigned to Saint Augustine are nearly the same as in our text. Thus, Stanza 75:

"that daye a man deuoutly here masse,
whyle he is present he shall not wexe olde,
in goynge thyder his steppes more and lasse,
be of aungelles nombred and Itolde,
his uenyall synnes rekened many folde,
of neelygence and othes that be lyght,
they be forgyuen, for grace passeth golde,
and all that tyme appereth not his syght."

76.

“herynge of masse letteth no vyage,
 as it hath well be proued in certayne
 prayers at masse dooth gretest auantage
 with crystes passyon to soules in theyr payne.
 the masse also dooth other thynges twayne,
 to soule and body it dooth consolacyon,
 if he passe that daye by dethe sodayne,
 it standeth for his housell and commyunon.”

Also in the latter half of Stanza 79, though our text ascribes this opinion to St. Chrysostom :

“women also that gone on traueylynge,
 folke experte haue founde thereof a prefe,
 that haue herde masse in the mornynge,
 were delyuered and felte no mysfcheffe.”

And again in Stanza 81 :

“some folke affyrme in theyr opynyon,
 and saye that they haue redde it in story ;
 a masse is egall to crystes passyon,
 to helpe soules out of pnygatory.”

And in 82 :

“no tyme is lost durynge that seruyse,
 for whiche let no man playnly be in doute ;
 but god shall dyspose in many wyse,
 to encrease all thyng that they go aboute.”

P. 114, l. 3972. *or uthir gud dedis*. These words have slipped out of their place. They should come in after *almous*.

P. 115, l. 3991. *cloud*, apparently an error for *cloun*. But *clod* is sometimes used now in the sense of *clodhopper*.

Note to the Preface.—“The Booke of the Crafte of Dying” is in the Douce MSS. cccxxii. 13. I take this opportunity of mentioning that in the same MS., part 18, occurs a copy of “The six wise Masters discourse on tribulation,” which is printed with the “Bernardus de cura Rei famularis,” and it is there ascribed to Adam, a Carthusian monk. There is also a copy of the discourse on Tribulation in Cott. Cleop. D. vii. leaf 187 v°.

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 Conquest, *v.* to acquire, 345.
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 Conselys, *v.* conceals, 2685.
 Contyrpan, contrary part (?) 1811.
 Cornykes, *n.* Chronicles, 2668.
 Cors, *n.* cross, 79.
 Coryke, *v.* to correct, 384.
 Crab, *v.* to annoy, tease, 2786,
 3319.
 Crabing, *n.* fretting, sorrow, 646.
 Crabis, *v.* to vex, annoy, 652.
 Crabyt, *adj.* liable to take offence,
 irritable, 3509.
 Crakis, *n.* boastings, 3118.
 Crewell, *adj.* cruel, 193.
 Croft, *n.* a small field, 2037.
 Crok, *n.* a pot, 303.
 Crouß, *adj.* mirthful, 3615.
 Cumandly, *adv.* misprint for *cu-*
nandly, knowingly, 780.
 Cummyr, *v.* to cumber, to trouble,
 3014.
 Cummyrtly, *adv.* in an encumbered
 manner, 2527.
 Cunnand, *n.* a covenant, 3529.
 Curaiousß, *adj.* causing care, 1528.
 Cutland, *part.* wheedling, 3039.
 Dafit, *adj.* thoughtless, 2899.
 Dant, *v.* to subdue, 297, 328,
 2840. L. *domitare*; Fr. *domter*.
 Dante, *adj.* dainty, 418.
 Darf, *adj.* hard, unbending, 3033,
 3076.
 Dear, *n.* a dying person, 205.
 Deid, *n.* deed, action, 2589.
 Dëing, *n.* dying, death, 40.
 Dem, *n.* dame, 1454.
 Depart, *v.* to separate, divide, 879.
 Dere, *n.* damage, 3504.
 Disposesione, *n.* disposal, 184.
 Dois, *v.* causes, 2551.
 Doutable, terrible, 13.
 Dre, *v.* to endure, 1615.
 Dreich, *adj.* durable, 2040.
 Dreid, *n.* fear, doubt, 450, 451.
 Drowreis, *n.* lover's presents, 3675.
 Drunksom, *adj.* given to drinking,
 1296.
 Dud, a contraction for *do it*, 3218,
 3801.
 Dy, misprint for *do*, to do, 337.
 Dyses, *n.* uneasiness, difficulty,
 201.
 Dyfeil, *v.* to disease, to render
 uneasy, 136.

Dysparyt, *adj.* in despair, 96.
 Dyſpone, *v.* to dispose of, 173.
 Dyſponyt, *pp.* disposed of, 170.
 Effeir, *v.* to befit, 3634.
 Effere, *n.* quality, manner, 3281.
 Eilde, *n.* age, 106.
 Eith, *adj.* easy, 3265.
 Ekand, *part.* adding on, 1997.
 Ekyne, *n.* addition, 91.
 Ekys, *adds.* increases, 77, 393, 394.
 Emplese, *v.* to give satisfaction, to please, 2593.
 Empleß=empleſis, *v.* 1488.
 Enchapis, *v.* escapes, 1617.
 Ene, } *n.* eyes, 310, 329, 363,
 En, } 439.
 Er, *n.* ear, attention, 1876.
 Erar, *adv.* rather, sooner, 168, 174, 243.
 Ere, *v.* to err, 2488.
 Ernes, 817. See notes.
 Ernyst, *n.* earnestness, ease, 645.
 A.S. *Ʒeornian*.
 Es, *n.* ease, 487.
 Eschef, *v.* to eschew, 153.
 Eschevyng, *n.* eschewing, 18.
 Esful, *adj.* easy, happy, 614.
 Etlyng, *n.* aim, design, 1216.
 Faikyne, *adj.* failing, 1516.
 Faind, *v.* to attempt, try, endeavour, 272.
 Faland, *part.* falling, allotted to, 1343.
 Falow, *n.* fellow, person, 1395.
 Falow, *v.* to fellow, to match, compare, 3510.
 Falsat, *n.* falsehood, cheating, 593.
 Faļeinge, *n.* failing, 877.
 Famell, *n.* household, 410. L. *familia*.
 Far, *adj.* fair, 2442.
 Farandnes, *n.* handsomeness, comeliness, 1931.

Farly, *n.* wonder, 2289.
 Fauld, *v.* i. q. fault, to commit a fault, 277.
 Fautis, *v.* to miss, fail, 2306.
 Fed, *n.* feud, 1826, 2337.
 Feid, *n.* feud, 1234, 3270, 3279.
 Feilar, *n.* one who fails, 1400.
 Feild *for* feel it, 1952.
 Feld, *pp.* felt, 2541.
 Fellone, violent, fierce, 1029.
 Fellony, *n.* wrath, fierceness, 1151.
 Ferand, 949. See notes.
 Ferd, fourth, 1274.
 Ferys, *n.* companions, 2743.
 Flam, *v.* to besmear, daub over, 3687.
 Fleching, *n.* flattery, 654, 3536.
 Flechit, *pp.* flattered, 651.
 Fleiching, *adj.* flattering, 3354.
 Fleichouris, *n.* flatterers, 2803.
 Fleme, *v.* put to flight, 806.
 Flytaris, *n.* quarrelsome persons, 3183.
 Forbyding, *part.* forbidden, 241.
 Fordyd, *v.* (2nd *pers. sing.*) destroyedst, 863.
 Fore, *prep.* for the sake of, 165.
 Forfalt, *n.* offence, 3295.
 Forthink, *v.* to repent, 659.
 Forthinkis, *v.* repents of, 209.
 Forthy, *adv.* therefore, 143.
 Forwynynge, *n.* foreweening, expectation, distrust, 1668.
 Fra, *conj.* since, 3211.
 Fragelyte, *n.* frailty, 149.
 Fristit, *pp.* given on credit, 1853.
 Full, *adj.* foolish, 472.
 Full, *n.* folly, 391.
 Fundinge, *n.* 3461.
 Fundyt, *pp.* founded, 61.
 Furcht, *adv.* henceforth, 2309.
 Fwde, *n.* food, 2730.
 Fylyt, *pp.* defiled, 65.
 Fyrst, *v.* to give on credit, 1847.
 Ganis, *v.* it advantages, 1873.
 Geif, *v.* to gape, stare, 3071.

- Gevyne, *pp.* given, 123.
 Glaikitnes, *n.* giddiness, 3006.
 Glaikitnes, *n.* giddiness, 775. A.S.
 glig, sport.
 Good, *v.* to benefit, 495.
 Gowland, *part.* howling, 541.
 Gowlynge, *n.* howling, 823.
 Graithyt, *pp.* prepared, 424. Isl.
 greiða.
 Grawyne, *part.* buried, 225.
 Gre, *v.* grace, contentment, 2877.
 Grewys, *v.* grieves, 2023.
 Grovin, *adj.* growing, vegetable,
 1973.
 Gruchis, *v.* grudge, 114.
 Gud, *v.* to profit, 3229.
 Gyfand, *part.* giving, 262.
 Gyglotry, *n.* giddiness, 3692, 3721.
 Gyrne, *n.* gin, snare, 695. Isl.
 görn, gut, from which snares
 were made.
 Gyrnis, *v.* grins, 3306.
 Gyrthis, *v.* girths, hoops for a
 barrel; hence the barrel itself,
 2781.
 Haboundand, *part.* abounding,
 2233.
 Hail, *adj.* whole, entire, 1629.
 Hald, *v.* to hold, 283.
 Hall, *adv.* entirely, wholly, 1313.
 Hals (?), 3300.
 Hard, *pp.* heard, 750.
 Hartfully, *adv.* heartily, 252.
 Harvry, *v.* to contain (?), 2041.
 Hate, *adj.* hot, 2468.
 Hatrente, *n.* hatred, 1168.
 Hatterent, *n.* hatred, 740.
 Hatterut, *n.* hatred, 460.
 Hawe, *v.* to behave, 2539.
 Hawing, *n.* behaviour, 2745.
 Hawyngys, *n.* havings, behaviour,
 708.
 Hecht, *n.* promise, 3311, 3312,
 3532.
 Hechtys, *v.* promisest, 283.
 Heil, *v.* to conceal, 3372, 3445.
 Helinge, *n.* concealment, 3444.
 Hely, *adv.* highly, 3277.
 Helynes, *n.* pride, 3058.
 Hicht, *v.* promise, 3309.
 Hurde, *n.* hoard, hoarding, 294.
 Hurdis, *n.* hoards, 413.
 Hwn, *n.* i.q. *hune*, delay, diffi-
 culty, 1160.
 Hyddyll, *n.* hiding-place, 772.
 Hyme, *pron.* him, 77, *et passim*.
 Hyrnis, *n.* hiding-places, 3314.
 Jap, *v.* to jest, 1978.
 Ill, *v.* to calumniate, 3103.
 Insamekle, *adv.* insomuch, 11, 12.
 Intermeting, *n.* due measure, pro-
 portion, 1295.
 Ioif, *v.* to enjoy, 346.
 Irke, *adj.* lazy, 3572.
 Irkyt, *v.* grew weary, 456.
 Justyfye, *v.* to do justice upon,
 525.
 I-will, seemingly for *will*, 1366.
 Keik, *v.* to peep, 3071.
 Kek, *v.* to peep, 3766.
 Kep, *v.* to keep, to prevent, 3765.
 Kere, *adj.* left (of the hand), 764.
 Gael. *caerr*.
 Kill, *n.* a kiln, 2091.
 Kindly, *adj.* natural, 2612, 2614.
 Kith, *v.* to be manifest, 3046.
 Knak, *v.* to taunt, 3037.
 Knavis, *v.* he knows, 678.
 Knawing, *pp.* known, 105, 127.
 Kynde, *adj.* native, 20.
 Lach, *v.* to laugh, 2364.
 Ladry, *n.* rabble, 3328.
 Laiching, *n.* sport, play, 647.
 Laisare, *n.* leisure, 256.
 Laitis, tricks, 273. Isl. *lát*.
 Lak, *v.* to reproach, to decry, to
 blame, 3242, 3248, 3483, 3517.
 Lak, *n.* reproach, 3092.
 Lakit, *pp.* reproached, 568.
 Lakis, *v.* reproach, 3280.

- Langand, *part.* belonging, 3955.
 Lard, *n.* lord, 1489.
 Lardis, *n.* lords, 2376.
 Lat, *v.* to let: as in, *lat of* = to let off, 3475.
 Latinge, *part.* wanting, deficient, interrupted, 1904.
 Latis, *n.* manners, appearance, 2536, 3127.
 Lattis, *v.* hinders, 589.
 Lauchand, *part.* laughing, 1930.
 Lauchful, *adj.* lawful, 2391.
 Law, *v.* to lower, humiliate, 148.
 Lawit, *adj.* unlearned, lewd, lay, 1596.
 Lay, *v.* to wager, 1938.
 Lëäris, *n.* liars, 2800.
 Lefe, *v.* to leave, 187.
 Leif, *v.* to believe, trust, 1510.
 Leful, *adj.* wilful, obstinate, perverse, 3282, 3290, 3309, 3537.
 Lefull, *adv.* wilfully, 2899.
 Leiche *for* leicht, light, 438.
 Leir, *v.* to learn, 32.
 Leisingis, *n.* lies, falsehoods, 61.
 Less, *v.* to diminish, 1871.
 Lest, *n.* endurance, lasting, 1535.
 Leuit, *pp.* lived, 208.
 Levand, *part.* living, 739.
 Lewand, *part.* living, alive, 1354.
 Lewing, *n.* living, 934.
 Lewis, *v.* to leave, 2311.
 Lewynge, *n.* living, 3849.
 Lewys, *v.* lives, 3514.
 Lewys, *v.* allows, 184.
 Lipin, *v.* to trust, 3501.
 Lof, *v.* to praise, 3549.
 Loif, *v.* to praise, 3483.
 Louf, *v.* to praise, 1338.
 Lout, *v.* to bow down, 1659.
 Love, *v.* to thank, praise, 3324.
 L. laudare; Fr. louer.
 Lovynge, *n.* praise, 2656.
 Lowyt, *pp.* praised, 3759.
 Lufis, *v.* praises, 3280.
 Lwm, *n.* a loom for weaving, 2091.
 Lyinnist, *adj.* most false, lying, 3088.
 Lyklynes, *n.* appearance, 1324.
 Lypnis, *v.* trust, 1534.
 Lypnyne, *n.* trust, dependence, 1443.
 Magre, *n.* disfavour, 1828.
 Ma, *adj.* more, 107.
 Mailes, *n.* discomfort, uneasiness, restlessness, 3116.
 Mak, *adj.* like, similar, 1105.
 Mak, *n.* fashion, form, 3688.
 Mankyt, *adj.* mutilated, deficient, 3512.
 Manfuieris, *v.* to perjure, 3030.
 Mandments, *n.* commandments, 3574.
 Masterer, mistake for *master*, 992.
 Mate, *adj.* downcast, 1418.
 Matalent, *n.* rage, 2921.
 Matromöze, *n.* perhaps should be *matromöze*, matrimony, 235.
 Mavyte, *n.* wickedness, 2351.
 May, *adj.* more, 2636.
 Mell, *v.* to mix, mingle, 675.
 Men, *adj.* mean, the mean, 1134, 1175, 1176, 1180.
 Men, *v.* to *meyne*, to mind, 1164.
 Mermwrys, *v.* murmur, 114.
 Mesing, *n.* mitigation, appeasing, 1300.
 Mef, *n.* a meddling with anything, 1888.
 Meyne, *v.* mind, bear in mind, 2058.
 Missourys, *n.* misdoings (?), 1578.
 Mister, *n.* necessity, want, 778.
 Misterfull, *adj.* necessary, 977.
 Moy, *adj.* affected in manners, 3620.
 Murthersar, *n.* murderer, 100.
 Mwtyue, *n.* motive, 1827.
 Mydys, *n.* middle age, 1951.
 Myrknes, *n.* darkness, 437.
 Na, *adv.* than, 112, 2701.

Na, *conj.* nor, 137, 167.
 Nayen, *adj.* none, 1331.
 Neddyr, *n.* an adder, 771.
 Nes, *n.* nose, 1003.
 Nocht-aganestandard, *adv.* not-
 withstanding, 183.
 Nwne, *n.* noon, 3767.

O, *prep.* of, 21, *et sæpe*.
 Oblist, *pp.* pledged, bound, 1318.
 Of, *prep.* for, 103, 134.
 Okyrar, *n.* usurer, 99.
 Onc-to, *prep.* unto, 121.
 Opruuis (?), 1305.
 Optenis, *v.* obtains, 55.
 Or, *adv.* ere, before, 70.
 Orne, *n.* 310, 329. See notes.
 Ourstrenklys, *v.* oversprinkle, 356,
 792.
 Ourtyrfand, *part.* overturning,
 upsetting, 2457.
 Oyf, *v.* to use, 396, 3431.

Pan, *n.* pain; *do the pan*=take
 the trouble, 2156.
 Pane, *n.* pain, 265.
 Pare, *v.* to impair, 2068.
 Pasinge, *adj.* passing, 3513.
 Pepane, *n.* a doll, 1988.
 Peryf, *v.* to destroy, 565.
 Petaill, *n.* poor people, 3463.
 Pete, *n.* pity, 674.
 Plenze, *v.* complain, 2295.
 Plettis, *v.* plaits, folds, 549.
 Pocy, position, arrangement, 92.
L. positio.
 Pouer, *adj.* poor, 3604.
 Power, *adj.* poor, 3503.
 Pras, *n.* praise, 685.
 Preeellyt, *v.* excelled, 387, 436.
 Predfull, *adj.* pridefull, proud,
 656.
 Presyt, *v.* pressed, was urgent,
 689.
 Prewaly, *adv.* privately, 2144.
 Priß, *n.* value, 3035.
 Proferis, *v.* prefers, 2957.

Prophetable, *adj.* profitable, 199.
 Pupill, *n.* people, 359.
 Pur, *adj.* poor, 199.
 Pure, *adj.* poor, 550.
 Purway, *v.* to provide, 642.
 Pwnys, *v.* to punish, 2080, 2085.

Quantice, *n.* prudence, skill, 1230.
 Quit, *pp.* requited, 3488.
 Qwyf, *v.* to acquit, 2820.

Rademar, *n.* redeemer, 81.
 Rademyng, *n.* redeeming, 96.
 Radnes, *n.* fear, timidity, 1166,
 1660.
 Radour, *n.* fear, 3611.
 Rahef, *v.* rehearse, 101.
 Raife, *n.* rope, 563.
 Rammys, *adj.* excited, violent,
 with the additional idea of de-
 mented, 113. *Isl. rammr.*
 Rapar, *n.* connection, 3399. *Fr.*
rapport.
 Raqueris, *v.* requires, 3348.
 Rastrenze, *v.* to restrain, 1240.
 Rauard, *n.* reward, 1859.
 Red, *v.* to clear up, compose dif-
 ferences, 1242.
 Refexone, *n.* recruiting, strength-
 ening, 784.
 Rek, *v.* to reach, 1500.
 Rehint, *pp.* reckoned, 1033.
 Rewis, 818. See notes.
 Rewis, *v.* rob, plunder, 2902.
 Rewmys, *n.* realms, 467.
 Rich, *v.* enrich, 1874.
 Rignys, *v.* 1699.
 Ringis, *v.* 2263.
 Rotable, *adj.* liable to rot, perish-
 able, 466.
 Rotet, *pp.* rotted, 455.
 Rouk, *v.* to crouch down, 3618.
 Roune, *v.* to whisper, 3618.
 Ruß, *v.* to pride oneself, 2823,
 3483.
 Rusarc, *n.* a flatterer, 3356.
 Rychtwyf, *adj.* righteous, 115.

- Ryge, *n.* rig, back, 1099.
 Ryp, *v.* to reap, 2003.
 Ryt, *pp.* misreading for *cryit* =
 cried, publicly proclaimed, 756.
 Sad, *pp.* firm, reliable, 648.
 Sauore, *v.* to taste, 296, Fr.
savourer.
 Say, *adv.* so, 1538, 2424.
 Sayndes, *n.* sendings; dispensa-
 tions, 104.
 Scaithit, *pp.* injured, 1323.
 Scaw, *n.* the itch, 1031.
 Scharp, *v.* to sharpen, 3900.
 Schaving, *pp.* shown, 2565.
 Schrewyne, *pp.* shriven, 23, 84.
 Sehyr, *adj.* clear, pure, 1492.
 Seg, *n.* sedge, rush, 1984.
 Seid, *n.* seed, 1972.
 Seill, *n.* happiness, 1613.
 Seldin, *adv.* seldom, 1921.
 Selding, *adv.* seldom, 3810.
 Sely, *adj.* simple, innocent, 3265.
 Sen, *adv.* since, 122.
 Sen, *pp.* seen, 2541.
 Send, *v. pret.* sent, 67.
 Senjory, *n.* sovrantry, authority,
 1585.
 Sere, *adj.* various, several, 961,
 990, 1955.
 Serf, *v.* deserve, 802, 3201, 3907.
 Service, *v.* serves, does duty, 1042,
 1047.
 Shaffis, *v.* shows, 922.
 Skill, *n.* reason, 2445, 2612.
 Slak, *n.* a hollow in the ground, a
 pit, 768.
 Slok, *v.* abate, quench, 791.
 Slydder, *adj.* slippery, liable to
 fall, 3608.
 Smitit, *pp.* smitten, 64.
 Smyrkand, *part.* smiling, 3000.
 Smyt, *v.* to infect, 1027, 3207.
 Smytable, *adj.* infectious, 3795.
 Snapyr, *v.* to snapper, to stumble,
 774.
 Snek, *n.* a sharp cut, a blow, 3122.
 Somondynge, *n.* summoning, 3527.
 Spalys, *n.* laths, chips, 1979.
 Spens, *n.* the living room in a
 house, 1980.
 Stad, *pp.* beset, 1310.
 Stald, contracted for, stole it,
 3446.
 Stall, *pret.* stole, 1328.
 Stang, *v.* to sting, 771.
 Stankis, *n.* tanks, 408.
 Stek, *v.* to close, to bar, 1315.
 Sternis, *n.* stars, 812.
 Stramp, *v.* to stamp, 331.
 Strethy, *adj.* strong, 139.
 Strenze, *v.* to strain, constrain,
 194.
 Strind, *n.* strain, breed, race,
 1695, 1789.
 Strublyne, *n.* disturbance, vexa-
 tion, trouble, 652.
 Strublyt, *pp.* disturbed, 2871.
 Sture, *adj.* stern, 3511.
 Sturt, *n.* quarrel, discord, 3679.
 Sturtand, *part.* quarreling, 656.
 Succudry, *n.* presumption, 1150.
 Sucht, *adj.* sooth, true, 2558.
 Suere, *adj.* slow, lazy, 549.
 Suernes, *n.* laziness, 3013.
 Suet, *pp.* sued, petitioned, prayed,
 427.
 Surfastnes, *n.* surfeiting, 270.
 Suffissand, *adj.* sufficient, 85.
 Suppowell, *n.* support, 1194.
 Surplice, *n.* surplus, excess, 1812.
 Swere, *adj.* slow, listless, 2486.
 Swik, *n.* fraud, deceit, 1880.
 Swyk, *adj.* i.q. swilk, such, 860.
 Syker, } *adj.* certain, sure, 157,
 Sykere, } 159.
 Syld, *v.* should, 192.
 Symbly, *adj.* similar, 2204.
 Sympilly, *adv.* simply, 1367.
 Sykirest, *adj.* most safe, 87.
 Syndernes, *n.* distinction, division,
 1065.
 Syndrynes, *n.* separation, varia-
 tion, variety, 1684.

Syre, *adj.* open, frank, 3677.

Sytand, *part.* suiting, suitable, 2066.

Ta, *v.* take, 2346, 2347.

Tait, *v.* to toy, 3775, 3778.

Takin, *n.* a token, 3638.

Takyne, *n.* token, 2886.

Tan, *pp.* taken, 249.

Teland, *part.* tilling, 2721.

Tendis, *v.* to aim, intend, 2140.

Tent, *n.* heed, care, 566.

Terains, *n.* tyrants, 673.

Terandry, *n.* tyranny, 941.

Ternyt, *adj.* fierce, 3368.

Tetyll, *n.* title, 2141.

The, *pron.* thee, 1713.

Thir, *pron.* these, 108, 158.

Thole, } *v.* endure, 109, 118, 119.
Tholl, }

Tholyt, endured, 13. Isl. *þola*,

to bear. A.S. *þolian*.

Thowlas, *adj.* thewless, inactive, 3745.

Tholmud, *adj.* patient, 140.

Thraw, *v.* to enthrall, 3250.

Thret, *adj.* threatened, terrified, 3552.

Thrist, *v.* thrust, 129.

Tift, *v.* to correct by punishment, 3811.

Till, *prep.* to, 99, 245, *et passim*.

Tolter, *v.* to totter, waver, 3090.

Torment, *pp.* tormented, 73.

Trane, *n.* a device, stratagem, 3547.

Tras, *v.* trace, observe, 1016.

Tratland, *part.* tattling, 3039.

Tratlingis, *n.* tattle, small talk, 3259.

Tratlynge, *n.* small talk, 3617, 3625.

Tretar, *n.* one to treat, to take part in a treaty, 1190.

Trowis, *v.* believes, 220.

Trowyt, *pp.* trowed, believed, 60.

Trumpouris, *n.* deceiver, 2968.

Tuljouris, *n.* talebearers, 3538.

Twichand, *part.* touching, 1748.

Twichet, *v.* touched upon, 2560.

Tyg, *v.* to pat in play, 3778.

Tykilnes, *n.* risk, danger, 294.

Tyll, *adv.* while, 88.

Tymly, *adv.* too early, 782.

Tynsell, *n.* loss, 505.

Tynt, *pp.* lost, 779.

Tyrandry, *n.* tyranny, 1548.

Va, *n.* woe, 781.

Vages (?), *n.* 1644.

Vaistour, *n.* waster, 472.

Vaneall, *adj.* venial, 188.

Vare, *v.* to veer, waver, 42.

Veill, *adv.* well, 1569.

Vem, *n.* spot, blemish, 2180.

Venis, *v.* thinks, 2751.

Verdis, *n.* words, 574.

Vmbeschew, *v.* to utterly eschew, 3139.

Vmbethow, *v.* to reflect upon, 400, 425, but in 400 it should be *vmbethink*.

Vntholmudnes, *n.* impatience, unwillingness to endure, 102.

Vonyng, *pp.* won, gained, 172.

Vresone, *n.* i.q. unreason, folly, 655.

Vreith, *v.* to grow angry, 3187.

Vryth, *v.* to tear away, 1898.

Vs, *v.* to use, 1073, 1075.

Vylsum, *adj.* wilful, violent, 3480.

Vynand, *part.* winning, 203.

Vytterly, *adv.* assuredly, 1797.

Vyne, *v.* to win, 163.

Vyvys, *n.* possessive case of *vyf*, a wife, a woman, 3228.

Waind, *v.* to hesitate, mind doing anything, 3047.

Waift (?), 1544.

Walable, *adj.* advantageous, 3663.

Wallowed, } *part.* withered, 323,

Waleyt, } 3694. Isl. *velkja*.

- Wangell, *n.* the evangel, the gospel, 251.
 Wanewyt, *n.* folly, 565.
 Wanttis, *v.* to vaunt, boast, 2825.
 Wanwitty, *adj.* foolish, 454.
 Ware, *v.* to expend, 3554.
 Wary, *v.* to execrate, ban, curse, 1994, 3411.
 Waryt, *pp.* accursed, 1090.
 Wat, *v.* know, 166.
 Wedand, *part.* raving, 2480.
 Wedand, *part.* maddening, 1644.
 Wefinge, *n.* weaving, 3769.
 Weildand, *part.* going wild, 2270.
 Weill-varandly, *adv.* in a clear and proper manner, 911.
 Weire, *n.* war, 3308.
 Weng, *v.* to take vengeance, 3540.
 Were, *adj.* worse, 589, 1090, 2873.
 Werkis, *v.* aches, 3016.
 Werslyng, *n.* wrestling, 307.
 Weschell, *n.* vessels, 417, 3525.
 Wexit, *pp.* vexed, 73.
 Withgang, *v.* to tolerate, 3747.
 Withgange, *n.* free enjoyment, 420.
 Withsaif, *v. pret.* vouchsafed, 62.
 Wmbeset, *pp.* stationed, 1137.
 Wneß, *adv.* unnethes, hardly, 2524.
 Wnewynelyk, *adj.* unsuitable, unjust, 909.
 Wnskill, *n.* lack of wisdom, folly, unreasonableness, 1806.
 Wnswere, *adj.* diligent, 1861.
 Wntymis, *n.* unseasonable times, 590.
 Wntymous, *adj.* untimely, 3332.
 Wodus, *n.* perhaps for *wedus* = wedes, clothing, 2451.
 Woid, *adj.* empty, 3081.
 Worschipfull, *adj.* proud, overbearing, 1302.
 Wouß, *n.* vows, 3032.
 Wow, *n.* a vow, 3496.
 Wowis, *v.* he vows, 575.
 Wrekis, *v.* to take vengeance, 2786.
 Wreukis, *i. q.* *wrenkis*, tricks, stratagems, 60. A.S. *wrenc*.
 Wrochit = wrechit, wretched, 440.
 Ws, *pron.* us, 121, 123.
 Wy, *n.* wise, manner, 2941, 3268.
 Wycht, *adj.* brave, patient, 140.
 Wychtly, bravely, 52.
 Wyke, *adj.* wicked, 3785.
 Wylfull, *adj.* wishful, 2919.
 Wyll, *n.* wilfulness, 1562.
 Wynyng, *pp.* wonnen, won, 520.
 Wyß, *v.* advise, take thought, 2838.
 Wytterly, *adv.* certainly, 3453.
 Wyß, *adj.* wise, 3129.
 Ythandly, *adv.* diligently, 3698.
 Żarnynge, *n.* ambition, 975.
 Żauld, *pret.* yielded, 261.
 Żem, *v.* to care for, 2344.
 Żhir, *n.* year, 71.
 Żhit, *adv.* yet, 168, 195.

Joseph of Arimathie:

otherwise called

The Romance of the Seint Graal, or Holy Grail.

DUBLIN: WILLIAM MCGEE, 18, NASSAU STREET.
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Joseph of Arimathie:

OTHERWISE CALLED

The Romance of the Seint Graal, or Holy Grail:

AN ALLITERATIVE POEM WRITTEN ABOUT A.D. 1350,
AND NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM THE UNIQUE COPY
IN THE VERNON MS. AT OXFORD.

WITH AN APPENDIX, CONTAINING

“THE LYFE OF JOSEPH OF ARMATHY,” REPRINTED FROM THE
BLACK-LETTER COPY OF WYNKYN DE WORDE;

“DE SANCTO JOSEPH AB ARIMATHIA,” FIRST PRINTED
BY PYNSON A.D. 1516;

AND “THE LYFE OF JOSEPH OF ARMATHIA,”
FIRST PRINTED BY PYNSON A.D. 1520.

EDITED, WITH NOTES AND GLOSSARIAL INDICES,

BY THE

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P R E F A C E .

§ 1. MY object, in this preface, is to give first of all a general description of the four pieces which this volume contains, and afterwards to discuss briefly the legend to which they all refer. And it may here be observed that the first piece in the book, viz. the alliterative poem, is the one which, as being of some curiosity and importance as well as hitherto *utterly unknown*, the Early English Text Society chiefly desired to publish. The other three pieces are reprints from scarce books, appended to give the volume more completeness.

ACCOUNT OF THE ALLITERATIVE POEM.

§ 2. The alliterative poem here for the first time printed came under my notice when editing the A-text of *Piers the Plowman* from the celebrated Vernon MS.¹ At p. xvii. of my preface to the A-text, I have stated that a leaf has been cut out of the Vernon MS. just where *Piers the Plowman* ends, and where some other poem begins. The missing leaf is No. 402. Now, in Mr Halliwell's description of the Vernon MS., the piece next to *Piers the Plowman* is called "*Judas*," and it is said to begin on leaf 403 ; but "*Judas*" does not really begin till we come to the 2nd column of the back of leaf 404. The contents of leaf 403 and of part of leaf 404 are thus left unaccounted for ; and, as a hasty glance at the MS. shewed that I had fortunately lighted upon some unique piece with which no one seemed to be acquainted, it was well worth while to

¹ For a description of this MS., see *P. Plowman*, A-text ; pref. p. xv.

secure a copy of it; and an excellent transcript was accordingly made by Mr George Parker, assistant in the Bodleian Library, from which the copy now before the reader was printed, after careful revision by myself. In the footnote to p. xvii of the preface to the A-text of *Piers the Plowman* (already referred to) the *first* and *last* lines were inadvertently given as the *two first* lines, and the word *nouwe* was misprinted *nowe*.

§ 3. The poem being imperfect at the beginning, the next point was to ascertain how much has been lost. This depends upon the probable contents of the missing leaf preceding it in the Vernon MS., which again involves the question whether the Vernon MS. contained the very rare twelfth Passus of the A-text of *Piers the Plowman*. This twelfth Passus is indeed so rare that I have only been able to find *one perfect* copy of it, viz. that in MS. Rawl. Poet. 137, which was printed as a Supplement to the A-text, but issued to subscribers with the B-text, as it was, unfortunately, not discovered till the A-text copies had been issued. But the MS. in University College, Oxford, preserves the beginning of this Passus,¹ and there are special reasons why it is omitted in the Trinity MS. and in MS. Harl. 6041;² whilst of course it could not occur in MS. Harl. 875, the MS. in Lincoln's Inn, or in MS. Dublin D. 4. 12,³ which are all extremely imperfect at the end. The other MSS. of the A-text are not of much account. Considering these things, and remembering the extreme excellence of the Vernon MS., I think it almost certain that it must have contained the *whole* of the A-text, the twelfth Passus included. This would account for just exactly three columns of the missing leaf; since, counting in the Latin lines, there are 135 lines missing from the eleventh passus, and 102 from the twelfth, and the title to the twelfth Passus would take up two lines more, giving 239 lines to fill up the 240 lines which three columns of the MS. contain. At this rate, the number of lines lost at the beginning of the piece now printed are as many as would fill a column. But as "*Joseph of Aramathie*" is written out *like prose*, each column

¹ P. Plowman, A-text; note on p. 154.

² P. Plowman, A-text; preface, pp. xix, xx, xxi.

³ Id. preface; pp. xvii, xxii. Also B-text; preface, p. vi, *note*.

averages about 96 or 97 lines; i. e. *rather less than a hundred lines are lost*. Finally, as the extant portion of the poem begins not very far from the probable beginning, I have little doubt that this result is sufficiently near for practical purposes; and, as nothing seems lost at the end (cf. note on p. 66), we have this result, viz. that our fragment contains the last 709 lines of an Early English Alliterative Poem which perhaps originally consisted of about 800 lines.

§ 4. I have said just above that the poem is written continuously, like prose. But that it is a genuine specimen of Alliterative verse was soon evident, and a little attention would soon have enabled me to divide it into lines of the right length. The scribe, however, has saved me the trouble, for he has marked off the whole poem into lines and half-lines (with tolerable correctness and only a few omissions) by the use of capital letters, paragraph-marks (¶), and metrical dots or periods; and I may observe that he clearly regarded the metre as consisting of *long* lines, not *short* ones.¹ The second column on leaf 403 begins, for instance, thus :—(ll. 102—105)—

Do a wei þi Maumetes. þei han trayed þe ofte. Let breken hē
a two . and bren hem al to powder. Schaltou neuer gete grace.
þorw; none suche goddes. ¶ þēne seis þe kyng. my wit mai
&c, &c.

I have carefully observed, however, the scribe's use of capital letters, and the reader will find, accordingly, some few lines beginning with a small letter. He should notice, at the same time, how carefully the scribe has avoided using a capital in the middle of a line. The cutting up of the poem into lines is the only liberty I have taken, though of course I am also responsible for the punctuation, for the use of hyphens, and the expansions of the contractions; in all other respects the MS. is followed with scrupulous exactness. In the Glossarial Index, I have endeavoured to tabulate and explain every word which seemed worthy of note. Many of them, however, are more fully explained in Mr Morris's Glossary to his Early English Alliterative Poems, and in my Glossary to William of Palerne, to which the reader is referred.

§ 5. English poems in unrimed alliterative metre are compara-

¹ P. Plowman, A-text; pref. p. xxvii.

tively rare. I know of only about twenty-three, and have given a complete list of these in my Essay on Alliterative Poetry, prefixed to vol. iii. of Bishop Percy's Folio MS., edited by Hales and Furnivall. Our present poem is there numbered 21, and is very inadequately described, as I did not then know much about it, and made no attempt to assign to it its right place. But it ought, chronologically, to stand very high in the list, certainly not lower than *fifth*, and probably *third*; this is what gives it its chief value. It is clearly one of the oldest pieces of alliterative poetry (since the Conquest) in existence. This is easily seen by its resemblance in language to "William of Palerne," and I should place it *earlier* than "Piers the Plowman." It can hardly be *later*, as it is found in the same MS. with the *earliest* copy of the *earliest* version of that poem. We may safely date it not later than A.D. 1360, but I prefer rather to date it about 1350, for its metre is of a more rugged and earlier character than even that of "William of Palerne." And I may here pause to remark that the law of progress in alliterative poetry is from lines cast in a loose mould to lines cast in a strict one; from lines with *two* alliterated letters to lines with *three*, and in very late instances, to lines with *four*; ¹ from lines with irregular feet to those in which extreme regularity makes the iteration of like initial sounds somewhat forced and monotonous. Of course some writers were more careless than others, but these principles may safely guide us to some extent, and the fact that *two* letters so frequently suffice to the alliteration in our fragment is decidedly a mark of antiquity. See, e.g. lines 2—11; the *sixth* line alone has *three* words beginning with the same letter. In l. 9, the *v* answers to *f*; ² in l. 12, we have the unusual number of *four* rime-letters.

§ 6. Before proceeding to the subject-matter, it will be convenient to consider the dialect in which the poem is written. The remark in my "Essay," that the best examples of alliterative metre

¹ P. Plowman, A-text; pref. p. xxii. Some of the latest examples of alliterative verse relapse into irregularity, owing to lack of skill on the part of the authors.

² This peculiarity I have nowhere else observed, except in Piers the Plowman and the Deposition of Richard II. In l. 448 of our poem we have *verreilli* answering to *figure*; but the (Southern) scribe has changed *figure* into *rigore*.

are to be found in the *northern* and *western* dialects, holds true in the present instance, the southern forms in the poem being due to a southern scribe. But I would here wish to remind the reader that examples of mixed dialect require great caution. It is usual to assume that the admixture of dialectal forms is due to the scribe. But such is by no means necessarily the case. There are *three* solutions that will account for such a result, and not *one alone*. The three solutions are these. Either (1) the author may have tried to write in a dialect not his own; or (2) he may have both spoken and written a mixed dialect; or (3) the author may have composed in one dialect, whilst the scribe afterwards altered many of the author's forms to those of another dialect with which he was himself more familiar. Of course the third of these solutions is generally the true one, but it must not be universally adopted; for examples of the other theories, though rare, are still actually to be found. The *first* theory is true for "Lancelot of the Laik" and for some poems by Scottish authors, who (such was the deference paid to Chaucer's language) actually affected Anglicisms, as has been pointed out by Mr J. A. H. Murray. The *second* theory is true for "Piers the Plowman," of which at least thirty MSS. are written in a *mixed* dialect,¹ which must have originated with the author. But, in the present case, the *third* or usual theory is obviously the right one; for the southernizing tendencies of the scribe are well-known, from the numerous other pieces which he has written out; whilst the more northern forms found must be original, owing to the known fact of alliterative poems being generally in a northern or western dialect. The poem was, I believe, originally in a West-Midland dialect, but its forms have been frequently altered by the Southern scribe. It is, therefore, all the more interesting to notice the non-southern forms which he has left intact. I proceed to give a general account of the forms found.

The plurals of the substantives end in *-es*, as *lippes*, 49;² but one

¹ P. Plowman, B-text; pref. p. xliii. In pref. to A-text, p. xvi, I have inadvertently assumed the Vernon MS. to be the best *in every respect*; I should have said, in every respect but the dialect, which the scribe has improved and made *more uniformly Southern*.

² The numbers refer to the lines.

plural ends in *-us*, viz. *gultus*, 249; and one in *-en*, viz. *honden*, 272. Other plurals worth notice are *winter*, 3; *nizt*, 6; *foote*, 14; *childre*, 493; *schon*, 423. There is one genitive plural in *-ene*, viz. *schalkene*, 510.

In the comparatives of adjectives and adverbs, the ending *-ore* (*-or*) is found, as: *dimmore*, 183; *lengore*, 137; *freschore*, 595; *feirore*, 649; *heutor*, 592. The same is found in the A-text of Piers Plowman, by the same scribe; cf. *febelore*, P. Pl. A. i. 160; *hardore*, i. 165. Observe also the form *3ernloker*, 593.

As regards pronouns, we find *heo* or *he* for *she*, 83, 87; for *he*, 97; and for *they*, 283; the gen. pl. is *heore*, 18, or *here*, 30; the dat. pl. is *heom*, 130; the acc. pl. *hem*, 31. But we find also the nom. *þei*, 244. The acc. of *3e* (*ye*) is *ou* or *ow*; we find also *hise*, pl. 24; *þis*, pl. 29; *þo*, pl. 60; *vr* or *vre* (*our*), and *or* or *oure* (*your*); cf. P. Plowm. A. The word *selue*, pl. means *very*, 303.

The infinitive mood of verbs ends in *-en*, as *rikenen*, 76, but more commonly in *-e*, as *here*, 74, *fare*, 63; both forms are found close together, as *lenden* and *lihte*, 81. I have observed no infinitives in *-ie* or *-y* (Southern forms), but the Northern form *ha* (for *have*) occurs twice, 351, 578. In the present tense, the 2nd pers. sing. ends in *-est*, as *berest*, 40; but we find also *þou 3emes*, 310, *þou wendes*, 420. The 3rd pers. sing. ends in *-es*, as *askes*, 7, *biddes*, 22, *spekes*, 38; but we find also *greteþ*, 347, *beretþ*, 396; cf. *me pinkeþ*, 6, with *me forpinkes*, 487. The plural ends in *-en* or *-e*, as *folewen*, 8, *carpen*, 175, *carke*, 30; but we actually find *-es* in *hydes*, 468. I have my doubts about *3e clepeþ* (379) being the genuine reading, though *beþ* occurs in l. 409. In the past tense, 2nd person, we find *-est* in *sou3test*, *codest*, 4, *lengedest*, 429; but observe *þou sou3tes*, 431, *þou slou3*, 433, *þou come*, 434, *þou toke*, 438; and note how *þou wast* (425) is changed to *þou weore*, 428. In l. 223 we find *þou for-3af*. The following are examples of the past tense singular, most of which may be found in the glossary; STRONG VERBS,¹ DIVISION I, CLASS I, *bar*, *bad*, *breek*, *3af*, *heold*, *lay*, *speek*, *com*; CLASS III, *stod* (359), *tok*; DIV. II, CLASS I, *to-barst*, *foml*, *halp*, *starf*; CLASS II, *ros* (268); CLASS III, *bed*, *fley3*, *lees*, *say* (*say3*, *se3e*, *sauh*, *sei3*,

¹ See Specimens of Early English, ed. Morris.

seih), *tei* (*tei3*) ;—WEAK VERBS, *hopede*, 59, *lente*, *sende*, *lafte*, *hedde*, *pouzte*. The plural generally ends in *-en* or *-e*, as *ladden*, *lengede*, 16 ; but we sometimes find the final *-e* dropped, as in *bosked*, *vn-housed* (before *hem*, 13, 455). Now if we compare the present poem with the schemes of conjugation of regular and irregular West-Midland verbs in Mr Morris's preface to his edition of Early English Alliterative Poems, we can find examples of nearly all the endings which he gives, as thus. Regular Verbs, pres. sing. *ponke*, *wendes*, *askes* ; pl. *carpen*, *mene*[*n*], *melen* ; past sing. *wepte*, *souztes*, *fulwede* ; pl. *passeden*. Irregular Verbs, pres. sing. *hete*, —, *fonges* ; pl. *slen* ; past tense, —, (*pou*) *for-3af*, *bad* ; pl. *flouen*. Even still more significant are the endings in *-es* in the plural of the imperative mood, which in a Southern dialect would become *-eþ* ; yet the scribe gives us *gos*, *proues*, 373, *holdes*, 492, *þenkes*, 493. The present participles have the Southern endings *-inge* or *-inde*, as *honginge*, 205, *cominge*, 206, *romynge*, 275, *stremynge*, 560, *comynge*, 562, *lenginde*, 20, *bouwynde*, 294, *folewynde*, 551. There are also examples of nouns substantive in *-ing*, as *crucifying*, 241, *lustnyng*, 164, *comynge*, 421, *schindrynge*, 513. The past participles of strong verbs end in *-en*, as *hoten*, *holden*, *stiken*, *bounden*, *taken*, *nomen*. In P. Plowman (A) we often find *d* altered to *t* in the past participles of weak verbs, and the scribe has frequently made the same alteration here ; as in *werret*, *scapet*, *I-bosket*, *a-bascht*, *haspet*, *Iugget* (251), *braset*, *a-semblet*, *wondet*, *wemmet*. We even find the same in the past tense, as in *fondet*, 12. This peculiarity occurs even in nouns, as *fert*, *pousent*, *bert*, *wynt*, for *ferd*, *pousend*, *berd*, *wynd*. Past participles are generally found without the prefix *I-*, but we have also *I-ben*, *I-blesset*, &c. ; a list of these being given in the Glossary. We find *Iehul*, *icholde*, for *ich wol*, *ich wolde* ; and the second personal pronoun joined on to the verb, as in *hastou*, *hettestou*, *trouwestou*, *woldestou*. Verbs occur with the negative prefix, as *nis*, *nare*, *nas*, *nul*, *nedden*, *nuste*, for *ne is*, *ne are*, *ne was*, *ne wol*, *ne hedden*, *ne wuste*. The free use of negatives is well exemplified by the l. 342—

þis ofer two nare none · in no maner þinge.

Verbs occur with the prefix *to-*, as *to-burst*, *to-borsten*, *to-cloun*,

to-hurles; only in the last case (*al to-hurles*) is the adverb *al* superadded. Other noteworthy points are the occurrence of *wepte* (not *wep*) as the past tense of *wepen*, 647; whilst besides *fel*, as the past tense of *fallen*, we find the curious form *fælde*, shewing that the correct reading of the puzzling line in *Havelok* (2698) is probably—*þat he [ne] felden so dos þe gres*—i. e. that they did not *fall* as does the grass. We may also note the use of *was* for *who was*, 19; *enes*, *atenes*; the verb *worþe*, 146; *forte* for *forto* (as in P. Pl. A.); *boto*, 300, beside the full form *boþe two*, 697; the phrase *þreo maner enkes*, 194; *no-skunus* for *nos kunes*; *eornen* for *rennen*, 275, &c. The numerous forms from the verb *ben* (to be) are given in the Glossary; thus we find in the pl. indic. present *ben*, *beon*, *beþ*, *beoþ*, and *aren*. *Bi* is written for *be*, as in William of Palerne; but a still more remarkable form is *he beos*, 216, which is quite a Northern form. So also is *out-wiþ* for *wiþ-out*. Some of the words in the Glossary most worthy of remark are *allynge*, *blencheden*, *boskes*, *bounen*, *carke*, *demayen*, *derue*, *faus*, *felle*, *feye*, *flote*, *folfulsened*, *for-set*, *geyn*, *greiþli*, *grettede*, *inne* (vb.), *keueren*, *limpe*, *luttulde*, *mallen*, *note*, *of-fonȝten*, *of-scuteded*, *out-wiþ*, *pallede*, *res*, *roungede*, *schalkene*, *schindringe*, *seyne*, *slauht*, *sound*, *sporn*, *sputison*, *teis*, *teiȝ*, *þroly*, *vmbe*, *vsauht*, *wasscheles*, *wawes*, *whappede*, *whucche*, *wustest*, and several others. It is a piece well worth attention from a philological point of view, as well as for its curiosity.

§ 7. The five principal Arthurian Romances are set down in the following order by Sir F. Madden, in his “*Syr Gawayne*,” Pref. p. x.¹

1. “The History of the Holy Graal,” which tells of Joseph of Arimathea, and how he brought the holy vessel² to England.

2. “Merlin.”

3. “Lancelot of the Lake.”

4. “The Quest of the Holy Graal.”

5. “Le Mort Artus,” or “Morte Darthur.”

¹ See Mr Furnivall's Introduction to “Merline,” in Bishop Percy's Folio MS., ed. Hales and Furnivall, vol. i. p. 411.

² “This, said he [Christ] is the holy dish wherein I ate the lamb on Sher-thursday;” Malory's *Morte Darthur* ed. Sir E. Strachey, bk. xvii. ch. 20.

Our poem contains only the earlier portion of the *first* of these, and its contents may be thus epitomized. The portion within square brackets is lost.

[After our Lord's entombment, Joseph of Arimathea was seized by the Jews, and imprisoned in a dungeon without a window, where he remained for forty-two years, till released by Vespasian.] After his release, he tells Vespasian that the time of his imprisonment has seemed but three days. Being first baptized himself, he proceeds to baptize Vespasian and fifty others; after which Vespasian wreaks vengeance on the Jews who had imprisoned Joseph. In obedience to a divine voice, Joseph, with his wife, his son Josephes (or Josaphe) and a company of fifty people, leaves Jerusalem, and arrives at Sarra, taking with him the Holy Graal, or Sacred Dish containing Christ's blood, which is carried inside an ark or box. Joseph tries to convert Evalak, the king of Sarra, at the same time declaring the doctrine of the Trinity. The king provides for the wants of Joseph's company, but has his doubts about the truth of the doctrine. The following night, he is converted by two visions. In the first he sees three stems growing from one trunk, and appearing to coalesce into one; an emblem of the Trinity in Unity.¹ In the second he sees a child pass through a solid wall without any injury to the wall, an emblem of Christ's spotless Incarnation. Josaphe, the son of Joseph, also sees a vision; for, on peering into the Grail-Ark, he beholds Christ upon the cross, and five angels with the instruments of the Passion; afterwards appear eleven more angels, whilst Christ seems to descend from the cross, and to stand beside an altar, upon the one end of which are the Lance and Three Nails, and upon the other the DISH WITH THE BLOOD (the HOLY GRAIL). Christ then ordains Josaphe bishop, and bids him go to Evalak's palace. A clerk is appointed by King Evalak to dispute with Joseph, but is miraculously struck dumb, whilst at the same time his eyes fly out of his head. Evalak repairs to a temple of idols, hoping to secure the clerk's recovery, but the idols are

¹ "After a while the three trees touched one another, then began to incorporate and confound their several natures in a single trunk."—*Legend of the Cross*, in *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, by S. Baring-Gould; ii. 117.

powerless. Soon after, a messenger arrives to tell Evalak that his land has been invaded by Tholomer, king of Babylon, whereupon Evalak prepares for war. Before he sets out, Joseph and Josaphe have a private interview with Evalak, wherein Joseph tells the king that he is acquainted with all his previous history, after which Josaphe gives Evalak a shield with a red cross upon it, telling him to pray to Christ in the hour of peril. In the first encounter, Tholomer's men are successful, but lose their tents. Evalak then collects more men, and is joined by his wife's brother, Seraphe, with five hundred men. In the next battle, king Evalak and duke Seraphe perform wonders, but at last Seraphe is wounded sorely, and Evalak made prisoner. As Evalak is being led to death, he remembers Josaphe's advice; he uncovers the shield with the red cross, and prays to Christ. An angel comes to the rescue, in the outward form of a White Knight, who slays Tholomer, heals Seraphe, mounts Evalak upon Tholomer's horse, and helps him to achieve a complete victory; after which he vanishes away. Meanwhile Joseph has an interview with Evalak's queen, who was at heart a Christian, and whose early history is related. Evalak returns home, and is baptized, being named Mordreins; Seraphe is also baptized, with the name of Naciens. Joseph further baptizes five thousand of Evalak's subjects, and abides at Sarras, whilst Josaphe and Naciens set out upon a missionary journey, the Holy Grail being left at Sarras, in the charge of two of Joseph's company. The poem here ceases, with a brief reference to the subsequent imprisonment of Josaphe by the king of North Wales, and his release by Mordreins (Evalak).

The real subject of the story is therefore the adventures of Joseph of Arimathea at the court of Evalak, king of Sarras, with the episode of king Evalak's shield. The object of the poet clearly was to translate so much of the legend of "Joseph" as most pleased his fancy, and we may allow that he has fairly acquitted himself in the task. Though following in the main a French original, he seems to have had a fair command of language; many of his lines are terse and striking, and he seems to be particularly at home in describing battle scenes; see e. g. ll. 498—517, 531—534, 584—600. Such lines as

Schon schene vppon schaft · schalkene blod (510),

Al to-hurles þe helm · and þe hed vnder (533),

and

Wiþ þe deþ in his hals · downward he duppes (534),

are really good ; and there is a very sufficient vigour in the expression

maden þer a siker werk · and slown hem vp clene¹ (605).

§ 8. The story of Evalak's shield is related to Galahad by "the white knight" in the Romance of the Quest of the Saint Graal, from whence it was inserted by Malory in his "Morte Darthur," book xiii, ch. 10. I here give the original version of it from "La Queste del Saint Graal" (supposed to have been written by Walter Map) as edited by Mr Furnivall for the Roxburghe Club in 1864 ; pp. 27—30.

"Galaad," fait li chiualers, "il auint apres la passion nostre singnour .xlii. ans, que ioseph d'abarithie, li gentiex chiualers qui despendi nostre seignour de la crois, se parti de la chite de iherusalem entru grant partie de ses parens. Et tant errerent par le commandement de nostre signour qu'il vinrent en la chite de saras que li rois Eualac, qui lors yert sarasins, tenoit a chel tans que Ioseph y uint. Auint que li rois eualac gerroia .j. sien voisin, riche homme. Tholomes ot non. quant eualac se fu apprestes sour tholomes, que sa terre li demandoit, Josaphes li flex ioseph lui dist. 'que s'il aloit en bataille si desconseillies comme il estoit, qu'il seroit desconfis. Et honnis par son anemi.' 'Et que m'en loes vous,' dist Eualac. 'che vous dirai jou bien' fait il, lors li commencha a traire auant les poins de la nouuele loy, et la veritei des Euwangeles. et del cruceflement nostre signour. et del resussitement de ihesu crist lui dist la veritei. et lui fist un escu ou quel il fist vne crois de chendal, et li dist, 'rois Eualac, ore te mousterrai appartement comment tu porras counoistre la forche et la vertu du urai cruchefi. Et il est voirs² que tholomes ara sour toi soignourie iij. jours et iij. nuis. Et tant te fera que me te mettra juskes a paour de mort. Mais quant tu verras que tu ne porras escaper, lors descouuerras la

42 years after
Christ's death,
Joseph of
Arimathea and
his relatives

went by God's
command to
Sarras, the city of
King Evalach,

who was warring
against Tholome,

and Josephes
tells Evalach
that if he fights
as he is, he will
be beaten by his
enemy ;

to prevent which,
Josephes ex-
pounds the
Christian faith
to him, and
makes him a
shield with a
cross of red
cendal on it,
which, when in
fear of death, he
is to uncover, and
to pray to Christ.

¹ It is to be regretted that so many of our early poets are nameless. All that can be done is to investigate if any two poems are by the same author. The author of "William of Palerne" could have written lines like these, but there is too much dissimilarity in the metre to admit of the identification.

² MS. vous.

This Evalach does when in danger of death in battle; sees a bleeding crucified man on the Shield, and gains the victory thereby. On his return to Sarraz, Evalach tells his people of Joseph's truth, and Nasciens is baptized.

The Shield and Cross also restore a man his lost hand,

and the Cross disappears and re-appears on the Shield.

Evalach is then baptized,

and Josephes and his father come to Great Britain and are imprisoned.

On which Mordreins (or Evalach) and Nasciens invade Britain, and free Joseph,

and remain and serve him.

On his deathbed Evalach asks him

crois. et diras, biaux sires diex, de la qui moit je poeh le signe, Jetes moi sain et sauf de chest camp. a recheuoir uotre foy et votre creanche.' a tant s'en parti li roys Eualac, et ala a host sour tholomes. Et il li auint tout ensi comme chil li dist. Quant il se vit en tel peril qu'il quidoit vraiment mourir, il descouuri son escu. Et vit en milieu vn homme crucefie qui tous estoit sanglens, si dist les paroles que josaphas li auoit enseignies, dont il ot victorie et honneur. Et fu jetes des mains a sen anemi. Et vint au dessus de tholomes. Et de tous ses hoummes. Et quant il fu reuenus a sa chitei a sarraz : si dist au peuple la veritei qu'il auoit trouuee en josephee. Et manifesta tant l'entree des crestiens, que nasciens rechut batesme. Et en che qu'il se crestienoit, auint ke vns hons passoit par deuant aus qui auoit le poing caupe. et portoit son poing en s'autre main, et josephes l'apela od soy et chil y uint. Et si tost comme il ot atouchiet a la crois qui en l'escu estoit. Si se trouua ichil tous garis del poing qu'il auoit perdu, et encore en auint il vne autre auenture mult merueilleuse : que li crois que en l'escu estoit, se parti, et s'aliert au brach d'enemie en tel maniere que ains puis ne fu veue en l'escu. Lors rechut eualac baptesme. et deuint serians Jesu crist. et ot puis notres sires en grant amour et en grant reuerence. et fist garder l'escu mout signourieument. apres auint quant iosephes se fu partis de sarraz, entre lui et son pere. et il furent venu en la grant bertaigne. si trouuerent .j. roy. Cruel et felon. qui andeus les enprisouna, et od lui grant partie de crestiens. quant josephes fu enprisounes. Tost en ala lonch la nouuele. Car allours n'auoit homme el monde de greignour renouuee. Et tantost comme li rois mordains en oy parler. si semonst ses hommes et ses gens, entre lui et nascien son serouge. Et s'en uinrent. En la grant bertaigne sour chelui roy qui iosephe tenoit en prison, et les destrainsent et confundirent tous chiaus du pais, si que en la terre fu espandue sainte crestientes. Et il amerent tantiosephe qu'il ne s'en vaurrent partir del pais. ains remensent auoec lui. Et li seruoient en tous les lieux ou il aloit. Et quant che fu coze que iosephes fu au lit mortel. Eualac counut qu'il li couuenoit partir de chest siecle. et vint deuant lui, si ploura mult tenrement. Et dist, 'sire, puis ke vous me laissies, ore remainrai Je ausi comme tous seus en chest pais, ke pour l'amor de nous auoie ma terre laissie et ma nascion, pour dieu, puis k'il vous couvient partir de chest siecle, laissies moi de vous

aucune ensaigne qui apres vous me fache ramenbranche.'

'Sire,' fist iosephes, 'je le vous ferai.' lors com-
mencha a penser quel cose il li porroit ballier. et
quant il ot grant pieche pense. si dist. 'rois Mordains,
fai moi aporter ichel escu que jou te ballai quant tu
alas en la bataille sour tholomes.' Et li rois le fist, ensi
comme chil qui le faisoit porter od soi en tous les lieux
ou il aloit, si fist aporter l'escu : a chel point qu'il fu
aportes, auint k'il saina mult durement parmi le nes, si
que iosephes ne pooit estankier. et il prist maintenant
l'escu, et j fist de chelui meisme sanc vne crois, si com
vous le vees. Et bien sachiez que ch'est chil escus
meismes dont ie vous cont que vous portes. Et quant
il ot faite la crois telle comme vous poes veoir. il li
dist, 'ves chi ch'est escu ke je vous laisse en ramem-
branche de moy. Car vous saues bien que ceste crois
est faite de mon sanc. Si sera tous iours ausi freche et
ausi uermelle comme vous le poes ore-endroit veoir.
tant comme li escus durra. ne il ne faura mie tost pour
chou que nus iamaiz a son col ne le pendera pour qu'il
soit chiualers qu'il ne s'en repenche. Juskes a tant que
galaad li boins chiualers, li derrains del linaige naciens,
le pendera au sien col. Et pour chou ne soit nus si
hardis qui a son col le pende, se chil non a qui dieus l'a
destineie. Si ra telle occoison, que tout ausi comme en
l'escu ont este veuves meruellies grandes plus que
autres, tout ausi verra on en lui mervelleuses proneches.
Et plus haute uie que en autre chiualer.' 'Pvis qu'il
est ensi,' fait li rois, 'ke si boine ramenbranche me
lares, dont me dites, si'l vous plaist, ou jou lairai ch'est
escu. Car jou uaurroie mout qu'il fuist mis en tel lieu
ou li boins chiualers le trouuaist.' 'Dont vous dirai
je,' fait iosephes, 'que vous feres la ou nasciens se pria
mettre apres sa mort, si metes l'escu, car illoec uendra li
boins chiualers au chieunquisme iour qu'il aura rechut
l'ordene de cheualerie.' si est tout ensi auenu com il
dit. Car al quint iour que nous fustes chiualers,
venistes vous en ceste abeie ou naciens gist. si vous ai
ore tout contei, pour queles auentures sont auenues as
chiualers plains de fol quidier qui sour cestui defense,
et voloient porter l'escu qui a lui ni ert otroies, fors que
a vous." quant il ot tout chou contei, si s'esuanui en tel
maniere qu'il ne sot qu'il hiert deuenus. ne de quel
part il ert tourneis.

for some
remembrance
of him.

Joseph tells him
to bring the
shield, and, when
it is brought,
Joseph bleeds at
the nose,

and makes a
cross with his
blood on the
shield, and tells
Mordreins he
will leave him
the shield in
remembrance of
him,

but no one is to
hang it on his
neck till Galahad
comes.

Mordreins asks
where he shall
leave the shield,

and Joseph says,
in the place
where Naciens
is buried,

for Galahad shall
come on the fifth
day after he is
knighted.

The White
Knight vanishes
when he has told
this history.

§ 9. ACCOUNT OF THE PROSE "LYFE OF JOSEPH."

The "Lyfe of Joseph of Armathy," printed by Wynkyn de Worde,¹ corresponds tolerably closely to the account of his Life as given in Capgrave's "Nova Legenda Angliæ," who perhaps borrowed it from John of Glastonbury; see Hearne's "Johannis Glastoniensis Chronica." Capgrave's work is known to be principally taken from John of Tynemouth, but I have not been able to ascertain whether he took from him the legend of Joseph in particular. If it be not found in John of Tynemouth, then the probability of Capgrave having here followed John of Glastonbury becomes almost a certainty. The first part of the story, down to p. 30, l. 23, follows the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus; of the rest, the original Latin is quoted at length from Capgrave, and collated with Hearne's edition of John of Glastonbury, in the Note on p. 68. This account by John of Glastonbury seems to have been made up from several sources, and the whole matter is well treated in Archbishop Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," printed at Dublin in 1639. This work enables us to trace some of these sources, more or less exactly. Thus, in the latter part of the account, printed on pp. 68—70, the portion from "Post hec" to "gallias venit" (p. 69, l. 1) is quoted by Ussher (p. 16) as extant in a great table (*ingens tabula*) of Glastonbury antiquities in the possession of William, son of Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk. The next piece, from "Dispersis enim" down to "prefecit" (p. 69, l. 7) is from William of Malmesbury; see *Gul. Malmesb. de Antiq. Glaston. Ecclesie*, p. 5, included in Hearne's edition of Adam de Domerham; Oxon. 1727. The next piece, from "Venerunt" to "rege aruirago" (p. 69, l. 35) professes to be from the book which is called the Holy Graal ("Sanctum Graal"); cf. Ussher, p. 17, where the "Sanctum Graal" is also referred to. The next piece, from "anno ab incarnatione" down to "fidelium" (p. 70, l. 22), is again from William of Malmesbury, with the exception of the four verses, which Ussher calls "barbari illi ver-

¹ See the description in Herbert's Ames, vol. i. p. 232

siculi, ex Chronicis quibusdam de rege Arvirago agentibus citati" (Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 16). A portion of this passage is also quoted, from the Glastonbury records, by John of Tynemouth (Ussher, p. 18). The succeeding paragraph is founded upon the Arthur romances, as John of Glastonbury himself tells us. He cites the passage "where a certain hermit expounds to Walwain the mystery of a certain fountain;" and a second passage from near the beginning of the Quest (*inquisitio*) of the Seint Graal, where "a white knight relates to Galahad the mystery of a certain wonderful shield." The former of these references I cannot verify; but it probably is to be found in one of the later Romances, perhaps in Lancelot. The latter is the identical passage from the "Queste" printed above, p. xvii.

After this, we have an extract from Melkin,¹ of whom nothing seems to be known except that he lived before Merlin, although Spelman is bold enough to say that he flourished about A.D. 550; see Spelman's "Concilia, &c. in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici," vol. i. p. 6. This passage is also found in MSS. Cotton, Titus D. vii, fol. 29 *b*, and Arundel 220, fol. 274; but the MSS. have in addition the paragraph "Ex quo apostoli," &c., printed on p. 71, which nearly agrees with the account in John of Tynemouth; see Ussher, pp. 18 and 974.

The point where this "Lyfe of Joseph" ceases to follow John of Glastonbury is marked by note 12 on p. 69. The remaining eight lines briefly refer to the story of Celydomus or Celydoine as told in the Romance of the Seynt Graal; see the notes on p. 67.

§ 10. ACCOUNT OF THE PIECE "DE SANCTO JOSEPH."

This, the third piece in the volume, is from "The Kalendre of the New Legende of Englande," printed by Pynson in 1516, and described in Herbert's Ames, vol. i. p. 261. It is a mere epitome of Capgrave's account; see the notes on p. 72.

¹ Printed also in *Johannis Glastoniensis Chronica*, ed. Hearne, p. 30. Melkin is possibly the same as "Mewynus, the Bryton chronicler," mentioned in Hardyng's Chronicle, ch. l., and in ch. xliii, where MSS. have the various readings *Nerwinus*, *Nenius*, and *Nennius*; which look very like Nennius.

§ 11. ACCOUNT OF THE VERSE "LYFE OF JOSEPH."

This piece was printed by Pynson in 1520, and is a rather singular one. It was composed either in the year 1502 or soon after,¹ by some one very familiar with Glastonbury, and with the most evident object of encouraging all men to make offerings at the shrine of St Joseph; we may therefore feel tolerably sure that the author was a monk of Glastonbury. A short account of it is given in Hazlitt's *Handbook of Early English Literature*, p. 312.

The title-page (p. 35) bears the arms of Glastonbury, thus described by Ussher (*Britan. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 29), who quotes from the account given by William Good, a Jesuit born at Glastonbury in the reign of Henry VIII. "*Antiqua arma Glastoniensis Monasterii . . . sunt hujusmodi. Scutum album, in quo per longum erigitur stipes crucis viridis & nudosæ, & de latere ad latus extenduntur brachia seu rami crucis stipiti consimilia. Sparguntur guttæ sanguinis per omnem aream scuti. Utrinque ad latera stipitis, & sub alis crucis, ponitur ampulla inaurata. Et hæc semper denominabantur insignia Sancti Josephi, qui ibi habitasse piè credebatur, & fortassè sepultus esse.*" The knotted cross evidently refers to the legend of St Joseph's thorny staff, the drops of blood denote his receiving the blood of Christ in the Holy Grail, and the two cruets (as they are called in l. 32 of the poem) are the "duo fassula" mentioned in the book of Melkin (see p. 70, l. 3 from the bottom), which resulted from the duplication of the Grail of the original legend.

The poem is written in eight-line stanzas, and the metre is as poor as in most of the poems of the reign of Henry VII. In the first 216 lines, we have an account similar to that in Capgrave, the "Graal" portion of the story commencing at l. 113 and ending at l. 192. The latter part of the poem is a special appeal to the faithful to visit St Joseph's shrine, and recites the numerous miracles which had just taken place, chiefly in the month of April, 1502. Several places in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury are mentioned, viz. Dolting, Wells, Banwell, Ilchester, Yeovil, Milborne Port,

¹ See the notes to ll. 234 and 289.

Comton, and Pilton. Of these, "Dulting" and "Piltune" are mentioned in the Charter of King Ini which contains grants to Glastonbury Abbey.¹ The author proves Glastonbury to be the "holiest erth of england" (l. 369), by appealing to a story in the life of St David; cf. note on p. 73. This story is told by William of Malmesbury; see Hardy's edition, vol. i. p. 38, Gale's edition, vol. i. p. 299, or p. 30 of the Rev. J. Sharpe's translation; or it may be read in John of Glastonbury, ed. Hearne, p. 2. It is also repeated in an inscription upon a metal plate formerly affixed to a column which was erected to mark the exact size of the chapel at Glastonbury before St David added the chancel to it. A *facsimile* of this inscription is given at p. 9 of Spelman's "Concilia," &c. tom. i.; it is also printed in Hearne's History and Antiquities of Glastonbury, p. 118; see also p. 20. Lastly, the author alludes to the marvellous walnut-tree, growing "hard by the place where kynge Arthur was founde," and the three hawthorn-trees at Werrall or Weary-all-hill; although the story is generally told of *one* such tree only, *the* Glastonbury thorn,² which grew up on the spot where St Joseph stuck his staff of hawthorn-wood into the ground after his arrival. He then concludes with "A Praysyng to Joseph," and an Officium.³

§ 12. GLASTONBURY ABBEY, AND THE INTRODUCTION OF
CHRISTIANITY INTO BRITAIN.

This is not the place to enter into a subject so full of interest as the history of Glastonbury Abbey; but I may at least observe that the very first page of Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum contains an account which assumes the truth of the legend of the arrival in Britain of Joseph of Arimathea, as well as of several other statements in John of Glastonbury. It is therefore worth while to quote it in connection with the present subject.

¹ Printed in Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Gesta Regum Anglorum, ed. T. D. Hardy, vol. i. p. 51.

² See an engraving of it in Knight's Old England, vol. i. p. 133, and a notice of the legend at p. 131. See also Chambers' Book of Days, vol. ii. p. 758; Hearne's History and Antiquities of Glastonbury; Collinson's History of Somersetshire, vol. ii. p. 265; Brand's Antiquities, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, vol. iii. 358, &c.

³ There is an Officium somewhat like this printed in Hearne's edition of John of Glastonbury, p. 4; see also the Acta Sanctorum, xvii Martii.

Dugdale's account commences as follows :

"About sixty-three years after the Incarnation of our Lord, St Joseph of Arimathea, accompanied by eleven other disciples of St Philip, was despatched by that Apostle into Britain, to introduce in the place of barbarous and bloody rites, long exercised by the bigotted and besotted druids, the meek and gentle system of Christianity. They succeeded in obtaining from Arviragus, the British king, permission to settle in a small island, then rude and uncultivated, and to each of the twelve was assigned for his subsistence, a certain portion of land called a hide, comprising a district, denominated to this day THE TWELVE HIDES OF GLASTON. Their boundaries, as well as the names of the principal places contained in them, will be found in the Appendix ¹ (nos. i. and ii.). They enjoyed all the immunities of regal dignity, from ancient times and the first establishment of christianity in this land. One peculiar privilege which this church possessed by the grant of king Canute (App. num. lxvi.), was that no subject could enter this district without the permission of the abbot and convent. It now includes the following parishes ; Glastonbury St Benedict, Glastonbury St John, Baltonsbray, Bradley, Mere, West-Pennard, and North-Wotton.

"The name by which the island was distinguished by the Britons was *Ynsytryn*, or the Glassy Island, from the colour of the stream which surrounded it. Afterwards it obtained the name of Avallon, either from Aval, an apple, in which fruit it abounded ; or from Avallon, a British chief, to whom it formerly belonged. The Saxons finally called it Glasting-byrig.

"Here St Joseph, who is considered by the monkish historians as the first abbot, erected, to the honour of the Virgin Mary, of wreathed twigs, the first Christian oratory in England."

In this account, the word *Ynsytryn* should rather be spelt *Ynys-tryn*, the former element being the Welsh *ynys*, or Gaelic *innis* (sometimes corrupted into *inch*), an island, whilst the latter is connected with the Welsh *gwybwr*, Latin *vitrum*. The Welsh word for *apple* is *afal*, whilst *afallwrn*, an orchard, comes still closer to Avalon ; but the derivation is, perhaps, doubtful. The word is spelt *Avalun* in *Lazamon*, vol. iii. p. 144.² The Saxon name should

¹ I. e. the Appendix to the Monasticon.

² "This fair Avalon—

'Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly ; but it lies
Deep-meadow'd, happy, fair with orchard-lawns
And bowery hollows crown'd with summer sea,'

is the Isle of the Blessed of the Kelts. Tzetze and Procopius attempt to

be spelt Glæstinga-burig, where Glæstinga is a genitive plural, so that the word means "the borough of the sons of Glæst;" this disposes of the supposition that *glas* (glass) corresponds to the Welsh element *-wytryn*, yet the coincidence is certainly curious. The chief point to be noticed about Glastonbury Abbey is its proved antiquity, even if the story of the coming of Joseph be set aside. "Canterbury and York have no connection with the early British Church; but go to Glastonbury, and there what people simply dream of in other places becomes a real and living fact. Somersetshire between Axe and Parret was conquered by the Christian Cænwealh; Somersetshire beyond Parret was conquered by the famous lawgiver Ine. Unlike their forefathers in their heathen days, but exactly like the Christian Teutons in their continental conquests, the West-Saxon conquerors now spared, honoured, and enriched the great ecclesiastical establishment of the conquered. The ancient church of wood or wicker, which legend spoke of as the first temple reared on British soil to the honour of Christ, was preserved as a hallowed relic, even after a greater church of stone was built by Dunstan to the east of it. And though not a fragment of either of those buildings still remains, yet each alike is represented in the peculiar arrangements of that mighty and now fallen minster. The wooden church of the Briton is represented by the famous Lady Chapel, better known as the chapel of Saint Joseph; the stone church of the West-Saxon is represented by the vast Abbey church itself. Nowhere else can we see the works of the conquerors and the works of the conquered thus standing, though but in a figure, side by side. Nowhere else, among all the churches of England, can we find one which can thus trace up its uninterrupted being to the days before the Teuton had set foot upon British soil. The legendary burial-place of Arthur, the real burying-place of Eadgar and the two Eadmunds, stands

localize it, and suppose that the Land of Souls is Britain; but in this they are mistaken; as also are those who think to find Avalon at Glastonbury. Avalon is the Isle of Apples—a name reminding one of the Garden of the Hesperides in the far western seas, with its tree of golden apples in the midst."—*The Fortunate Isles*; in *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, by S. Baring-Gould, vol. ii. p. 270.

alone among English minsters as the one link which really does bind us to the ancient Church of the Briton and the Roman.”¹

In like manner, the real significance of the legend of St Joseph seems to me to be this, that the first missionaries of Christianity actually arrived in Britain at an early period, although (as will appear presently) this supposition rests upon mere guess, and is unsupported by any evidence. The question of the first introduction of Christianity into Britain has been frequently discussed, and Gildas, in particular, has been appealed to as saying that it was introduced in the time of Tiberius, whereas he says nothing of the kind. Various attempts have been made to establish a probability that Christian missionaries had really arrived here before the time of the supposed conversion of king Lucius (Beda, *Ecel. Hist.* Bk. i. ch. 4), the date of which has been settled by twenty-six writers in as many ways.² Mr Beale Poste, for instance, in his *Britannic Researches*, pp. 385—410, contends that the mission of Aristobulus is undoubtedly the best authenticated as the first which took place, this Aristobulus being the same as is mentioned by St Paul in *Romans* xvi. 10. It should be added that, according to some legends, Aristobulus died in the year 99, and was buried at Glastonbury. Welsh traditions say that Arwystli Hên (Aristobulus the old) accompanied the family of Caradog (Caractæus) on their return to Britain; see the *History of Wales*, by Jane Williams, pp. 29 and 41, where numerous references are given; cf. *Ussher's Brit. Ecel. Antiq.* (otherwise called *Ussher's Primordia*), p. 9. The notion that the first missionary to Britain was, however, no other than St Joseph himself, is stoutly maintained by Broughton, in his *Ecclesiastical Historie of Great Britaine*, 1633. He cites many authorities and has said nearly all that can be said in support of the legend. The headings of some of his chapters will sufficiently indicate his conclusions.

“Age i. ch. xxi. Of the coming of S. Joseph of Aramathia, who buryed Christ, into this our Britaine; And how it is made doubtfull, or denyed by many writers, but without either reason or Authoritie.”

¹ From “The Origin of the English Nation,” by E. A. Freeman, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, May, 1870, p. 41.

² Note by Sir T. Duffus Hardy in his edition of *William of Malmesbury*.

"Ch. xxii. Wherein is proved by all kinde of testimonies, and authorities, that for certaine, S. Joseph of Aramathia, with diuers other holy Associates, came into, preached, lyned, dyed, and was buryed in Britayne, at the place now called Glastenbury in Summer-setshire." . . .

"Ch. xxv. That many other Christians came hither, especially into the Northren parts, and Ilands, with S. Joseph of Aramathia, besides them which continued with him at Glastenbury; and many of them married with Britans continuing Christianitie heare in their children and posteritie, vntill the generall Conuersion of Britaine, vnder the first Christian Kings, Lucius, & Donaldus."

He does not omit to mention the miracelous trees, and he expresses himself much to the same effect in his "*Monastichon Britannicum*," 1655, and in his "*True Memorial of the Ancient, most holy, and Religious State of Great Britain*," 1650; which two books differ in nothing but their title-page.

On the whole, I see no great difficulty in believing that some Christian missionaries had arrived in Britain, and that a rude kind of chapel had been erected at Glastonbury, before the close of the second century, or even fifty years earlier; but it must be confessed that the statements concerning this early introduction of Christianity into Britain are all alike vague, spurious, or insufficient. The only way to arrive at the truth is by collecting all the early statements on the subject, and by tabulating them according to their value. This has been done most completely and carefully by Mr Haddan, in Appendix A to the "*Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*," edited by A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, vol. i. 1869. He shews that there is no historical evidence for the existence of Christians in Britain earlier than that of Tertullian (adv. Jud. vii.), which only carries us back to about A.D. 200. By a careful analysis, he proves that "Statements respecting (a) British Christians at Rome, (β) British Christians in Britain, (γ) Apostles or Apostolic men preaching in Britain in the *First Century*, rest upon either guess, mistake, or fable;" and again, that "Evidence alleged for the existence of a Christian Church in Britain during the *Second Century* is similarly unhistorical." With these incontrovertible results we must rest contented. The various legends evidently arose from the wish to claim for Britain

some one person at least who is mentioned in Holy Scripture, and hence we find such claims advanced for St Peter, St Paul, James the son of Zebedee, and Simon Zelotes; whilst other writers, perhaps thinking these notions too ambitious, were contented with the names of St Joseph, Aristobulus, or even the Claudia mentioned by St Paul in 2 Tim. iv. 21. All such accounts are alike fabulous, and the names of Britain's first missionaries must ever remain unknown; whilst we can hardly approximate more closely to the date of their arrival than by the vague statement, that it was before the year 208.

§ 13. JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA.

In examining the account of Joseph of Arimathea as related by John of Glastonbury, we at once find that it is separable into two distinct parts, the one of which is *legendary* and does not greatly transgress the bounds of probability, whilst the other part is purely *fabulous* and obviously of later invention.¹ For the purpose of making this distinction, the account of William of Malmesbury is most valuable, and altogether to be relied on. He tells us how St Joseph was sent over by St Philip, and how a king of Britain, whom he does not name, gave Joseph and his companions the island called Ynyswitrn, where, by admonition of the Archangel Gabriel appearing to him in a vision, he built a chapel which he dedicated to the Virgin. After which two other kings, whom again he does not name, gave the twelve holy men the Twelve Hides of Glastonbury. Later still, the place where so many holy men had lived became for a short time a lurking-place for wild beasts. He afterwards adds a few marvels; such as the piercing of St David's hand, an account of a crucifix that spoke, of another from which the crown fell down, and of another from which blood flowed when the figure of Christ was wounded by an arrow. He also briefly refers to Arthur. But the points about which he seems to have known nothing are these. He does not make any reference to the Assumption of the Virgin; he knows nothing of Joseph's son Josephe, nothing of Josephes'

¹ Both parts are alike untrue, but I think my meaning is clear. Many old writers who accepted the part of the story which rested on ecclesiastical tradition rejected that which rested only on romances.

consecration at Sarraz, nothing about the extraordinary story of the pilgrims crossing the sea on Josephes' shirt, nor has he a word about king Mordrains. He omits the four verses at the bottom of p. 69, where Josephes is again mentioned; and he makes no allusion to the Graal, or to Lancelot or Gawain, or to the prophecy of Melkin; all of which is just what we should expect. Of the purely fabulous part of the story, of all that relates to Josephes, Mordrains, and Sarraz, he gives no indication; and his silence about Joseph bringing any holy relics with him is very significant.¹ It is true that in speaking of Arthur he speaks slightly of the trifling fables of the Britons concerning him (Will. Malm. ed. T. D. Hardy, i. 14); but it does not follow that he would wittingly omit a strange legend about a saint. Again, it has been remarked that Geoffrey of Monmouth does not say one word about Joseph of Arimathea; and yet he has plenty to say about Merlin. I believe the true and simple explanation of this to be that what I have called the *fabulous* portion of this narrative was not invented till after the death of Geoffrey, which took place in 1154. The *legendary* portion was probably known centuries earlier, as seems to be shown by the quarrel between St Augustine and the Britons, "who preferred their own traditions before all the churches in the world" (Beda's Eccl. Hist. Bk. ii. ch. 2; cf. Montalembert, Monks of the West, vol. iii. p. 25 (translation); Paulin Paris, Romans de la Table Ronde, i. 95). The fullest form of the legend—but one unconnected with Britain—known in early times, is that contained in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus and similar writings, which tell us how Joseph was imprisoned by the Jews, but miraculously delivered by Christ, who appeared to him in the prison, shewed him the Tomb in which Himself had been laid by the saint's pious care, and then, taking him by the hand, set him in his own city of Arimathea. See Cowper's Apocryphal Gospels, pp. 249, 259, 290, 296, 332, 341, 428, &c. A translation of

¹ In the excellently written account of the Legend of St Joseph in the *Acta Sanctorum* (xvii Martii), the writer is incredulous about St Joseph's coming to Britain, and says he believes that this story must have been invented by the writer of the Romance of the Graal; but he seems to have entirely overlooked the account in William of Malmesbury; which makes a good deal of difference as regards the latter part of the statement.

one of these accounts exists in Anglo-Saxon (MS. Camb. Univ. Lib. Ii. 2. 11), and has been edited by Thwaites. The story of Joseph's imprisonment occurs also in Gregory of Tours, who died about A.D. 595; see Gregorii Turonensis, Hist. Francorum, lib. i. cap. xx, printed by Migne. But to the *fabulous* portion of the story, in which the Grail is mentioned, there is only *one* reference involving a date earlier than the twelfth century; and a very extraordinary passage it is. Helinand, a Cistercian monk in the Abbey of Froidmond in the diocese of Beauvais, who died about A.D. 1219 or 1223, wrote a chronicle ending with the year 1209, in which he has a very curious entry under the date A.D. 717. The passage has been quoted by Vincent of Beauvais, in his Speculum Historiale, and by John of Tynemouth, in his Historia Aurea; the original passage is printed in vol. 212 of Migne's Cursus Patrologiæ, and is cited by M. Paulin Paris, Romans de la Table Ronde, tom. i. p. 91. I prefer to quote it from a MS. of John of Tynemouth (Camb. Univ. Libr. Dd. 10. 22, fol. 10 b), which omits the words *cum suo jure*, i. e. "together with their gravy," after *dapes*, but has the inserted clause—*gradatim, vnus morsellus post alium in diuersis ordinibus*.

"De Ioseph centurione, ca^m. 4.

Hoc tempore in britannia cuidam heremite demonstrata fuit mirabilis quedam visio per angelum de Ioseph decurione nobili, qui corpus domini deposuit de cruce, & de catino illo vel parapside in quo dominus cenauit cum discipulis suis; de quo ab eodem heremita descripta est historia que dicitur gradale. Gradalis autem vel gradale gallice dicitur scutella lata & aliquantulum profunda, in qua preciose dapes diuitibus solent apponi gradatim, vnus morsellus post alium in diuersis ordinibus. Dicitur & vulgari nomine graal, quia grata et acceptabilis est in ea comedenti, tum propter continens, quia forte argentea est vel de alia preciosa materia, tum propter contentum .i. ordinem multiplicem dapium preciosarum. Hanc historiam latine scriptam inuenire non potui set tantum gallice scripta habetur a quibusdam proceribus, nec facile vt aiunt tota inueniri potest."

The question is simply, is the date 717 genuine, or fictitious? I cannot believe it to be genuine, but think it to be purely the invention of Walter Map; for the French prose romance of the Seynt Graal gives the identical date 717 as the year when the book of the Graal was written by a purely imaginary hermit; see the "Seynt

Graal," ed. F. J. Furnivall, p. 1. Yet, if I understand him rightly, M. Paulin Paris, the best authority on this matter, accepts the date as in a measure genuine, in the sense that some old traditions concerning the Graal were about that time cherished by the Britons with a peculiar interest. I think Mr Morley's opinion to be here the more correct, when he says that "Helinand testifies to the immediate acceptance of the legendary origin ascribed artistically to Map's tale of the Graal, by actually placing under the year 707 [read 717] the introductory story of the vision that appeared to a certain hermit in Britain, of St Joseph and the Graal," &c.; Morley's *English Writers*, vol. i. p. 568. It is clear that the passage only proves that the French prose romance of the Graal (which probably had a Latin original) was written before 1209. It would take up far too much space to consider all the numerous points of interest connected with the origin of the Graal legends. The subject is most carefully treated by M. Paulin Paris; and again, an excellent account of them is given by Professor Morley, in his *English Writers*, vol. i. pp. 562—573. Only lately, Dr F. G. Bergmann has issued an inexpensive pamphlet entitled "The San Gréal; an inquiry into the origin and signification of the Romances of the San Gréal," which, if not always accurate, is at any rate well worth reading. I can only state some of the results to which these and other books lead. Dr Bergmann mentions five authors as especially to be noted as writers of Graal Romances, viz. Guiot le Provençal, Chrestien de Troyes, Walter Map (commonly called Mapes), Wolfram von Eschenbach, and Albrecht von Scharfenberg. He claims "the glory of having invented the Gréal" for the first of these, viz. Guiot. But the proof is doubtful, for the work of Guiot has perished, and all that we know about him is derived from the scanty data furnished by his German imitator, Wolfram, who did not begin his poem till 1204. Again, the "Lancelot" of Chrestien de Troyes has been proved conclusively by a Flemish scholar, W. J. A. Jonckbloet, to have been founded upon the "Lancelot" of Walter Map; and in like manner I suppose that Chrestien borrowed his "Percival le Gallois" from Map also, in a great measure. Wolfram and Albrecht certainly wrote later than Map, and I can see no reason why we may not assume Walter

Map's romance, of which the original Latin version is lost, to have been the real original from which all the rest were more or less imitated. This is Professor Morley's conclusion, who very pertinently asks—"Where was there an author able to invent it and to write it with a talent so 'prodigious,' except Walter Map, to whom alone, and to whom always positively, it has been ascribed?" The extraordinary genius of this great writer is sufficiently evinced by the works of his which are still extant. If we put the date of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history at 1145—1147, and suppose that Walter Map wrote his first Romance, viz. "Joseph," at least twenty years after the appearance of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history (Morley's Eng. Writ. i. 563), we get the approximate date of its composition to be 1170, or probably, as it seems to me, a few years earlier.

§ 14. The original Latin text by Walter Map being lost, we are left to conjecture what it was like from the various translations and imitations of it. And first, there is the Romance in French verse, as composed by Robert de Boron about A.D. 1170. This exists only in one MS., No. 1987 in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris. It was first printed by M. Michel in 1841, and has been reprinted by Mr Furnivall in his "Seynt Graal," edited for the Roxburghe Club in 1861. It is not quite perfect, having a gap in the middle of the story. An analysis of the contents is given by M. Paulin Paris, "Les Romans de la Table Ronde," i. 123. Secondly, there is a French prose rendering of this same version, extant in an unprinted MS. now in the possession of Mr Huth, of which some account was given in "The Athenæum," Dec. 11, 1869. There is a great deal of similarity in the language of these two versions, shewing that one is immediately derived from the other. Compare, for instance, the following passage from the Huth MS. (fol. 15)—

"cil de cele compaignie parlerent ensamble & disent. que il auoient pitie de moys. & dient *que* il emprieront yoseph. Et vinrent tout ensamble a lui. & se laissierent chaoir [deuant] ses pies & li prierent tout ensamble mierchi. Et *yoseph* sermeruilla moult & dist. *Que* voles vous. Et il dient a yoseph. Li plus des gens qui vinrent chi sen sont ale *por* chou que nous eumes la grasse de cel graal,"¹ &c.—

¹ I cannot answer for the correctness of the spelling, having only seen a transcript of the MS., not the MS. itself.

with the corresponding passage in the verse copy (p. 32, col. 1, in Mr Furnivall's *Seynt Graal*, vol. i. appendix),

*“De Moyses leur prist pitié,
Et dirent qu'il en pallerioient
A Joseph et l'en prioient.
Quant tout ensemble Joseph virent,
Trestout devant ses piez chéirent,
Et li prie chauceuns et breit
Qu'il de Moyses pitié eït ;
Et Joseph mout se merveilla
De ce que chascuns le pria,
Et leur ha dist : Vous, que voulez ?
Dites-moi de quoi vous priez.”
Il respondent hïsnelement :
“Li plus granz feïs de nostre gent
S'en sunt alé et departi ;
Un seul en ha demouré ei
Qui pleure mout très tenrement,
Et crie et fait grant marrement,
Et dist que il ne s'en ira
De ce tant comm' il vivera.
Il nous prie que te prions,
De la grace que nous avuns,” &c.*

This passage also shews that the above-mentioned prose version is more compressed ; but it is not easy to say whether it is epitomized from the verse copy, or the latter expanded from the former.

Thirdly, there is the *long* French prose version, in which the whole story is much expanded and considerably altered, existing in several MSS., and printed in Mr Furnivall's "*Seynt Graal*" from MS. Bibl. Reg. xiv. E. iii. in the British Museum, with some readings from MS. Addit. 10292.

The English Alliterative Poem is a condensed version from the third and longest of these three versions ; hence the frequent references to Mr Furnivall's "*Seynt Graal*" in my notes. The prefaces to this work, by Mr Furnivall and Herr Schulz, should be consulted.

Mr Furnivall's book further contains an English rimed version made by Henry Lonelich, in the time of Henry VI. This is of great length, and follows the long French prose version tolerably closely. It is spoken of by Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, ed. 1840,

vol. i. p. 149. The MS. is in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 80.

I may here quote a useful passage in Herr Schulz's Essay (Seynt Graal, i. p. xv). He omits to mention Walter Map and Robert de Boron.

"The oldest narrator of these histories, and who is at the same time known by name, is Chrestiens de Troyes, in his *Li Contes del Graal*.¹ He left this MS. in an incomplete state, and the MSS. of his work are mentioned to us in their order by three continuators of the work—Gautiers de Dinot, Gerbers, and Manestiers.

"Another treatment of the same matter, in the main, by a North French Poet, probably a contemporary of Chrestiens de Troyes, is afforded by the MS. at Berne, entitled *Percheval le Galois*, on which Rochat reports *in extenso*,² and where, at pp. 165 and 176, he gives, as his result, that this work, in spite of many coincidences, does *not* emanate from Chrestiens de Troyes.

"A third version of the Graal- and Percival-sagas was furnished to us Germans by Wolfram von Eschenbach, in his *Parcival* (composed from about 1204 to 1210).³ In it he followed a French poet, Kyot [Guiot] of Provence, a Provençal who, however, wrote in Northern French, as it was spoken in Champagne, the only dialect which Wolfram von Eschenbach understood. As Kyot's French poem has unfortunately not hitherto been discovered, it is impossible to determine what measure of liberty Wolfram has taken in his version of Kyot's works; but his *Titirel*-fragments, which stand in the closest connection with the 'Parcival,' prove that Kyot must have narrated numerous adventures, which Wolfram, for the purpose of more completely rounding off the Graal and Parcival stories, omitted from his romance, and which still afforded abundant material for a second tale, namely, of the *Tschiamatulauder* and *Sigune*, which Wolfram, however, unfortunately left incomplete, and of which those two so-called *Titirel*-fragments form only a small part.

"The above-mentioned omitting of many adventures narrated by Kyot, is confirmed by the German *Later Titirel*,⁴ by a poet of the

¹ About him, consult W. L. Holland, "Chrestiens de Troyes;" Tübingen, Fues, 1854, pp. 195—225; where many books on the subject are mentioned.

² A. Rochat. On a hitherto unknown "Pereheval le Galois;" Zürich, Kiesling, 1855.

³ The original text, edited by Lachmann, was published at Berlin by Reimer, 1833. Translated, with an Introduction and explanations, by San Marte (A. Schulz), 2nd edition, Leipsic, Brockhaus, 1858. Likewise translated by Simrock, Stuttgart and Tübingen; Cotta, new edition, 1858. [A brief analysis, in English, is given in Bergmann's *San Gréal*.]

⁴ First printed in 1477. Modern edition by K. A. Hahn. *Titirel*: Quedlinburg and Leipsic, Basse, 1842. See an extensive extract, with notes,

name of Albrecht, whose composition comes at the end of the 13th century. He also refers to Kyot the Provençal, but adds the history of the final pilgrimage of the Graal to the East, into the realm of Prester John.¹ It is a matter of doubt, however, whether he ever saw Kyot's original work; and the probability is, that he took the subject-matter from other poems based upon Kyot, and which are unknown to us."

In the "Seynt Graal," pref. p. vii, it is shewn, by Mr W. D. Nash, that the story is not of British origin, as relates to the Graal at least. At p. 3 of the text, the date already mentioned (A.D. 717) is given as the time when the story was first revealed to a certain hermit; and an astonishing assertion is elsewhere made, that the Latin book, the true original, was written by no mortal hand. I forbear to quote the blasphemy further; we may acquit Walter Map, I hope, of daring to originate such a lie himself.

§ 15. The above account may suffice. Further information is to be obtained from the authors quoted, especially from M. Paulin Paris, Mr Morley, and Mr Furnivall. I will only recapitulate the chief points. Dividing the History of Joseph into its legendary and fabulous portions by the criterion furnished us by William of Malmesbury, the former part is again subdivisible into two portions; viz. the legend of Joseph's imprisonment, as related in the Gospel of Nicodemus, the Acts of Pilate, and other early Eastern apocryphal writings, and secondly, the legend of his arrival in England, which was firmly believed in at Glastonbury at an early period. Next there is the account connected with the date 717, which was certainly a later invention. Lastly, the fabulous portion of the story bursts suddenly into full vigour, and is spread abroad by Walter Map, by Robert de Boron, Guyot le Provençal, and Chrestien de Troyes with wonderful rapidity, and at much about the same time, viz. about A.D. 1170. How far any of these was indebted to the other, it is hard to say. Robert de Boron does not pretend to much originality.²

and an "Essay on the Graal-Saga," in San Marte's "Life and Poems of Wolfram von Eschenbach," vol. ii. p. 86—294, and 361—453.

On the ground of the *Epistola Johannis Presbyteri, missa ad Gubernatorem Constantinopolitanum*, in *Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 490; published Romæ, 1728.

² I am much puzzled by M. Paulin Paris's statement, tom. i. p. 106. From a certain passage he seems to infer that Robert de Boron had *not* before his

§ 16. ON THE WORD "GRAAL."

This word, very frequently used *without* the prefix *Seynt*, *Seint*, *Saint*, *Sainct*, or *San* in the earlier copies, is variously spelt *Graal*, *Greal*, *Graaus*, *Grasal*, or *Grazal* in Norman-French, *Grasal*, *Grazal*, or *Grazaus* in Provençal, *Grisal* in Old Catalan, and *Grial* in Old Spanish. In modern French, it is written *Graal*, *Gréal*, and *Gréal*; in Old English it is *Graile* or *Grayle*, as e. g. in Spenser, F. Q. bk. ii. c. x. st. 53—

"Yet true it is, that long before that day
Hither came Joseph of Arimathy,
Who brought with him the *holy grayle*, they say,
And preacht the truth; but since it greatly did decay."

Mr Wedgwood's account of the word is as follows; (Etym. Dict. ii. 171). "Languedoc *grazal*, *grezal*, a large earthen dish or bowl, bassin de terre de grès. *Grais*, *grez*, [is] potter's earth, free-stone. Provençal *grasal*, *grazal*, 'un *grasal* ou jatte pleine de prunes.'—Raynouard. *Grais* or *grès* seems the Latinized form of the Breton *krág*, hard stone; *eur pôd krág*, un pot de grès. So Norse *gryta*, a pot, from *griot*, stone." Elsewhere, viz. s. v. Grit, he explains the Fr. *grès* by gritty stone; and considers it cognate with the German and Dutch *gries*, and the English *grit*, A.S. *groot*. A similar derivation is given by Borel. But the derivation suggested by Roquefort, and strongly supported by Burguy and M. Paulin Paris, is decidedly preferable. Roquefort shews conclusively that the dish called *greal* was used at great feasts and was of costly material (cf. the extract from Helinand above, p. xxx), and therefore not of earth or stone. The word is, in fact, the Low Latin *gradale* or *grasale*, which occurs in Ducange or in Charpentier's Supplement in the very numerous forms *gradale*, *gradalus*, *grasala*, *grasale*, *grayale*, *grassale*, *grazala*, *grassala*, with the diminutives *gradella*, *gracellus*, *grassella*, *grasilhia*, *grassellus*, and *grasuletus*! Charpentier further tells us that the signification is—a kind of vessel, of wood, earth, or metal, and not always implying the same notion; for it occurs both

eyes the Latin original. From the same passage (l. 929, p. 11, of Appendix to "Seynt Graal"), I infer the exact contrary.

in the sense of a large, round, and shallow vessel, Fr. *jatte* [a bowl], and also "pro *lancis seu catini specie*" for the use of the table, Fr. *plat* [a dish]. All the above forms are various corruptions from a diminutive *cratella* of the Latin *crater* or *cratera*, which again is from the Greek *κρατήρ* or *κρατηρία*, a bowl in which things could be mixed up. In a precisely similar manner the modern French *grille* is formed from the Latin *craticula*, the diminutive of *crates*. M. Paulin aptly cites the Fr. *gras* from the Lat. *crassus* to shew the initial change, and O. Fr. *paelle* from the Lat. *patella*, to illustrate the loss of the *t*. At any rate, it is certain that the original sense of *graal* was a bowl, or dish, and the *seynt graal* was that Holy Dish which was used at the Last Supper, stolen by a servant of Pilate—so says the story,—used by Pilate to wash his hands in before the multitude, given by Pilate to Joseph as a memorial of Christ, and finally used by Joseph to collect the Holy Blood flowing from the five wounds. But of course it was soon seen by the romance-writers that this first idea was a mistake. The Vessel containing the Blood should rather have been the Cup, and this alteration was soon made. Even Robert de Boron tells us that the true *spiritual* meaning of the Graal was, that it signified the Holy Chalice. Christ is made to appear in a vision, and declare this explicitly to Joseph, in ll. 907—910 of the early French verse; see *Seynt Graal*, Appendix,

"Cist viessiaus ou men sanc meis,
Quant de men cors le requeillis,
Calices apelez sara."

That is, "this Vessel, in which thou didst put My Blood when thou didst collect it from My Body, shall be called the Chalice."¹

This idea prevailed more and more, until the two words *san greal*, having lost their original meaning, were turned into *sang real*, and interpreted by *real blood*; an explanation which is actually given by Ménage as the true one, and believed in by many at the present day! It deserves to be mentioned, however, that the translation *real blood* is rather a lame one, as the usual meaning of the

¹ Hence the expression in Tennyson's "Holy Grail," p. 36—

"The cup, the cup itself, from which our Lord
Drank at the last sad supper with his own."

O. Fr. *real* is *royal*. And in fact, the combination *sank real* actually occurs in Old English in the signification of *royal blood*; as, e. g. in l. 179 of *Morte Arthure* (ed. Perry, E. E. T. S.) p. 6, where it is spelt *saunke reale*. Only 4 lines above, in l. 175, the Romans are said to be “of þe realeste blode” (i. e. “the most royal blood”) upon earth. Skelton says, moreover, that Cardinal Wolsey

—“came of the *sank royal*
That was cast out of a bochers stall.”

Why Come Ye Nat To Courte? l. 490.

But this interpretation—*real blood*—is not the only false interpretation. The old romance-writers, who wrote whilst the *g* still always belonged to the second word, were driven to account for the word *greal* by deriving it from *grè*, i. e. from the Latin *gratus*, pleasing. Accordingly, they gravely tell us that the *greal* is so called because it is so *agreable*. This explanation is given in the extract above, p. xxx., in the Huth MS. fol. 14 *b*, and in Robert de Boron’s version; see *Seynt Graal*, vol. i. Appendix, p. 31. The fact that the early writers were driven to such a shift as this very sufficiently disposes of the late derivation suggested by Ménéage.

§ 17. But the difficulties connected with the word do not end here. Besides the Low-Latin *gradale*, a bowl, there is another Low-Latin *gradale* with another meaning. This *gradale* is a variation of *graduale*, the service-book or Antiphonary for High Mass, containing the portions to be sung by the Choir, and so called from certain phrases which were sung, after the Epistle, *in gradibus*, upon the steps of the choir, as directed in the rubric in the Sarum Missal. “Quando epistola legitur, duo pueri in superpelliceis, facta inclinatione ad altare *ante gradum chori* in pulpitum per medium chori ad *Gradale* incipiendum se præparent, et suum versum cantandum.” See Procter, on the Common Prayer, 3rd ed. 1857, pp. 8 and 317. As might be expected, this word *gradale* also assumes the form *graille* or *grayle* in Early English,¹ as in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, where we find the entry—“*Grayle*, boke. *Gradale*, vel

¹ It even takes the form *grasal* in Old French; see the note in M. Paulin Paris: *Les Romans*, &c. tom. i. p. 379. The form *grazal* is given by Ducange.

gradalis," upon which see Mr Way's note. Mr Way concludes by telling us that the statute 3 and 4 Edw. VI. for abolishing divers books and images, enacts "that all books called antiphoners, missals, *grails*, processional, &c. heeretofore used for service of the church, shall be cleerlie and vtterlie abolished, and forbidden for euer to be vsed or kept in this realme."¹ The question may arise, were these two uses of the O. Fr. *grael* ever confused? M. Paris assumes that they were, and that the story of the Holy Graal was originally inserted in a *Grailde* by a Welsh clerk about A.D. 717. I am not convinced by this explanation, nor am I persuaded that it can be evolved from the opening passage of the long French prose romance. It is, however, quite true that the name *grail* was applied to the romance itself, as well as to the vessel, as e. g. in the lines—

"Issi nus counte le Graal,
Le lyvre de la seint vassal"—

which occur in the History of Fulk fitz-warine, ed. Wright, Warton Club, 1855; p. 181.

Nor are the meanings of the word even yet exhausted. The Lat. *graculus*, a jackdaw, produced the O. Fr. *graille*, from which was formed *grailer*, to cry like a jackdaw, also to recall dogs with a horn. The Lat. *craticula* produced the O. Fr. *grail*, now spelt *grille*. The Lat. *gracilis* produced the O. Fr. *graille* or *gresle*, fine, small, delicate, which was also used as a substantive to signify a shrill-sounding musical instrument. Hence Mr Park may be not far wrong when he interprets *in graille* by "in small parties" in the quotation made by Nares from Ritson's Songs, vol. ii, p. 64—

"Nor yet the delight, that comes to the sight
To see how it [the ale] flowers and mantles *in graille*."

If we here take *in graille* to refer to *very fine* beads or air-bubbles, we probably get the true sense. And hence, again, we find *grails* used to mean the fine or small feathers of a hawk; see Halliwell. Lastly, from the O. Fr. *gres*, mod. Fr. *grès*, which is our Eng. *grit*, comes the O. Fr. *gresle*, mod. Fr. *grêle*, hail, and the mod. F. *grésil*, sleet. Hence the prov. Eng. *grailing*, a slight fall of hail, just

¹ See other examples in Nares, s. v. *Graille*.

enough to cover the ground, in Halliwell; and the word *graile*, used by Spenser to signify fine gravel, F. Q. bk. i. c. vii. st. 6. But it is clear that the O. Fr. *gresle*, fine, and *gresle*, hail, with their derivatives, may easily have been confused with each other.

§ 18. As regards the Holy Vessel itself, the legends tell us that it was finally transported to India, and still remains there. Nevertheless, at the capture of Caesarea¹ in 1101, the Crusaders found what they imagined to be the very Dish itself, made of one large emerald. It was sent to Genoa, and there shewn as a relic, till Napoleon I. transported it to Paris. In 1815 it was sent back to Genoa, but was cracked in the journey. At Genoa it is still preserved, in the treasury of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo, and is still venerated as being the veritable *Sacro Cutino*. It is really made of greenish glass, and of an hexagonal shape. It may be seen by the curious, and is duly noted as being one of the curiosities of Genoa in Murray's Handbook to North Italy, p. 106. For further description of it, see Nares's Glossary, s. v. *Graal*. This is not the only one, however; for Dr Bergmann says that one was sent by the patriarch of Jerusalem to Henry III. of England in 1247, and that another one once existed at Constantinople. The book of Melkin tells us that Joseph did not bring a Dish to England, but two sacred cruets, viz. those delineated at p. 35. These were buried at Glastonbury, and will be found whenever the sarcophagus of Joseph is found; after which there will never again be a drought in England. It is almost worth while, then, to look for them!

§ 19. As regards the symbolical meaning of the myth involved in the Graal legend, the connection between the tale of Pheredur in the "Red Book" and the Romance of Percival, the relation of the Graal itself to Ceridwen's cauldron and the ancient Druidic rites, I must refer the reader to the Essay on "The Sangreal" in the second series of S. Baring Gould's "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages." And I here take the opportunity to observe that those who take up my edition of The Romans of Partenay (E. E. T. S., 1866) should

¹ Roquefort (s. v. *Graal*) quotes an account from the *Chroniques de Loys* xii, by Jehan d'Autun, which gives the same date, but speaks of the capture of *Jerusalem*. But Jerusalem was taken A.D. 1099.

read the Essay, in the same volume, upon "Melusina;" whilst a third Essay, entitled "The Knight of the Swan," well illustrates Mr Gibbs's edition of the *Cheuelere Assigne* (E. E. T. S., Extra Series, 1868). The religious signification of the Grail-legend in its relation to Christianity is considered by M. Fauriel, in his "*Histoire de la Poésie Provençale*," tom. ii. chap. 26 and 27.

§ 20. EVALAK'S SHIELD; ARGENT, A CROSS, GULES.

The shield given to Evalak by Josaphe, son of Joseph of Arimathea, plays a considerable part in our Alliterative Poem. Besides which, the Story of Joseph was recounted to Galahad by the White Knight solely for the sake of accounting for this shield. After Evalak's victory over Tholomer, the red cross upon it vanished; but we read that Josaphes, just before his death, bade Mordrains bring the shield to him; after which he (Josaphes) bled at the nose, made a cross upon the shield with his blood, and gave it again to Mordrains. Subsequently it was placed upon duke Nasciens' tomb, to be left there till Galahad should come and take it. Galahad was afterwards so fortunate as to obtain also a sword which had belonged to king David, the hilt of which had been covered by Solomon with precious stones. We then come to his adventure with the holy bleeding lance, his achievement of the Saint Graal, and his death at Sarra. See Malory's *Morte Darthur*, bk. xvii. We find a similar account, with some slight variations, in Hardyng's *Chronicle*, edited by Sir H. Ellis, 1812. Hardyng professes to follow "Mewyn, the Britayn chronicler," who is probably no other than Melkin, of whose book it would be interesting to know somewhat more than is told us by him and John of Glastonbury. A few extracts from Hardyng may be not out of place here.

Chap. xlvii. of his *Chronicle* relates "how Ioseph Aramathie came vnto Britayne with Vaspasyan, and chrystened a part of this lande."

In Chap. xlviii, we have the account "howe Ioseph conuerted this kyng Aruiragus, & gaue hym a shelde of y^e armes that wee call sainen George his armes, whiche armes he bare euer after; & thus became that armes to bee y^e kynges armes of this lande, long afore sainen George was gotten or borne. And as Maryan, the profoude

chronicler, saieth, he bare of siluer, in token of clennes, a crosse of goules, [in] signification of the bloodle that Christe bleedde on y^e crosse, and for it muste nedes of reason be called a crosse.

Ioseph conuerted this kyng Aruigarus,
By his prechyng, to knowe y^e lawe deuine,
And baptized hym, as writen hath Mewinus,¹
The chronicler, in Bretain tongue full fyne,
And to Christe[s] lawe made hym enclyne;
And gane hym then a shelde of siluer white,
A crosse endlong and ouerthwart full perfect," &c.

In Chapter lxxvii, we have an account of the achievement of the Sege Perilous by Galaad—

"Whiche Joseph sayd afore that tyme ful long,
In Mewyns booke, the Britayn chronicler,
As writen is the Britons iestes emong,
That Galaad the knight, and virgyne clere
Shuld it acheue and auentures all in fere
Of the seynt Graale, and of the great Briteyn,
And afterwarde a virgyne dye certeyne."

He next goes on to tell how Galaad came to Auelon, and found there a white shield bearing a red cross, a shield, and a spear, the shield having been left there by Joseph, and the sword by Naciens. Four years afterwards, Galaad finds the Saint Graal in Wales, after which he goes to Sarras and is made king of Sarras—

Where thenne he made .xij. knightes of the order
Of saynt Graall, in full signifycacyon
Of the table [of] whiche Ioseph was the founder,
At Aualon, as Mewyn made relacyon;
In token of the table and refiguracyon
Of the brotherhede of Christes souper & maundie
Afore his death, of hyghest dignytee."

Galaad dies at Sarras, says Hardyng, but sends Percival with his heart to Arthur, praying the king to bury the heart beside king Evalak and duke Seraphe, who were buried beside Joseph in the chapel of Our Lady at Glastonbury. This was done, and the famous shield was hung over Galaad's heart's tomb. And this is the last that we hear of it. A like "silver shielde," with "a bloudie Crosse" scored upon it, forms part of the armour of the Red-Cross

¹ Other readings *Nenius*, *Neninus*; but *Melkin* is probably meant; see note above, p. xxi.

Knight, St George, as described by Spenser in the opening stanzas of the *Faerie Queene*. St George, however, was not considered as the *special* patron of England till after the siege of Calais in 1349. The banner of St George, white with a red cross, floated beside that of the Austrian empire a century earlier, in 1245; see "*Curious Myths*," &c., by S. Baring Gould, 2nd Series, p. 49, 2nd edition. A century earlier still, in 1146, the white standard, with the blood-red cross, was borne by the Knights Templars, having been granted to them by Pope Eugenius III. The white ground denoted chastity, and the red cross was the symbol of martyrdom. See "*The Knights Templars*," by C. G. Addison, 3rd ed. 1852, pp. 25, 26. The earliest mention of the red cross as a badge is in the speech of Pope Urban II. in 1094—"wear it, a red, a bloody cross, as an external mark, on your breasts or shoulders;" Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. lviii. Further researches concerning the Red Cross soon involve us in the mysteries of the Rosicrucians, concerning whom it may suffice to refer the reader to a late work on the subject, by Hargrave Jennings. I little thought, when writing the above remarks, that, before the proofsheets of this preface could be corrected, the RED CROSS would be floating, an emblem of Mercy, over French and German ambulances.

The Knights Templars, the Brethren of the Order of the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, are first heard of in 1118. Their vows and their principle of association strongly remind us of the knights of romance, who engaged in the quest of the Saint Graal. Indeed Herr Schulz tells us expressly (*Seynt Graal*, vol. i. p. xx) that Wolfram von Eschenbach, in his *Parzival*, gives the name of *Templeisen* (Fr. *Les Templiers*) to the guardians of the Holy Vessel.

§ 21. REMARKS.

Before concluding this Preface, I must express my sincere thanks to Mr Furnivall for various useful suggestions and for his loan of a transcript of the Huth MS., and to Dr Morris for some notes upon difficult and unusual words. Mr Parker and Mr Broek have also rendered me much help.

Whilst engaged on editing the pieces in this book, some points

have suggested themselves to me which I here put down as briefly as possible.

The legend of the Graal was added to and altered so often that I do not think we ought to expect that any one leading idea was kept always in view. In many cases, mere invention of new incidents seems to be all that the compilers thought of. To regard the series of legends as a whole, and to find that they always embody some central thought is just what we moderns are so prone to do ; but it may be doubted whether the writers of them would not be very much astonished at such a proceeding. For instance, given the existence of a Saint Graal, which only a few knights could hope to see, the romance of the *Queste of the Saint Graal* follows naturally ; but the *Queste* may have been an after-thought, for all that.

The series seems to have begun with the story of Joseph for no other reason than that he was the great British saint, and was moreover said to have been buried at Glastonbury, where king Arthur was buried also. Hence the idea of introducing the story of Arthur by a romance concerning Joseph arose naturally enough.

It being once resolved upon to make Joseph the subject of a romance, the notion of a holy dish containing Christ's blood starts up at once. It is his natural symbol, just as St Catharine has her wheel, and St Sebastian his arrow. His other symbol, to signify the great distance over which he had travelled, was of course a staff. Out of this staff *grew*, in the most literal sense, the miraculous thorn and the wonderful walnut-tree ; and, later still, the thorn-tree became three thorn-trees.

The great excitement of the middle of the twelfth century was the second crusade, begun in 1146. A little earlier, the order of the Knights Templars had been established. This was a *fighting* order of Knights, quite unlike that of the Knights of St John. Their object was religious glory, and their destination the East. How exactly all this is reproduced in the history of the Knights of the Round Table, seeking a holy object, and finding it likewise in the East ! Godfrey de Bouillon, king of Jerusalem, meets with the success of Evalak, king of Sarras. Galahad's shield bears the Templars' device. The Saracens were then frequently heard of ; hence Joseph goes to Sarras,

their supposed city. The conversion of the people of Sarraz is an artistic touch. Nothing could more exasperate the Crusaders against the Saracens than thus to represent the latter as having received, and afterwards renounced, the faith.

The mention of the instruments of the Passion brings forward the Holy Lance, and especial attention must have been called to it by the extraordinary fraud which gave out that the Lance had been found at the siege of Antioch in 1098; see Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. lviii. Hence it is introduced naturally enough at the appearance of the Graal, as mentioned in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, bk. xvii, ch. xx. That a bleeding lance is mentioned in Welsh traditions seems to me more a coincidence than anything else. As for the sword of David, it was invented to match the lance and shield. The "tree which Abel was slain under" (*Malory's Morte Darthur*, bk. xvii, ch. vi) is connected with the curious "Legend of the Cross" discussed in S. Baring Gould's "Curious Myths," 2nd Series. So also is the idea of the three trees growing into one, and the building of Solomon's ship.

Some particulars about Joseph occur in the legend of St Veronica. Accordingly, the story of Veronica is made part of the legend of Joseph. See the French versions.

I have very little doubt that the mysterious Grail-Ark, in which so many wonders were seen, as described in ll. 258—298 of the alliterative poem, was suggested by the Holy Sepulchre. This is made probable by a passage in the Anglo-Saxon version of the legend of St Veronica, edited by Goodwin for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1851, p. 40. There Joseph says of himself—"ic was an þæra manna þe his byrgene heold, and ic myn heafod alylde and hyne geseon wolde, ac ic þær nan þyng of hym ne geseah. Ac ic þær twegen englas geseah, ænne at þam heafdon and oðerne at þam fotum," &c.; i. e. I was one of the men who guarded his sepulchre, and bent my head and thought to see him, but I beheld there nothing of him; but I saw two angels, one at the head and the other at the foot, &c. The two angels have become sixteen.

The Holy Graal was, at first, represented as the Dish which held the Paschal Lamb on Holy Thursday. Hence its connection with the

Bread which represented Christ's body, and its supposed *sustaining* power. On Joseph's first journey from Jerusalem, it supplies the wants of his company as the manna sustained the Israelites in the wilderness. The change which resulted in connecting it more immediately with the Chalice was intended to involve it in a higher mystery.

The Grail sometimes appeared, borne by an angel, to the devout and holy. This reminds me in some degree of the old drawings in which a Cup and an Angel are introduced into that most sacred scene, only to be contemplated with humble reverence, the scene of the Agony in the Garden.

The wonders and miracles in the old Romances are due in a great measure to the requirements of the *audience*; they were intended for brains half turned by the religious excitement of the Crusades. I think we shall best appreciate them, not by looking in them for any final purpose, but by simply observing how easily the writers drift from one idea to another. Tennyson's Holy Grail is a different conception altogether, from a higher point of view. Very much more after their manner are such poems as the "Calidore" of Keats, and the passages in the Faerie Queene where the allegory is lost sight of. They had in view a general idea of idealizing Christianity, or rather religious enthusiasm, by adding to it various mysteries and religious vows; but beyond this, the only principle which they observed was that of giving full scope to the imagination. Their motto might well have been one like that of Keats—

"Ever let the Fancy roam,
Pleasure never is at home;
At a touch sweet Pleasure melteth,
Like to bubbles when rain pelteth;
Then let wingèd Fancy wander
Through the thought still spread beyond her:
Open wide the mind's cage-door,
She'll dart forth, and cloudward soar.
O sweet Fancy, let her loose!"

POSTSCRIPT.—I have assumed the copy of the Alliterative Poem in the Vernon MS. to be unique. It may here be noted that in MS. 8252 belonging to Sir Thomas Phillipps, there is a fragment of 2 leaves, said to be in prose, entitled “Joseph,” of which the first two words are—“After tyme.” I at one time thought it possible that this might be some part of the poem here printed, but, by the kindness of Miss Toulmin Smith, have ascertained that the subject of it is “a fragment of the Story of the Flight into Egypt, giving an account of the origin and virtues of the rose of Jericho—which sprang up wherever Mary rested on her journey—and of the growth, virtues, and gathering of ‘Bawme,’ which comes from bushes that grow in the garden in Egypt where she dwelt seven years.”

I take the opportunity of mentioning here a recently published book, by Dr Gustav Oppert, on the myths of the Graal and Prester John. It is entitled “Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte;” second edition, Berlin, 1870; London, Trübner and Co. The same author has written an interesting paper having reference to Prester John, read Jan. 11, 1870, and printed in the Journal of the Ethnological Society of London.

As to the “rode of northdore of london,” mentioned at p. 44, l. 217, I find that Pecoock mentions it as a favourite object of pilgrimage:—“wherfore it is vein, waast, and idil forto trotte to Wa[l]singam rather than to ech other place in which an ymage of Marie is, and to the *rode of the north dore at London* rather than to ech other roode in what euer place he be.”—Pecoock’s Repressor, ed. C. Babington, i. 194.

I observe in a book-catalogue the following entry:—

“SAINCT GREAAAL. Cest lhystoire du saint Greéal Qui est le premier liure de la Table ronde. Lequel traicte de plusieurs matieres recreatiues. Ensemble la queste dudiet saint Greéal. Faicte par Lancelot, Galaad, Boors, et Perceual. Qui est le dernier liure de la table ronde, 2 vols. in 1, *woodcuts, black letter, very fine copy in morocco extra, gilt edges by Duru*, £100. *Paris, Phelippa Le Noir*, 1523.

One of the rarest and most sought of the Prose Romances of Chivalry, pronounced by Dunlop the scarcest of those relating to the Knights of the Round Table.”

[Joseph of Aramathie.]

[Vernon MS. fol. 403.]

. . . . sire," he seis · "and sonenday is nouwe."

¶ þenne alle lauhwen an heiz · þat herden his wordes,

"Hit is two and fourti winter," þei seizen · "trewely
forsoþe,

Sipen þou souztest þis put · and to prison eodest !" 4

"It is now
Sunday," said
Joseph.

"You have been
in prison 42
years," they said.

"Now I þonke my lord," seide Ioseph · "þat lente
me of his grace ;

me þinkeþ but þreo nigt · al þis ilke þrowe."

¶ þenne Ioseph askes fontston · & is I-folwed blyue ;

þei folewen him and his wyf · & with him ful monye. 8

¶ Sipen com vaspasians · and was furst sped,

In þe nome of þe fader · Ioseph him folewede,

And hedde I-turned to þe feyþ · fifti with him-seluen.

¶ Sipen he fette his fader with a ferde · and a-zeyn
fondet, 12

þer þei bosked hem out · þat hudden hem in huirenes,

Made hem to huppe · half an hundret foote,

forte seche boþem · þer þei non seizen.

¶ þus þei ladden þe lyf · and lengede longe, 16

þat luyte liked his leyk · þer as he lengede.

¶ Feole flouen for fert · out of heore cupphe

in-to Augrippus lond · was heroudes eir,

þere monye lenginde weore · for-let of heore oune. 20

"It seemed but 3
nights!"

Joseph baptizes
Vespasian.

Vespasian and his
father make the
Jews who had hid
themselves leap
down into the
pit.

Many flee for fear
to the land of
Agrippa.

Joseph is bidden
to go away from
Jerusalem.

ÞEn com a vois to Ioseph · and seide him þise wordes,
Biddes him and his wyf · and his sone eke,
And alle þat þey mouȝten gete · and to god tornen,
¶ Gon out of Ierusalem · & prechen hise wordes, 24
And neuer more come a-ȝeyn · whon þei weore enes
þenne.

Next day they all
start.

¶ In þe morwe he was sone boun · don as he biddes ;
Ioseph and his cumpanye · keueren on swiþe.
¶ Ioseph ferde bi-foren · and þe flote folewede ; 28
in-to þe lond of betanye · þis buirnes nou wenden.

Some are anxious,
but Ioseph
comforts them.

¶ þei carke for here herbarwe · summe be-hynde ;
whon Ioseph herde þer-of · he bad hem not demayȝen :
“ He þat ledes vs þis wei · vre herborwe schal wisse.” 32
þei founden hit newely · so wel weore þei neuere.
¶ A-morwe þei weore diȝt · and don hem to ȝonge,

They come to the
forest of Argos,
in Damascus.

And come to a Forest · with floures ful feire,
þat was called Argos · þat þe kyng ouȝte, 36
in þe lond of damas · þe cuntre was dere.

Christ bids
Joseph to make
a little box for the
blood,

ÞEnne spekes a vois to Ioseph · was Ihesu crist him-
selue,
“ Iosep[h], marke on þe treo · and make a luytel
whucche,

Forte do in þat ilke blod · þou berest a-boute ; 40
¶ whon þe lust speke with me · lift þe lide sone,
þou schalt fynde me redi · riȝt bi þi syde,
And, bote þou and þi sone · me no mon touche.

and to preach the
gospel,

And Iosep[h], walk in þe world · & preche myne
wordes 44

to þe proudest men · A parti schul þei here.

¶ þauȝ þei þe of manas · melen, and þe þreten,
beo þou no þing a-dred · for non schal þe derue.”

¶ “ lord, I was neuer clerk · what and I ne cunne ?” 48

trusting to the
power of the
Holy Ghost.

“ Louse þi lippes a-twynne · & let þe gost worche ;
Speche, grace, & vois · schul springe of þi tonge,
& alle turne to. þi mouþ · holliche atenes.”

¶ þenne he waves his fot · þe blod he with him fonges, 52
and in þe nome of þe fader · forþward he weendes.

þei ferden to A Cite · faste bi-syde,
þat was called sarras · þer sarsyns sprongen,
Erest þorw Abrahames wyf · þat wonede þer-inne. 56
Ioseph teiȝ to non hous · bote euene to þe temple :
He seiȝ þe kyng þer he sat · and wuste þat he was
wrapped,

They come to
Sarras.

Joseph hopes to
convert the king.

& hopede he scholde him · touward God turne ;
For he and þo of Egipte · han werret to-gedere, 60
And þei discourfitede him han · and scaþet ful ofte.
¶ þe kyng and his Baronage · a counseil bi-gonnen ;
he wolde haue red of his folk · and fare to hem ȝitte ;
& þei forsaken hit han · & he vnsauht sittes. 64

The king holds a
council.

“Sire,” seis Ioseph[h] · “or semblaunt is feble,
In gret Anguisse ȝe ben · þat nis not God greiȝe ;
wolde ȝe herkene to me · icholde ow bi-heete,
He þat is mi foundeor · may hit folfulle, 68
þat was ded on þe cros · & bouȝte us so deore ;
I am not worþi to seyn · moni of his werkes.”

Joseph promises
to help the king,
conditionally.

¶ “þou schewest A symple skil,” quap þe kyng · “of-
scutered þou semest
to speke of A ded mon · what may he don þer-ate?” 72
¶ “I schal sei ou,” quod Ioseph · “& ȝe wol vndurstonde.”
“tel ou,” seis þe kyng · “þi tale wol I here.”

The king wonders
how Christ can
still have power,

and bids Joseph
explain.

“þAt tyme þat Augustus Cesar · was Emperour of
Rome,
þis reson bi-gon · þat I schal now rikenen, 76
¶ whon god sende an Angel · in-to Galile,
to A Cite, bi nome · Nazareth I-called,
to A Maiden ful meke · þat Marie was hoten,
And seide, ‘Blessed beo þou flour · feirest of alle ! 80
þe holiȝost with-Inne þe · schal lenden and lihte ;
þou schalt beren a Child · schal Ihesu bi hoten.’

“God sent an
angel to
Nazareth,

to tell Mary that
she should bear a
son.

She inquired,
'How can that
be?'

he chaungede cher & seide · 'hou scholde I gon *with*
childe

with-oute felauschupe of mon?' · he bad hire not
demayen; 84

¶ 'þou schalt be mayden for him · bi-foren, and after.
Holliche *with*-outen wem · wite þou forsoþe.'

And heo grauntede þenne · to ben at his grace;
And sone aftur þat gretnede · þat greipþi Mayde. 88

Jesus did many
miracles.

Whon he wolde ben I-boren · at a Blisful tyme,
he dude Miracles feole · þat mony men seizen;

þre kynges of þe Est · þroly þei comen,
And vche put him in hond · [a] present ful riche. 92

¶ Soone Heroudes þe kyng · herde of his burþe;

Herod slew, for
his sake, 4140
children.

He lette sle for his sake · selli mony children;

Foure þousend and seue score · was þe summe holden,
þat weore I-slawe for his sake · for certeyn hit telles; 96

Bote þorwþ þe grace of him-self · gete him heo ne miȝt.

His Mooder ay *with* him fleih · forþ in-to Egipte.

Mary fled to
Egypt, where the
idols fell down
before Jesus.

¶ Whon he com in-to þe lond · leue þou forsoþe,
feole temples þer-inne · tulten to þe corþe, 100

for heore false ymages · þat þei on leeneden.

[Fol. 403, col. 2.]

Do a-wei þi Maumetes · þei han trayed þe ofte;

Do you burn all
your idols."

Let breken hem a-two · and bren hem al to pouder,
Schaltou neuer gete grace · þorwþ none suche goddes."

The king cannot
believe this.

¶ þenne seis þe kyng · "my wit mai not leue, 105

þat þou ne melest wonderli · & most a-ȝeyn kuynde.

Hou scholde a child come forþ · *with*-oute flesely dedes

Bi-twene wommon and Mon? · my wit may not leue."

"**S**ire," seide Ioseph · "þou hiȝtest me to heere, 109

And I schal þreue þe tale · þat I fore telle.

"God saw how
men all went to
helli,

¶ whon god sat in his blisse · bosked in heuene,

He seiȝ þe peple þorw þeine · passen in-to helle. 112

also wel þe holyeste · heold þider euene

as þe moste fooles; · and þe fader þouȝte

þat hit seemede nouȝt · and wolde his sone sende and sent forth His
forte bringe hem out þer-of · and þerfore he lihte"— 116 Son."

“**W**hat, mon?” quæþ þe kyng · “þou castest þi-
seluen.

Toldest þou not now bi-foren · he nedde neuer fader, “Now you say
but elles, *with*-oute mon · I-bore of a Mayden? Jesus *had* a
And þou seist now he has on · hou may þis sitte same?” Father,” says
the king.

¶ “He was Fader,” *quod* Ioseph · “and for his sake called,
þat was gostliche his halt · ar he weore mon formed; “He was His
And of two *persones* · sprong out þe þridde; ghostly Father.

þat was þe holigost · as I be-foren seide. 124
His godhede lees he nouȝt · þeiȝ he come lowe,
þat he nas god ay forþ · in his grete strengþe.

¶ I sei þe Fader was God · ar out was bi-gornen, The Father is
Made alle þing of nouȝt · þorw milt of him one, 128 God the Creator.

Dude þe prophetes to seye · þat hem-self nuste,
Bote as hit com heom to mouþ · and meleden þe wordes.
þe kuynde of þe Moder · þat he on corþe tok,
þat dizede a-wei · for he hit most dredde. 132

Bote þe kuynde of his Fader · þat was þe furste kuynde, Jesus never lost
Holliche euere he heold · for þat dizede neuere. His Father's
nature, being
twice born."

Bote he was gostliche of Fader · and fleshliche of Moder,
So þat he com twies forþ · and bi two kuyndes." 136

þenne seis þe kyng · “þe lengore I here, The king is still
þe lesse reson I seo · in þat þat þou rikenest. more confused.

¶ þou toldest furst of his Fader · and of his furste
kuynde,

And þreo *persones* · and alle þei ben goddes." 140

¶ “Ȝe, sire, bote I pertly vndo · þat I haue þe profred,
I am worþi muche blame · what mai I seiȝe more?

¶ þe sone, I tolde bi-fore · fongede vr kuynde,
tok flesch and blod · in a feir mayden; 144 “The Son took
on Him man's
nature, but lost
not His God-
head.”

his Godhede luttulde not · þeiȝ he lowe lihte,
þat he nas euere of o miȝt · mensked he worþe!"

Joseph defeats
all who dispute
with him.

¶ þe kyng fette forþ · feole of his clerkes,
to spute with Ioseph · þat spedes hem luite. 148

Ioseph tok þe holy writ · and tei for his teeme,
and destruyede heore tale · with-inne þreo wordes.

¶ þe ky[n]g bi-heold on his face · and on his limes
lowore,

Say3 he was barefot · and bar him in herte, 152

The king admires
Joseph,

He¹ hedde I-ben of hei3 blod · hedde he ben I-bosket,
And a ferli feir mon · and witerli him rewes.

and asks his
name.
“Joseph of
Aramathie.”

¶ “what hetttestou,” seis þe kyng · to Iosep[h] þenne.

“Ioseph of Aramathie · is mi nome called.” 156

“I schal sei þe, Ioseph · as my wit þinkes,
þow semest not ful good clerk · to kenne suche wordes ;
þe tale is hei3 in him-self · þat þou of tellest,

“Thy tale is
dark ; come
again to-
morrow.”

Hit is ful þester to me · & moni a mon eke. 160

¶ I schal seie þe, Ioseph · I haue to done swiþe ;
I may not wel lenge now · to-morwe meet me heere ;
þow schalt haue liueraunce of In · and al þat þe neodes ;
whon vre leyser is more · vre lustnyng is better.” 164

“I have 50
companions.”

¶ “I haue felauschupe wiþ-uten,” seis Ioseph · “wel a-
boutte fifti,

Boþe wymmen and men · þat mote wiþ me Inne.”

The king sends
for them all,
and inquires
about Joseph's
son, named
Josaphie.

¶ þe kyng lette fette hem forþ · bi-foren him to seo,
what leodes þei beon · and where þei weore boren ;— 168

“I trouwe þat beo þi sone” · bi Iosaphe he seide.

¶ “3e, sire, so he is · for soþe as I þe telle.”

“Con he out of clergye ?” · seis þe kyng þenne.

“leue me forsoþe, sire · þer liues no better.” 172

All are well
lodged.

¶ þe kyng lette lede hem · in-to toun lowe,
to a feir old court · and Innes hem þere.

The king at
night had three
cares,

Now we leuen Ioseph · and of þe kyng carpen ;
As he lai at niht · keuered in bedde, 176

In þreo pouztes he was · and þat weore þis ilke :

¶ On for his grete folk · þat him wiþ-saken hedde ;

¹ MS. “He he hedde.”

¶ A-noþur for Iosep[h]s tale · þat wolde fayn he tornede;

¶ þe þridde, How God scholde wiþ-uten wem · wonen the third being
how God could
dwell in a maiden.
in a Mayden. 180

¶ þenne he seiþ in his chaumbre-flor · þreo¹ souht vp All at once he
sees three trees,
with equal stems,
at enes.

þe braunches on hei; weoren · alle of o lengþe;

Bote þe bark of þat on · semede dimmore but one had a
darker bark.

þen ouþer of þe oþer two · trouwe þou forsoþe; 184

¶ þat signede Ihesu crist · for sake² of vre kuynde,
was nout out-wiþ so cler · bote wiþ-inne he was clene.

¶ He calles on his chaumberleyn · to kennen vncouþes, He calls his
chamberlain.
And he rises a-non · and for ferd falles. 188

And he feres³ him vp · and bad him not ben ferd;

“þer schal falle non euel · of þat is here formed.”

¶ þei lihten two torches · and to þis treos wenten; They examine the
trees.

þei weore semeli bi-neoþe · þei mihte not seo þe hei;þe,
sprongen wiþ gret sped · of a good spice. 193

On vche braunche was a word · of þreo maner enkes; Each stem bore a
word, in three
inks, gold, silver,
and blue.
Gold and Seluer he seis · and Asur forsoþe.

¶ “‘þis makeþ,’” quod þe wiht · “‘þe marke of gold;”

¶ “And ‘þis saues,’” quap þat wiht · “‘þe seyne of seluer;

And ‘þis clanses’ · as þe Asur kennes.” [Fol. 403 b, col. 1.]

¶ þe kyng nuste wel forte seye · bi wit þat he hedde, The king cannot
tell if he sees one
or three trees.
wheþer þat he seye · was on forte sigge, 200

oþer two, or þreo · or what he mihte telle.

¶ þe kyng was a-bascht · and to his bed buskes;
and his Chaumberleyn so a-ferd · þat neih he felde I-
swowen.

¶ þenne he sei; a newe chaumbre-wouh · wrouzt al of Next he sees a
partition of
boards, with a
child coming
through a door
in it.
bordes, 204
a dore honginge þer-on · haspet ful faste,

¹ May we read “þreo treos,” inserting *treos* on the strength of l. 191? The passage seems partly corrupt.

² MS. “forsake.”

³ So in MS. Perhaps we should read “beres.” See the Glossarial Index.

A child cominge þorw · his come was nout seene,
 Sipeu lenges a while · and a-zein lendes,
 wiþ-outen faute oþer faus · as þei fore seiden. 208

The king hears a
 voice.

¶ þenne spekes a vois · and on heiȝ sigges,
 “king, haue þou no ferli · of þat is heere formed,
 for so god wiþ-outen wem · wende in a Mayden.”

Joseph prays to
 God.

Now we leuen þe kyng · and of Ioseph carpen ; 212
 “A ! lord !” quap Ioseph · “how may þis limpe
 Of þis king Eualak · þat con not vnderstonde ?

“Thou who
 didst speak
 through Moses,

Bote ȝif I turne him bi þis poynt · ar he henne passe,
 beos he neuermore I-tornd · treweli I trouwe. 216

didst save
 Daniel,

Nou I be-seche þe, Ihesu · as þou art ful of Ioye,
 þat speke to hem of Israel · þorw Moyses speche,
 And bad þei schulde leeuē · for no-skunus þinge,
 In non oþur straunge god · bote studefast þe holde : 220
 And wustest daniel in þe put · þat he was inne I-worpe
 Among þe leones feole · þat he no scape lauȝte :

and forgive the
 Magdalene,

And for-ȝaf þe Maudeleyn · mekelyche hire sunnes :
 And sipeu seidest to me · mi preyere scholde sitte ; 224
 þou heiȝtest holiehurche · to haunsen hire strengþe,
 to hiȝen þi godhed · hit helps nout elles ;

grant me my
 prayer.”

Nou, gloriouse kyng · graunte me mi boone.”

A voice bids him
 to beget Galahad.

þenne spekes a vois · and on heiȝ sigges, 228
 “Ioseph, haue þou no care · þe kyng schal sone
 torne :

Go þou most to þi wyf · gete þou most nede
 A child, Galaad schal be hoten · þat goodnesse schal
 reise

þe Auenturus of Brutayne · to haunsen and to holden.”
 And he dos as he bad · and to his bed buskes. 233

Next day there is
 a thunderstorm.

¶ In þe morwe he was vype · and roises þis oþure.
 þenne hit þester bi-gon · and þonderde swiþe,
 þat þe graue quakede · and þei a-grisen alle. 236

¶ He bi-þenkes him þo · and to his whucche weendes,

And feole preiers he made · þat Ihesu crist herde,

And spekes to hem · wiþ loueliche wordes.

Christ speaks to
Joseph,

¶ “I-blesset be ȝe to day · alle myne leoue children”—

And he tolde hem of his crucifying · hou he [þe] cros

souȝte, 241

And of heore fadres bi-fore · þat he fond vn-kuynde—

“Er þei speeken to me feire · and faynede me wiþ
wordes,

Bote þei hateden me · and hedden de-deyn. 244

Bote beo ȝe stable in oure fei · and foleweþ vre werkes,

bidding him to
be steadfast in
the faith.

for ȝe han more of þe lawe · þen prophetes hedden.

¶ þei nedden bote þe holygost · and so ȝe han eke,
and siþen bodiliche me · to ben at or wille. 248

¶ I nul not fastenen on þe sone · þe Fadres gultus,

I for-ȝine ow elene · þe harm þat I hedde.

And cum þou hider, Iosaphe · for þou art Iugget elene,

“Josaphe, thou
art worthy ; I
will confer on thee
a very great gift.”

And art digne þer-to · þat dos me to lyke ; 252

Ichul bi-take þe to-day · in a good tyme

on þe hiȝeste þing · holden on eorþe,

non oþer of me · hit murili to habben,

but elles vche mon of þe · þat takes hit aftur.” 256

He bad him lifte vp · and þe lide warpes :—

Þenne he seos Ihesu crist · in a sad Roode,

and his fyue Angeles · þat forþ wiþ him stoden,

Josaphe sees
Christ on the
cross, and five
angels, bearing

As red as þe fuir · and he hem bi-holdes. 260

¶ þat on beres in his hond · a cros of queynte hewe ;

(1) the cross,
(2) the nails,
(3) the crown of
thorns, (4) the
lance, and (5) a
cloth.

¶ þat oþer beres in his hond · þreo blodi nayles ;

¶ þe þridde þe Coroune · þat his hed keuerde ;

¶ þe Feorþe, þe launce · þat lemede him wiþ-Inne ; 264

¶ And þe Fyfþe a blodi cloþ · þat he was inne i-braced,

whon he lay after slauht · in þe sepulere.

¶ þenne he falles for fere · forþ wiþ þe wȝucche ;

Eft he bad him rise vp · he ros wiþ þe bone. 268

¶ þenne he sauh Ihesu crist · I-straucht vppon þe Roode,

Next he sees
Christ stretched
out upon the
cross,

whuche þe Angel by-fore · hedde in his hond ;

And þe þreo nayles · þat þe opur bi-foren hedde,
In his honden and his feet · alle þei weore faste ; 272

and pierced with
the lance.

¶ Siþen stiken wiþ þe spere · blod and watur louses ;
Bi-holdes touward hise feet · say fro hem renne ;
eornen al of red blod · romynge a-boute ;
Al priueliche his peyne · a-pertliche he sauh. 276

His fater
reproves Josaphe,

“ **W**Hi lengest þou,” quod Iosep[h] · to his sone,
“ so longe ?

And so stille liggest · lokynde in þe whucche ? ”

but he bids him
also look in the
box,

“ A ! Fader, touche me not · in þis ilke tyme,
For muche gostliche grace · me is here I-graunted.” 280

¶ þenne þei loken in atte wzucche · loueliche boþe,
¶ þenne þei seȝen Ihesu crist · in þat ilke foorme,
þat heo seȝen him sodeynliche · whon heo furst comen
aftur þe slauȝt to him · to þe sepulere. 284

They see eleven
more angels, two
with basins, two
with cruets,

¶ þenne comen two Angeles · wiþ twayles white,
And eȝer bar in his hond · a basyn of seluer ;
Opur Tweyne aftur hem · with cruetes sone,
and wasscheles wiþ haly water · with hem þei brouȝten ;
And opur two after hem · with sencers *soone, 289
set wiþ riche stones · and a viole of sence.

two with censers :
[* Fol. 403 b,
col. 2.]

Gabriel himself
with a seat,

¶ þen com on, ‘ þe strengþe of god ’ · gabriel I-hoten,
wiþ þe riccheſte ſeȝe · þat euer for secte seemes ; 292
And opur two after him · wiþ crois and wiþ Mitre,
And opure bouwynde after · wiþ vestimens sone.

two with cross
and mitre, and
two with
vestments.

Next an altar,
whereon was the
DISH WITH
THE BLOOD.

HE seiȝ an Auter I-cloþed · wiþ cloþes ful riche ;
Vppon þat on ende lay · þe launce and þe nayles,
And vppon þat oþer ende · þe disch wiþ þe blode, 297
and a vessel of gold · geynliche bi-twene.

Christ consecrates
Josaphe as
bishop,

¶ Ihesu made for to greiþe Iosaphe · in þat geyn weede,
And sacrede him to Bisschop · wiþ boto his hondes, 300
And tolde him of his vestimens · what þei signefyen ;
In vche Cite þere he come · sacren on he scholde
wiþ þe selue oygnemens · þat he to him wrouȝte,

And an-oyg[n]ten oþer kynges · þat to crist torneden. 304

¶ ȝit he leres him more · loueliche him-seluen—

telling him that
he has care
of men's souls,

“I beo-takē þe her, Iosaphe · soules to kepe ;

ȝif eni þorw þi defaute · falle fro my riche,

At þe day of Iuggement · þou beost ioyned harde ; 308

¶ I seiȝe, Ioseph þi fader · schal bodiliche hem ȝeme,

as Joseph his
father has of
men's bodies.

And þou gostliche · nou ȝemes hem boþe.

wiþ-drawe þe of þi vestimens · and do hem vp to holde ;

Go now to-ward þe court · þe kyng for to turne.” 312

þenne þei wenden heore wei · and to þe court ȝongen,
And al a-boute þe paleys · haly water þei spreynðen,

They repair to
the palace.

for mony a wikkede gost · woned hedde þere.

¶ wiþ-uten, on þe paleys · as þei bi passeden, 316

werdes of Ebreu · weren I-writen of ȝore,

They find
written—
“Daniel called
this palace
Adventurous,

And sein, ‘daniel of Babiloyne · whon he fro Batayle
wente

Fro nabugodonosor · þe kyng þat him hade,

called þis paleis “Auntres” · and forsoþe seiðe, 320

þat hit scholde trewely · in sum tyme aftur,

called beo þe paleis · merueilouse for werkes,

or marvellous.”

þat þer scholde beo seyȝen · þorw sonde of vr lord.’

¶ Bi þat was A Messenger come · after þis men sone ; 324

whon þei comen to þe halle · þei maden þe signe

They come to the
hall.

on hem of þe verrey cros · and toward þe kyng eoden.

¶ þe kyng hedde geten him a clerk · on of þe beste,

The king employs
a clerk to
dispute with
them,

nouȝwhere in heore lawe · was such a-nother holden, 328

to take Ioseph in his tale · ȝif he wrong seiðe.

¶ “þou toldest me ȝusterlay,” quod þe kyng · “þou

wost wel þi-seluen,

Of þise þreo persones · and alle þei beoþ goddes ;

and reminds them
of yesterday's
discourse.

And siþen of a-noþer · wonder forsoþe, 332

þat Ihesu with-uten wem · won in a Mayden.”

þat I tolde þe þo · I telle þe ȝitte ;

I nul forsake my word · for no maner þinge.”

The clerk
disputes, and
denies the
Trinity.

Op stondes þis clerk · and seis him þise wordes, 336
 “ 3if þise þreo persones · þat þou þe fore putttest
 han bote on godhede · þei nare not goddes alle ;
 3if vchon haue a godhede · I graunte, bi him-selue,
 I seie þat on is also good · as þe þreo hole. 340
 ¶ þat on is a verrei god · I sei bi god greyþe ;
 þis oþer two nare none · in no maner þinge.”

Josaphé reminds
the king of last
night's dream,

He sprong in his sputison · and speek harde wordes,
 þat Ioseph hedde no space · while his speche laste. 344
 ¶ Op stondes Iosaphé · and þe fader sittes,
 Speek wiþ an heiȝ vois · þat al þe folk herde,
 “ Nou þe greteþ, sir Euelak · God of israel
 þorw his seruauȝtes mouþ · and seye þe I wile. 348

and says that
Tholomer, king
of Babylon,
will take the king
and kill him.

¶ þou hast I-seȝe to-niht · signefies summe,
 þow hast diskeuēret hem · þer he nis not payet,
 Heere þou schalt ha vengauunce · verreyliche and sone,
 þat al þi reume schal seo · þat þou wrong siggest ; 352
 ¶ For he, þis ilke Tholomer · þat þou weore wont to
 hunte,

The clerk again
gets up to speak,
but his eyes fly
out of his head.

þat is kyng of Babiloyne · hiderward he buskes ;
 þreo dayes with þe niht · nou he þe schal driue,
 Sipeȝ lacche þe atte laste · and þe þi lyf bi-reuen ; 356
 He þat dorste nere ȝut · þe nouȝwhere a-byde,
 nou schal winne his wille of þe · for þi wrong bi-leeue.”
 ¶ þenne stod vp þis clerk · and wolde eft dispute ;
 þenne him þouȝte þat on · heold him bi þe tonge, 360
 And he roungeȝe an heiȝ · and rorede so harde,
 his eiȝen flowen out of his hed · and bi foreȝen him fallen.

King Euelak
protects Joseph,

¶ þenne vp sturten þe folk · and wolden wiþ wepene
 sle Iosep[h] and his sone · for sake¹ of þis
 oþer ; 364

And þe kyng Eualac · cauȝte his sward sone,
 And beo þe miht of Iubiter · he swor to hem alle,

¹ MS. “forsake,” as in l. 185.

weore eny of heom so wood · heom forte founle,

he wolde felle hem feye · ar þei þenne ferdn. 368

¶ þenne seis þe kyng · “mai þer out me helpe

forto saue me out · 3if þat hit so lym[p]e?”

¶ “3e, sire,” seis Iosaphe · “to fonge þe trouþe.”

“And what trouwest þou of þis mon · tides him hele?”

“Gos to oure Maumetes · and proues heore mihtes.”

¶ þenne þei taken þis mon · and towen him to þe

temple,

A-non þei brouȝten him forþ · bi-foren þe moste mayster,

Calleþ vppon an ymage · þat Appollin hette, 376

and wol not onswere a word · þauh þei scholde swelten.

¶ þenne spekes an ymage · in a-noþer huirne,

þat 3e clepeþ Martis · “nouȝt is þat 3e mene;

Appolin is bounden · and braset so faste, 380

he may not speke a word · for no þing alyue.”

and asks if there
is any help, and
if the blind clerk
will recover.

Josaphe bids him
go and ask the
idols.

Appollin will
give no answer.

Mars says
Appollin is
bound fast.

þenne Ioseph hente a staf · þat stod him bi-syde,
strikes to þis Appolin · with a strong wille,

þat his nekke to-barst · and brak al to pouder, 384

and þe fend of his bodi · fleyȝ to þe lufte.

¶ þenne þei leuen him þer · and goþ *touward opure;

¶ þe kyng bowes to his pors · him offring to beode.

“Let beo,” seis Iosaphe · “I leue þe beo better; 388

For and þou profre him eny · I schal do [þe] to preue,

vppon sodeyne deþ · þou schalt sone dye.”

¶ “Do tel me,” seis þe kyng · “I haue þe muche truste,

Of þis tholomer and me · hou schal hit tyden?” 392

And he onsweres aȝeyn · “I dar not wel sigge,

for þis cristene men · þat vmbe mong ȝongen.

¶ Se 3e not þe tweyne Angeles · leden hem a-boute?

¶ þat on bereþ a cros · þat oper a swerd kene; 396

¶ wher-so-euere þei ben stad · such is heore strengþe,

Vre maystrie is nouȝt · in no maner þinge.”

¶ þenne seis Iosaphe · “for us ne schalt þou wonde;

Vppon þe heiȝe trinite · I halse þe to telle, 400

Joseph breaks
Appollin in
pieces.

[* Fol. 404, col. 1.]

The king
questions another
idol,

who says he sees
two angels with
Joseph.

Josaphe conjures
the idol to tell
all;

but I e cannot. Spek al þat þou const · & let þe kyng here.”
 “Of newe þing þat is to come,” he seis · “con I not
 telle.”

A messenger comes, telling of Tholomer's victories,
 Bi þat was a Messenger i-come · and to þe kyng menes,
 And seis him þat tholomer · has taken of his londes.
 ¶ “þe riche Cite of Nagister · nomen he has forsoþe ;
 Sipeþ he keueres vppon · and takes bi-fore clene 406
 þe Castel of a-longines · and hiderward he ioynes,
 and how he has 116,000 men. with sixti þousent,” he seide · “of clene men of Armes,
 And Fifti þousend fot-men · þat redi beþ to fihte, 409
 þei han geten þat holt · for certeyn soþe ;
 þer is non in þat lond · þat schal hem wiþstonden.”
 ¶ þenne þe kyng was a-ferd · I hete þe forsoþe, 412
 leste þe tale of Iosaphe · ferede trewe.

The king
assembles his
men.

þE kyng boskes lettres a-non · to bounen his bernes,
 Comaundes hem to meeten him · tymely on þe
 morwen,

They are all to
meet at the
Castle of Carboy.

At þe Castel of Carboye · þer he beden hade, 416
 was fiftene myle · fro sarra I-holden,
 And oþer fiftene myle · fro þenne as þei leiþen.
 ¶ þenne Ioseph takes him forþ · and seiþ him þis
 wordes,

Joseph discloses
Evelak's early
history, saying,
“Thy father was
a cobbler.

“wostou what þou do, kyng · nou þat þou wendes ?
 Of þi comynge a-gein · const þou not telle. 421
 ¶ Such signe me is tauzt · þou art of cun symple ;
 forsoþe A mon was þi fader · þat couþe schon a-mende !
 ¶ þat tyme þat Augustes cesar · was Emperour of Rome,
 þou wast lenged in þe lond · þat þat lord ouzte. 425
 Fourti knihtes douztres · he wolde haue of fraunce,
 forte souwe selk-werk · and sitten in his chaumbre.

Thou didst
serve two French
damsels in
Augustus' court.

¶ For þou were a feir child · þou weore I-fet to serue
 twei feire maydenes · and wiþ þis mon lengedest. 429
 ¶ þei heolden þe of herre blod · þen þou boren weore ;
 So þou souztes fro him · to þe erl of Suryc.
 So þou and his sone · vppon a day seten, 432

- And 3e woxen vn-sauzt · and þou slou3 him þere.
 So þou come to þe kyng · þat þis kuppe auzte ;
 Seidest þou were a kniht · and in his court laftest.
 ¶ He was an old mon · weried of werre, 436
 And þou weore a 3ong mon · in þi grete strengþe.
 For þou toke his enemy · and brouztest him to honde,
 forþi he 3af þe þis lond · after his lyue.
 Hit is not allynge to carpe, sire kyng · wher-of we
 comen." 440
 He takes non [hede] heere-to · bote askes him of þe
 sweuene
 þat he mette on þe niht · and bad he scholde him telle.
 ¶ "whon þat þou comest a3eyn · wite þou schalt
 forsoþe,
 þou miht haue more redi roume · my rikenyng to here !"
 ¶ Ioseph[e] takes his scheld · and schapes a-middes
 A crois of red cloþ · and kennes him aftur, 446
 whon his peril weore most · to crist he scholde preyen,
 for þer scholde no mon verreili · þat vigore bi-holden,
 þat he nis saaf þat dai · and his sore passed. 449
- þenne he buskes touward þe bente · þer þis oþer
 byden,
 He arayes his riche men · and rihtes hem swiþe.
 A-non tholomers men · woxen þe biggore ; 452
 sone beeren hem a-bac · and brouhten hem to grounde ;
 And þei tornede a-3ein · þat tyme hit was non oþer.
 ¶ þei come bi tholomers tentes · vn-housed hem sone,
 Token holliche his stor · and a-wei strei3ten, 456
 þat þei come to a Castel · faste be-syde.
 ¶ þe kyng was gon to pleye him · bi a water brimme,
 þen com on prikyng · prest him a-3eynes.
 He seide, "my ladi þe queene · ou a lettre sende, 460
 Biddes ou wihtly be boun · to don as heo biddes."
 And he redes hit forþ · and fond þer-on sone,
 þat he scholde wiþ-drawe him · al a-wei þenne,
 bidding him to retreat.
- Thou didst slay
 the earl of
 Syria's son,
 and didst come to
 the court of the
 old king of
 Sarras."
- The king asks
 about his dream.
- Josaphe makes a
 cross of red cloth
 on Evelak's
 shield.
- Evelak arrays his
 men.
- Tholomer's men
 get the best of it,
- but their enemies
 spoil their tents.
- Evelak receives a
 letter from his
 queen,

Or elles tholomers folk · wol taken him þere ; 464

¶ Forþi heo wole þat he wite · and warnes him beo-
time.

¶ “Ho has witered hire of þis · and ho has hire
kenned ?”

Evelak learns
that Joseph and
his son have
warned the
queen.

He onsweres a-non · “sire, I not forsoþe.

Bote þe two cristene men · þat bydes ow at court, 468
in gret counseil han I-beo · I trouwe hit be þer a-
boute ;”—

And he telles hem þenne · of þe qwene sonde
þorw counseil of Iosaphe · and Ihesu þei þonken.

The king collects
14,000 more men.

¶ **Þ**E kyng Boskes lettres a-non · to boune mo bernas ;
bi þat þe niȝt was a-weye · And þe day on þe
morwe, 473

þei hadden of newe folk · fourtene þousend.

He sees 500 men
approaching,

He seiȝ vnder a wode-egge · siker bi hem-seluen
Freschliche I-diht · Fyue hondred men of Armes. 476

their captain
being Seraphe,
his wife's brother.

¶ On vn-castes his helm · and to þe kyng rydes,
And he kneuȝ him wel · he was his wyues broþer,
was I-called Seraphe · a ȝong Erl forsoþe,
and a douȝti þer-wiȝ · in alle goode deedes ; 480

[* Fol. 404, col. 2.]

He mihte neuer gete loue of þe kyng · much * ne luyte,
ne good herte of him · and he non harm seruede.

Seraphe says the
queen has sent
him.

He seide, “my ladi þe Qwene · me a lettre sende, 483
ȝif euere I halp hire at neode · I scholde hit now cuiþe ;
And I am come to þi wille · sire, wiȝ þis knihtes.”
“Forsoþe,” he seis, “seraphe · so þou cuele ouȝtest ;
Ofte I haue for-set þe · þat me sore forþinkes,
For euere þe kuynde wol be frend · for ouȝt þat mai
bi-falle.” 488

They go to meet
the enemy.

Now þei bouwe touward þe bente · þer þis oþere
houen ;

He arayes his riche men · and rihtes hem bettere,
þat þorw him reowen no res · þat his red wrouȝten.

- ¶ þenne seis Seraphe · “holdes ou stille, 492 Seraphe bids his
And þenkes on, goode men · þe gref is oure childre ;
what wol bi-falle þer-of · and we ben confoundet.
Betere hit were douhtilyche · to diȝen on or oune,
þen wiþ schendschupe to schone · and vs a-bak drawe.”
þei han geten on hem · þe lengþe of a gleyue: 497
¶ whon Seraphe seiȝ þat men · þei miȝte l-seo sone
his polhache go · and proude doun pallede.
In þe þikkeste pres · he preuede his wepne, 500 Seraphe's pole-
Breek braynes a-brod · brusede burnes,
Beer bale in his hond · bed hit a-boute.
He hedde an hache vppon heiȝ · wiþ a gret halue,
Huld hit harde wiþ teis · in his two hondes ; 504
So he frusschede hem *wit* · and fondede his strengþe,
þat luyte miȝte faren him fro · and to fluiȝt founden.
¶ þere weore stedes to struien · stoures to medlen,
Meeten miȝtful men · mallen þorw scheldes, 508 Mighty men meet
¶ Harde hauberkes to-borsten · and þe brest þurleden.
Schon schene vppon schaft · schalkene blode.
¶ þo þat houen vppon hors · heowen on helmes.
¶ þo þat hulden hem on fote · hakken þorw scholdres.
mony swouȝninge lay · þorw schindringe of scharpe, Many lie
And starf aftur þe deþ · in a schort while. swooning, and
¶ þer weoren hedes vn-huled · helmes vphauȝset ; die.
harde scheldes to-clouen · on quarters fellen, 516
slen hors and mon · holliche at enes.
Horses and men
are slain.

þE stiward of Eualak · in þe stour laste,
lai streiht on þe feld · striken to þe eorþe.
Euelak's steward
is slain.

- ¶ Now Eualac and tholomer · twies han a-semblet ;
Seraphe takes of heore men · wel a two hundred, 521 Seraphe with 200
to wende to a Roche · was faste bi-syde.
Hedde þei geten þat holt · for certeyne soþe,
þei mihten haue do muche harm · er þei han hem mihte.
¶ þenne com on wiþ a tale · and Tholomer he telles,
And seis him hou Seraphe · has his men serued ; 526
men makes for
a rock.

- His broþer and a batayle · weore bosket bi-sydes,
 And he sende him word · he scholde þider seehe,
 Tholomer's men pursue him. And þei come swiftly vppon · and swengeden to-gedere.
 ¶ Seraphe was of hem wel war · and faste hem a-series ;
- Seraphe slays a knight on horseback,
 He mette a gome on an hors · with a gret route,
 He hente vp his hachet · and huttes him euene, 532
 Al to-hurles þe helm · and þe hed vnder.
 wiþ þe deþ in his hals · downward he duppes,
 and þat deruede hem muche · on þat oþer syde,
 who was Tholomer's brother. for þe kyng Tholomer · was treweli his broþer. 536
 ¶ þen Seraphe fondes in · he and fourti knihtes,
 ¶ þer þe batayle was stiffest · and of more strengþe.
 ¶ þenne þei fullen for grame · to Seraphe knihtes ;
 þei han laft him a-lyue · but vnneþe seuene. 540
 Sikerli þe seuene · weore slayen at þe laste,
 Seraphe is wounded severely. Him wondet þer-wiþ · and wemmet so sore,
 þat he was in swounynge · and fel to þe grounde.
 ¶ Sone þenne he starte vp · and streihte to his hache,
 culles on mennes hedes · þat þei down lyen, 545
 Sifen cacelis his hors · and a-wei vendes.
- Seraphe seeks Evelak,
 Bote euere-more Seraphe · askes and cries,
 “ where was Eualac ? ” · þe stour was so þikke. 548
 ¶ wel a fyne þousend men · of tholomeres halue
 weore bytwene hem two · þat to him he ne mihte,
 He had but 40 men against 5000. And he nedde bote fourti men · folewynde his brydel.
 And þei were weri of-fouzten · and feor ouer-charged,
 Of þe peple afurst · and þe pres after ; 553
 luyte wonder hit was · so þey wrouzt haden.
- Tholomer takes Evelak prisoner.
 Þenne was Eualac taken · and woundet ful sore ;
 And þe kyng tholomer · takes him to kepe, 556
 Ferde in-to a forest · faste bi-syde,
 forte fallen him feye · er þei a-zeyn ferdan.
- Evelak uncovers his shield, and prays.
 ¶ þenne he vn-kenered his scheld · & on þe cros bi-
 holdes ;
 He seiþ a child straucht þer-on · stremynge on blode, 560

And he bi-souȝte him of grace · as he was godes foorme.

¶ þenne he seiȝ a whit kniht · comynge him a-ȝeines,
boþe Armure and hors · al as þe lilȝe,
A red cros on his scheld · seemed him feire ; 564

A white knight
comes to his
rescue,

Rydes to tholomer · rad wiþ þat ilke,
Baar him doun of his hors · and harmed him more,
strok him stark ded · þat he stureden neuere.

and slays
Tholomer.

¶ Siþen he fonges forþ · a ferly wepne, 568
fel hem feize to his feet · þat him hedde folewed.

¶ þenne he horses Eualac · on tholomeres steede,
bouwes toward þe batayle · bigly and swiþe.

The white knight
mounts Evelak
on Tholomer's
horse.

¶ Euer-more Eualac · askes and cries, 572
“where was Seraphe?” · and seiȝ him wiþ þat ilke,
wher seue knihtes him han · sikerliche a-sayled,
and titli bi-gonnen · to take him bi þe bridel. 575

¶ þe white kniht wiþ his sword · swyngede to hem sone ;
whon þe sixe weoren dede · þe seueþe a knyf * cauhte,
And wolde ha striken Seraphe · at a stude derne,
vppon an hole of his helm · and he was so for-fouȝten
þat he hedde no space · spedly him-seluen 580
forto do him no dispit · þe sporn was his owne.

[* Fol. 404 b,
col. 1.]
Seraphe is nearly
overpowered.

¶ whon Eualac pat sauȝ · he fel to þe grounde,
And Seraphe also · and boþe lye [a] swoune.

¶ þe white kniht liktes doun · and boþe hem vp-liftes ;
þer nas no lynde so liht · as þise two leodes, 585
whon þei blencheden a-boue · and eifer seiȝ oþer.

The white knight
lifts up Evelak
and Seraphe.

¶ þenne seis Seraphe · “scheuȝ me myn hache,
and I schal note hit to-day · my strengþe is so newed.”

Seraphe asks for
his axe.

¶ “Haue her-on,” seis þe white kniht · “vppon my bi-
halue ; 589

The white knight
gives him one.

God sende þe þis · þat al þe grace lenes.”

whon he hedde hit in honde · he heold hit þe betere,
And þe heuier bi fer · þen he bi-foren hedde ; 592

Nas þer ȝong mon ne old · þat ȝernloker wrouȝte
þen Eualac and Seraphe · wher-so-euer þei souȝten,
Also fresch as þe hauk · freschore þat tyme,

Evelak and
Seraphe are now
as fresh as hawks.

þen þei foundeden þidere · in heore furste come. 596

But euer-more þe white kniht · hem þe place roumede,
Hit falles not for to seiȝe · þe fere of his dundes.

þer he lousede his hond · he leyde hem on Ronkes,
and welde hem bi-foren · at his oune wille. 600

Tholomer's
steward rallies
his men, and
advises a retreat.

¶ þe stiward of Tholomer · stoffes hem to-gedere,
and seis, “þei ben a-middes þe Reume · and mowe not
hom reche,

ne heo knowe not in the lond · forþi þei moten lenge.”

¶ þenne þe folk of þe Roche · hem in face kepten, 604
maden þer a siker werk · and slowen hem vp clene.

The white knight
vanishes.

Eualac and Seraphe · wonder hem þhouȝte
wher þe white kniht bi-com · þat won hem þe
prys ;

þei nuste where he was · ne on whuche syde. 608

Seraphe wishes to
go home.

¶ þenne seis Seraphe · þat hom he wolde wende,
He is woundet ful sore · to winnen his ese.

¶ “Trewely,” seis Eualac · “þow schalt wiþ me to
court,

And two wonderful men · þou schalt seo þere ; 612

þei tolde me of vche a poynt · ar I fro home wente,
al-to-gedere of þis werk · hou hit is wonne.”

The queen asks
Joseph what has
happened.

Nou we leuen þe kyng · and of Ioseph carpen,
þat restes him in Sarras · bi-leued wiþ þe qweene.

“Hou trouweston of my lord?” heo seis · “tydes him
hele, 617

Has he folfulsened þe sawes · þat þou bi-fore seidest?”

Joseph says the
king is victorious.

“Ȝe, þorw þe miht of god · þe maystrie is wonnen,
And þorw his swete grace · þe sarrest is passed.” 620

The queen offers
to be converted.

¶ “Ȝe, I wol bi-hote þe heer · þi lawe for to holden,
whon þat my lord is comen · þat schal I furst fongen.”

“Do me sikernesse þer-to” · seis Ioseph þenne.

¶ “I wole my trouþe þe bi-take · I wol þe nout trayse.”

“Nay, þou hast non,” seis he · “for certeyn soþe, 625

3e han be fastned wiþ hem · þat ferden wiþ luitel."

"Tel me what is þin · and what hit signefyes?"

She asks him
what his faith is.

And he tolde hire a-non · trewely him-seluen, 628

And heo rikenede a-ȝeyn · radly and sone,

He finds she is a
Christian.

Also redili as he · and wonder he hedde.

¶ "I schal seiȝe þe, Ioseph · for certeyn soþe,

hou I tok cristendom · and in what tyme. 632

while my moder lȝuede · heo hedde an vuel longe,

Her mother had a
sore disease.

And souȝte in-to diuerse studes · and mihte haue non
hele.

¶ þenne wonede an hermite · faste bi-syde ;

Semely vppon a day · þidere we souhten ; 636

Heo bad þis hermyte · he scholde hire hele sende.

¶ 'I am sinful as þou,' he seis · 'I mai þe non graunte.'

¶ 'No mak þi preyere to him,' heo seis · 'þat þin hope
is inne ?'

She asked a
hermit to pray
for her.

¶ 'woldestou leene vppon him,' he seis · 'I wolde þe
bi-hote, 640

þat þou scholdest ben hol · ar þou henne eodest.'

¶ He made hire to knele a-down · and a bok bradde,

The hermit made
the mother kneel
down,

Radde a gospel þer-on · and bad hire vp rise,

And heo was lihtned of hire euel · in a lȝutel stounde.

and she was
healed.

¶ þenne heo seide to me · 'douȝter ful deore, 645

woltou beo as I am · and on þis mou leue ?'

And I wepte water warm · and wette my wonges,

The daughter
said she can only
believe upon one

And seide his bert was so hor · I bad not on him leene.

And he seide to me · 'douȝter, he is feirre, 649

þat þi moder has I-helet · nou in þis tyme,

þen I or þou · or out þat is formed.'

¶ And I tolde him a-ȝeyn · 'and he so feir weore 652

who is as fair
as her own
brother.

as my broþer is at home · I wolde on him leene.'

¶ 'Sikerly, douȝter,' he seis · 'so may grace sende

þat þou miȝt seo him þi-self · ar þow henne seche.'

þEnne com Ihesu crist · so cler in him-seluen, 656

Jesus Christ
appeared to her,

after þe furste blusch · we ne miȝte him bi-holden,

And a wynt and a sauer · whappede us vmbe,
we weore so wel of vr-self · we nuste what we duden.
He vside of Goddes bord · & a writ brouhte, 660

and she was
conver ed;

bi-taughte me and my moder · murily to holden ;
þus cristendom I tok · in þat ilke tyme."

¶ "whi hastou let so longe · þi lord þis lyf leden?"

but dared not tell
her husband.

"Sire, forsoþe," heo seis · "syker I ne dorste, 664

He is so feol in him-self · for no þing be-knownen,
Bote herkene of god · whon he his grace sende.

¶ Hastou not herd þi-self · hou euel he was to torne?"

The king returns,

Now þe kyng comes to sarras · and mony on him
suwen ; 668

As sone as he com hom · I hete þe forsoþe,
He askede after a-non · nomeliche þeose tweyne,
Sette him on *his bed · and hem on eiþer syde.

[* Fol. 464 b,
col. 2.]
and blesses
Joseph's God.

"A! Ioseph," seiþ þe kyng · "soþe aren þi wordes, 672
þat þou toldest me furst · 3or foundeour be blesset!"

¶ "Ho is þat?" seis Seraphe · and [he] onswerde
sone,

"he þat halp þe wiþ sound · fro þe seue knihtes"—
Tolde hem vche a poynt · þat þei wrouzt haden ; 676
Hou he wuste þerof · wonder hem þouhte.

A knight appears
who has lost an
arm.

Þenne com on fro þe filht · þat foule was wemmed,
was striken of þat on Arm · and bar hit in þat
oper.

¶ þen Ioseph asked þe kynges scheld · And bad þat
mon knele, 680

Evelak's shield
restores the arm.

þe arm helede a-zeyn · hol to þe stompe.

¶ þenne com Seraphe · and fullouzt furst askes.

Joseph baptizes
Seraphe by the
name of Naciens.

In þe nome of þe fader · Ioseph him fulwede,
And calles him Naciens · and his nome tornde : 684
he was þe forme þat day · þat fongede troupe.

¶ whon he Baptised was · þis opere bi-heolden,
Heom þouhte he leomede as liht · al on a lowe ;

¶ þei seȝen þe holy-gost · at his mouþ descenden, 688 The Holy Ghost
And he speek þenne · þat bi-foren ne kneuȝ. descends on him.

þ Enne com he wiþ þe sore Arm · þat þorw þe grace
was holpen ; .

In þe nome of þe fader · Ioseph him folwed, The healed
clepen him Cleomadas · and callen him after. 692 knight is
baptized as
Cleomadas,

¶ þenne com þe kyng Eualac · and fullouht askes ;
In þe nome of þe fader · Ioseph him folwede, and Evelak as
Mordreins.
Called him Mordreyns · ‘a lat mon’ in troupe.

¶ þen com þe folk · to Iosaphe so pikke, 696
He tok a basin of gold · in bope two his hondes,

Vppon þe heiȝe trinite · he let water hiȝe, Joseph baptizes
5000 others.
And hedde fulwed bi non · mo þen fyue þousend.

¶ þenn seis Iosaphe · þat Ioseph his fader 700
mot a-byden him · and dwelle þer stille,

¶ while þat he and Naciens gon · nouþer þei musten,
forte cristene þe folk · and casten þe false.

¶ But þere an vnsele kyng · in prison hem caste, 704 A king puts
Josaphe in prison,
wiþ muche serwe to him-self · siker atte laste ;

¶ For þe kyng Mordreyns · com wiþ such strengþe, but Mordreins
releases him.
forte linere hem out · on lyue he laste none.

¶ Siþen þei bi-tauȝten þe blod · twei burnes to holden,
And þei lenden of þe toun · and leuen hit þere. 709 Joseph's company
leave Sarraz.

The Lyfe of Ioseph of Armathy.

[REPRINTED FROM THE BLACK-LETTER COPY
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[The Lyfe of Ioseph of Armathy.]

[Leaf 1.] ¶ Here after foloweth a treatyse taken out of a boke whiche somtyme Theodosius the Emperour founde in Iherusalem in the pretorye of Pylate of Ioseph of Armathy.¹

[Leaf 2.] **F**Or asmoche as oftentimes grete doubtes & doubtfull thynges deceyueth the reders / therfore all doubtes sette a parte ye shall se dyuers thynges extracte of the veray true & probate assereyons of hystoryal men touchyng and concernyng thantiquytes of thonourable monastery of oure lady in Glastenburye. After the tyme that our sauour Ihesu cryste was put vnto deth by passyon of the crosse & all thynges were fully complete whiche were wryten and spoken of hym by holy propheeye. That holy man Ioseph of Armathy came vnto Pylate and asked of hym the body of our sauour Ihesu cryste / whan y^e body was graunted to hym he wrapped it in a fayre whyte clothe and interyd it in a tombe newly made where neuer man was buryed in / what tyme the Iewes had parfyt knowledge that this Ioseph had so worshipfully brought the body of cryst in erthe / they thought vtterly in theyr myndes and kest so also the meanes how they myght set handes vpon hym / & one named Nychodemus and many dyuers other y^e whiche were the veray true louers and iust aduocates of our sauour fledde and kepte them secrete / excepte onely the sayd Ioseph & Nychodemus whiche full boldly presented them selfe & made rehersall vnto y^e Iewes vnder these wordes / what sholde moue you to be dyspleased w^t vs for asmoche as we haue buryed y^e body of Ihesu cryst / knowe ye full well sayd Ioseph & Nychodemus to y^e Iewes y^t y^e haue mysdone agaynst y^e ryghtfull

¹ Beneath is a cut of the crucifixion with "Ihesus nazareus rex iudeorum" at the top, and bordered with foliage. The same cut is repeated on the back of the leaf.

man / ye cast ne thynke not in your myndes the grete benefytes he hathe done and shewed to you ye haue for his grete goodnes crucyfied hym & with a sharpe spere wounded hym. The Iewes herynge those wordes set hande on Ioseph and closed hym in an house where was no wyndowe / & annas & cayphas sealed the dore vpon the locke and assygned and deputed certayne¹ men to kepe hym and watche hym / and his felowe Nychodemus was let goo at lyberte. They intreated Ioseph soo vngoodly for as moche that he was the man that desyred the body of Ihesu cryst / and was the pryncypall mouer and begynner that y^e body was so worshipfully interyd & buried / after this was done vpon theyr sabbat daye they gaderyd them in a companye y^e chefe rulers of the temple and caste theyr myndes togyder how & by what maner of dethe they myght destroye Ioseph & whan they were all in fere² Annas and Cayphas were commaunded by theym to present Ioseph for as moche as they had sealed y^e dore where he was inclosed in & whan theyr seales were broken & the dore opened Ioseph was gone. Than they sent out spyes to seke hym & fynally he was fownde in his owne cyte called Aramathya / & whan they had redy tydynge & perfyte knowlege of it / bothe chefe rulers & all the comynalte of the Iewes inioyed gretely & thanked y^e verray god of Israell y^t it was knowen where Ioseph was become whiche was thus inclosed vnder kepyngge warde and custodie. Thenne they gadred in a multytude and they the whiche were pryncypalles and heedes preposynge this questyon and sayd what meanes myghte we fynde that we myght craftely haue Ioseph vnto vs and so for to speke with hym. Thenne they *concluded generally that an [* Leaf 3.] epystle sholde be wryten vnto hym / and this was the effecte of the lettre. Ioseph peace be with the and with all thy company. Nowe we knowe full well that we haue full greuously offended god and the / therefore we praye the vouchsaue too come vnto vs that we maye comen with the for we meruaylle gretely how thou was taken out of the place in y^e whiche thou was putte / we knowlege ourselfe vnto the that we haue maligned sore agayn the / wherfore almyghty god hathe deliuered y^e that our wycked counseyll and vnhappye mynde myght not hurte the / therefore worshippefull Ioseph whiche

¹ Printed certayne.

² i. e. *in-fere* = together.

arte well beloued amonge all people / peace be w^t the. Thenne this epystle made and wryten they chose seuen persones amonge theym all whiche were the best and moost synguler frendes that Ioseph had & sayd vnto theym / whan ye go forth take your way in to Aramathia vnto Ioseph & grete hym well in our behalve and take vnto hym this our epystle / whan y^e seuen persones electe & chosen had theyr full answer with theyr lettre delynered anone they came to y^e cyte of Aramathya where Ioseph was and full louyngely salued hym shewyng thei comynge & the cause gyuyng vnto hym y^e epystle which receyued them full curteysly / and whan he had ouerlooked the lettre and knewe the effecte thenne he sayd these wordes. Blessyd be my lorde god of Israell whiche hathe delynered and saued me that my blode hath not be shed nor I destroyed / blessed be my lorde god the whiche hathe kepte me vnder his wynges. Thenne Ioseph in token of loue & peace kyssed the .vii. persones whiche were sente in message vnto hym and full kyndely hadde them in to his house. And vpon the nexte daye after he toke his asse and walkyng kepte them company vnto Iherusalem. And whan the Iewes herde of his comynge they wente agaynst hym and in their metyng sayd with one voyce peace be in thy comynge fader Ioseph / and he resaluted theym vnder this maner and sayd. Peace be with you and amonge you all and there they kyssed hym all / thenne Nychodemus receyued hym in to his house and made hym a grete dyner / vpon a daye whan the Iewes were gadered togyder Annas and Cayphas sayd vnto Ioseph / shewe thou now before y^e god of Israell & openly declare vnto vs suche thynges as we shall examyn the of for as moche as it is not vnknownen that we were sore greued for by cause thou lettest bury the body of Ihesu cryste and thereupon we enclosed the in a preuy house and the morowe we sent to haue spoken with the and myght not fynde the / wherfore we meruaylled gretely and were sore affrayed of it how this myghte be vnto this tyme that we se the nowe / therfore whyles thou arte presente certefye vs verely howe this mater was brought that thou was thus secretlye comeyed awaye. Ioseph dydayned not to gyue theym answer but sayd vnto theym boldely. What tyme ye closed me in that house on godefrydaye the morowe vpon whiche is the sabbate

daye in the mydnyghte whan I was besy in my prayers to desyre god
 to be my helpe and socour / sodeynly in y^e meane tyme y^e house
 that I was in was taken vp by y^e foure angles. And I sawe Ihesus
 bryghter thenne *ony lyght that euer I sawe afore and for [* Leaf 4.]
 grete fere I fell downe to the erthe / thenne he toke me by the
 hande frome the grounde and wyped my face with a rose and kyssed
 me and sayd vnto me be not aferde Ioseph loke vpon me and knowe
 thou full well that I am he. Thenne loked I vp and called hym
 mayster Helyas supposynge that he hadde ben Hely the prophete /
 thenne he spake vnto me and sayd I am not Hely but I am Ihesus
 whose boody thou lettest be buryed / thenne for by cause I was some-
 dele doubtfull of it I sayd vnto hym yf thou be he shewe me y^e
 tombe wherin I layde the. Thenne he toke me by y^e hande and
 broughte me vnto the place where I interyd hym. Furthermore he
 shewed me the clothe in y^e whiche I wrapped his body and also the
 sudarye that I bounde his hede withall. Thenne these thynges seen
 I knewe well that it was Ihesus and I honoured hym as my dutye
 was recytinge these wordes. Blessyd be he that is come in the name
 of god. Thenne he toke me by the hande and soo ledde me in
 myn house in the Cyte of Aramathya & sayd vnto me reste thou
 here peacybly these fortye dayes go not forth frome thy house. And
 I shall goo vnto my dyseyples that hath grete luste for to se me.
 And this sayd and done. Ihesus vanysshed awaye. Thenne after
 these fortye dayes were hole and fullye complete Ioseph of Aramathya
 aboue rehersed stedfastly fyxed his mynde in the feruente lone of the
 fayth / gaue hym selfe to the dyseyplyne and doctryne of saynt
 Phylp the apostle of our blessyd lorde Ihesu Cryste. And whan
 that he was sutflycelyntly instructe in his lore and techyng /
 bothe he and his sone Iosephes receyued of saynt Phylp the
 holy sacrament of baptysme / and after that Ioseph was sent vpon
 a message frome saynt Iohan the apostle & euangelyst from ephesye
 vnto the glorious moder of Ihesu cryste oure lady and also after that
 was presente with saynt Phylp and other dyseyples what tyme that /
 that glorious vyrgyn was assumpte in to heuen. And as many
 thynges as euer he herde and sawe of oure lorde Ihesu cryste and of
 his blessyd moder oure lady saynt Mary / he shewed theym and

preched theym in dyuerse regyons and places and conuerted moche people vnto the crysten fayth and baptysed them. And at the last .xv. yere after the glorious assumepcyon of our blessyd lady he toke his sone Iosephes with hym and wente to saynt Phylp in to Fraunce and consequently as it is wryten in a boke called Graall Ioseph of Aramathia whiche buryed the body of oure lorde Ihesu cryste after y^e he was baptysed of the holy man saynt Phylp the appostle came in to grete Brytayne whiche was promysed to hym and hys yssue & he brought with hym his wyfe and his sone Iosephes whome our sauoure before that tyme hadde made a bysshop and consecrate hym in a Cyte called Sara / & there came with hym syxe hondred persones of men and women and mo / & the men made a solempne vowe for to lyue chastely from theyr wyues vnto the tyme they hadde entered in to grete Brytayne and all the nombre brake this vowe except .xxxvii. whiche were commaunded by our sauour to passe ouer y^e se saylynge vpon the shyfte of Iosephes and soo [* Leaf 5.] came to londe *vpon Ester euen in the mornyng / y^e resydue of them for as moche as they were penytent and sory for the transgressyon of theyr vowe at thynstaunce & prayer also of Ioseph were brought ouer in a vessell whiche kynge Salamon craftely had made to contynue and dure vnto crystes tyme / and y^e same daye that theyr companye came vnto londe vpon Iosephs shyfte they applyed vnto londe in y^e same vessell whiche god had prouyded for theym whiche were gyded by a duke of Medor named Natianiis whome Ioseph baptysed before in the cyte of Sara / and with theym came also the kynge of the same cyte called Mordrams to whome almyghty god after that appered & shewed to hym his syde handes & feet perysshed with the spere and nayles / and whan the kynge Mordrams sawe that he was moued with compassyon and sayd. O my lorde god what man was so bolde and so presumptuous thus to dele with y^e / our sauour answered to hym agayne and sayd. The false kynge of Northwales hath this wyse done with me whiche hath put my seruau^t Ioseph of Aramathya with his company in pryson and full vnkynndly denyeth them theyr luyunge for by cause they shewed & preched my name in his realme / therfore sayd almyghty god vnto mordrams / gyrde the with thy swerde aboute

thy myddell and goo with all hast possyble vnto that partyes and take vengeance vpon the tyraunt & delyuer my seruantes oute of pryson & daunger / whan y^e kynge awoke of his slepe he was full glade of that vysyon shewed vnto hym and so set his realme & his housholde in good waye & toke a grete company with hym & toke his Iourney and as god was his guyde he came vnto the place where the kynge of Northwales the tyraunt was and commaunded hym he sholde promytte and suffre the seruantes of almyghty god to passe out of pryson and to be at lyberte / the tyraunt wolde not in no wyse condescende vnto kynge Mordrams commaundement / but with grete indygnacyon charged hym shortely without delaye to voyde out of his londe whan kynge Mordrams herde this langage he came fyersly vpon hym with his company and with¹ duke Naciamis aboue sayd & with condygne and Iuste vengeance slewe hym / thenne this done kynge Mordrams wente vnto the pryson where that vnhappye kynge hadde Ioseph and his company in holde / & with grete loye brought them forth and shewed vnto them the vysyon made vnto hym of god and theyr delyuerynge thenne all they in grete myrthe thanked god hertely. Thenne kynge Mordrams² gaue the realme & kyngedome of Northwales with the appertenance vnto one called Celydomus sone vnto duke Naeyanus and gaue hym also to be his wyfe Labell the kynges doughter of Persye whiche Labell the sayd Celydomus with helpe and socoure of his fader hadde before with grete dyffyeulte conuerted vnto Crystes fayth whose doubt[y]e and meruaylous actes be wryten in y^e bokes named Grall aboute reheced.

¶ Thus endeth the lyfe of Ioseph of Armathy Enpry[n]ted at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the sonne by me Wynkyn de Worde.³

¹ *Printed* and with and duke.

² *Printed* Mordradms.

³ On the sixth and last leaf is a cut of Jesse lying on the ground, from whom issues a genealogical tree, representing the kings of Judah, and in the midst of them the Virgin Mary, holding the infant Jesus in her arms, as deriving her descent from Jesse. On the back of the leaf is Wynkyn de Worde's common tripartite device. See Herbert's *Ames*; vol. i., p. 232. On p. 233 is the remark—"This and the eleven preceding articles are among Bp. More's books in the Public Library, Cambridge"—a remark which has reference to the very copy used for producing this reprint.

[Fol. lviii.]

I De Sancto Ioseph Ab arimathia.

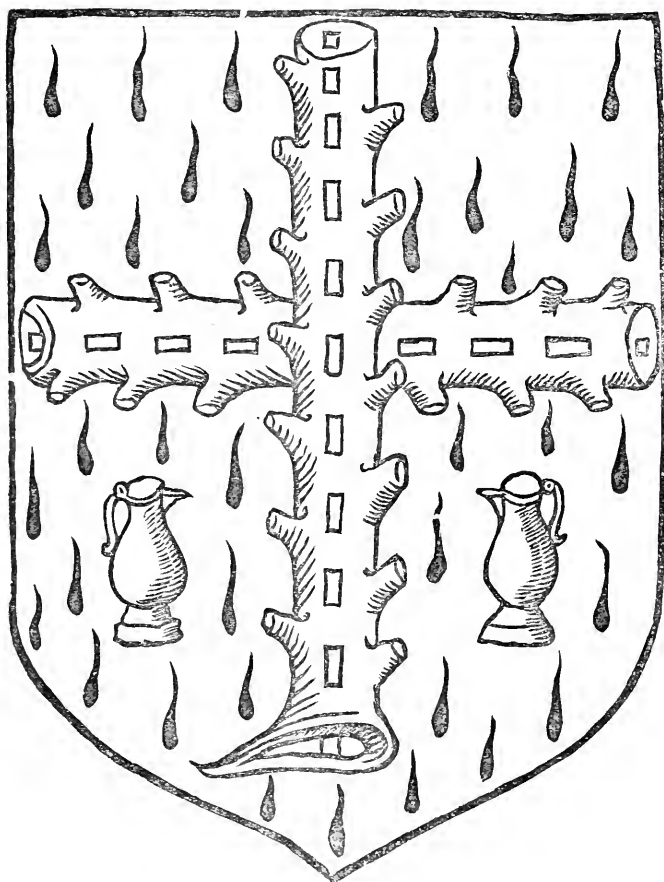
[Reprinted from "*The Kalendre of the New Legende of Englande*,"
printed by Richard Pynson, A.D. 1516.]

WHen our lorde Ihesu Criste was crucefyed, Ioseph Ab Arimathia asked of Pylate the bodye of our Lorde / and leyde it in a clene Sendell / and put it in a Sepulchre that no man had ben buryed in, as the Euangelyst[es] testifie, & the Iues heryng therof put hym in a derke Pryson that had no wyndowe, and Annas and Cayphas locked the dores, and after, when they had thought to haue put hym to deth, they sent *for hym to the pryson ; [* Fol. lviii b] and before theyr commynge on the saterday at nyght, our lord apperyd to hym with a great bryghtnes as he was in prayer, & foure aungellys lyfted vp þ^e house that he was in, and our Lorde sayd to hym, "I am Ihesus whom thou hast buryed" / and then Ioseph sayd, "lord, if thou be he, shewe me the monument that I put the in ;" and our lord toke hym by the hande and ledde hym to the sepulchre, & fro thens he brought hym into his house at Arimathe ; after, the Iues sent for hym, & asked of hym howe he came out of pryson ; and he tolde them as byfore apperyth / and then they let hym goo / & he became disciple to seynt Phylp, & of hym he and his sone Iosefes were baptised ; and he was a messenger fro Ephese bytwyxt seynt Iohn Euangelyst and our Ladye, and was at her departynge with other disciples ; he was a Constaunte precher of the worde of god as he had herde of our lorde and of our Lady, and conuertyd moche people ; after, he, with his sone Iosefes, went into Fraunce to seynt Phylp / and he sent Ioseph and his sone with .x.

other into Brytayne / & at last they came to a place then called Inswytryñ, nowe called glastonburye / and thysse verses be made at Glastonburye of theyr commynge. Intrat Aualloniam duodena caterua virorum / flos Arimathie Ioseph est primus eorum / Iosefes ex Ioseph genitus patrem cōmitatur / hiis aliisque decem ius glastonie propriatur. And after, by monycion of the Archaugell gabryell, they made a Church or oratory of our Lady / & there they lyued a blessed lyf in vigylles, fastingz, & prayers. And two kynges, seynge theyr blessing lyfe, though th[e]y were paynymes, gaue to eueryche of theym a hyde of lande, whiche to this day be called the .xii. hydes / and there they dyed ; and Ioseph was buried nygh to the sayd oratory.¹

¹ The title of the first part of the book from which this extract is made runs thus—"Here begynneth the Kalandre of the newe legende of Englande"—beneath which is a cut representing the Crucifixion. The book contains three different treatises, the second being "The lyfe of seynt Birgette," and the third "A deuote Boke compylde by mayster Walter Hylton to a deuoute man in temperall estate," &c. The colophon to the first part is—"¶ Thus endyth the Kalandre of the new Legende of Englande / Emprynted to the honour of the gloriouse Seyntz therin conteyned by Richarde Pynson / prynter to our Souerayne lorde Kynge Henry the .viii." Beneath this is the printer's device No. 4. The colophon to the second part gives us the date 1516. See the description in Herbert's Ames, vol. i. p. 261.

¶ Here begynneth the lyfe of Jo-
seph of Armathia.



[Reprinted from the black-letter copy printed
by Richard Pynson, A.D. 1520.]

[¶ Here begynneth the lyfe of
Ioseph of Armathia.]

[See title on p.
35.]

IHesu, the royall ruby, moost hye of renowne,
 Rested in Mary *the* mayde / for her humylyte ;
 And fro *the* realme of rightwysnes / descended down
 To take the meke clothyng / of our humanyte. 4
 The .v. welles of pyte to open, Adam restored he
 On the crosse, & for vs shedde / his precyous blode ;
 There was the boke vnclapsed / of perfyte charyte,
 With Longis spere smyten / hangyng on the rode. 8

[leaf 1, back]

Jesus became
incarnate,

and shed His
blood, being
smitten by
Longinus' spear.

His precyous body / on the crosse beyng deed,
 Sore it greued his dyscyples / euery-chone ;
 And in the olde bokes, as we rede,
 That amonge all other there was one, 12
 His hert was perysshed *with* very compassyon.
 His name called Ioseph / the lorde of Aromathy,
 He went to pylate & full humbly desyred hym
 To haue the body of Ihesu / hym for to bury. 16

His disciples were
grieved.

Joseph of
Arimathea asks
for His body.

And pylate graunted hym all his askyng,
 Than ioseph retourned / *with* countenaunce demure,
 And prayed Nycodymus / to go with hym
 For to take downe / our lordes precyous body. 20
 So Ioseph layde Ihesu / to rest in his sepulture,
 And wrapped his body / in a clothe called sendony ;
 Ryche was it wrought, *with* golde & sylke full pure,
 Ioseph of a mayd it bought / in Aromathy cyte. 24

Nicodemus and
Joseph take
Jesus down.

Joseph wraps
Christ's body in
"sendony."

But yet whan Ioseph Ihesu downe toke,
 The syde *that* the wound was on / lay to his brest ;
 The colde blode / that was at our lordes herte rote
 Fell within Iosephes sherte / & lay on his chest. 28
 Truly as holy scripture sayth / there dyde it rest
 At the holy place / aboue his stomake,
 And whan our lorde / in the sendony was drest,
 Thys blode in two cruettes / Ioseph dyd take. 32

The blood of
 Christ falls upon
 Ioseph's shirt.

[leaf 2]

The Iewes herd say / *that* Ioseph Ihesu had buryed,
 They thought *that* Nycodemus & he shulde repent ;
 The[y] went to pylat / & sayd they were greued,
 Ioseph & Nycodemus for them both they sent. 36
 Than came they to pylat, to knowe all his entente,
 & sayd they had buryed ihesu / as he gaue them leue ;
 "I-wys," sayd all the iewes / that there were present,
 "He shall curse *the* tyme / that his body dyd remeue."

The Jews send for
 Ioseph and
 Nicodemus,

and accuse them.

"Why," sayd Ioseph, "iesu was goddes owne soune,
 That ye bounde lyke a thefe / & hyng on the rode ;
 Also to *the* hert with a sharpe spere / ye hym stonge,
 & *with* .iii. nayles made hym shede his giltles blode.
 I wote well, he neuer dyd yll / but euermore gode ; 45
 He made *the* blynde to se / & heled some of lepry ;
 He resed Lazarus / also / by his worde,
 This is true," sayd Ioseph / "ye knowe as well as I."

"Ye have slain
 Jesus," said
 Ioseph,

"who healed
 men, and raised
 Lazarus."

The Jews put
 Ioseph in a dark
 prison.

Caiaphas and
 Annas keep the
 key of it.

The Iues put Ioseph / in a stronge prison of stone, 49
 In that darke house / by hym-selfe he lay.
 Lyght he coude not se / for wyndowe had it none,
 The[y] locked the dore / and than went theyr way. 52
 Cayphas and Anna / of that kept the kay,
 And sealed the dore / also / they thought to be sure ;
 For "Ioseph shulde dye" / playnly dyd they say,
 But pacyently all theyr truble / dyd he endure. 56

Than Ihesu Christ / at his resurrection
 To Ioseph apered / about hye mydnyght,
 And rered all the foure corners / of that pryson,
 The walles he susteyned / by his great myght. 60
 Ioseph, that / meruayled / seyng so great a lyght,
 A full precious water / our lorde threwe in his face,
 Before that hour / he sawe neuer so swete a syght.
 "Who is there?" sayd Ioseph / "art thou Elyas?" 64

[leaf 2, back]

Christ appears to
Joseph, and
raises his prison.Joseph sees a
great light.He asks if it is
Elias.

Our lorde spake to Ioseph / & bad hym nat fere,
 He sayd, "aryse" / & toke hym vp by the hande ;
 "I am Ihesu / whom thou buryed in the sepulture."
 "If thou be" / sayd Ioseph / "that here doth stande,
 Gyue me the rychest / treasour / of this lande, 69
 The clothe / that is called the Sendony."
 Ihesu led hym to the sepulture / & there it fonde ;
 "Holde, ioseph," sayd ihesu / "*that* couerture of my
 body." 72

Christ reveals
Himself to
Joseph,and gives him the
cloth in which He
was buried.

There ihesu bad ioseph to his owne place wende,
 And sayd, "kepe thou thy house / dayes fully forty ;
 Farwell," sayd our lorde, "Ioseph, my frende,
 Where euer thou becom / peace be with the ; 76
 I go to my disciples / that longe after me."
 Ioseph wept for ioy / that was of yeres olde,
 Saynge / "o Ihesu, worshypped may thou be ;
 For thy grace, I haue spyed / is better than golde." 80

Christ tells
Joseph to stay at
home 40 days.Joseph weeps for
joy.

Ioseph kept his house, as our lorde bad,
 And on the morowe cayphace went to the pryson ;
 No body he there founde ; than was he full sad. 83
 "Where is Ioseph?" sayd anne, "I trowe he be gon !
 I marueyle," he sayd ; "the seales were hole eche one,
 And yet he out of the house is gone !" [leaf 3]
 For wo they all wyst nat what to done, 87
 Sayeng, "he that conuayed hym was a false felone."

Caiaphas cannot
find Joseph.Annas says he is
gone.

They hear that
Ioseph is in
Arimathea,

So worde they had that in Armathya cyte
Ioseph was / than sent they to hym gretying
By theyr letters made full craftely,
Him lowly prayeng that theyr writing 92
He wolde¹ ouer-se, and as [touchyng] any thyng
That was done to hym, they were wo therfore ;
And prayed to Ioseph, his louers he wolde bryng,
For they wolde be frendes with hym for euermore. 96

and pray him to
come to
Jerusalem.

Ioseph tells them
how he was
released,

This mater to shorten, Ioseph thyder Went,
And shewed them how theyr lorde delyuered hym
Out of the pryson ; “suche grace god me sent.”
“Well,” sayd the Iewes, “we meruayle of one thyng,
How he gate [thee] out with all his connyng.” 101
Ioseph sayd, “he lyfted the house fro the grounde.”
They sayd, “by what crafte was it hanging,
That it fell nat in sonder, but stode styll sounde?”

and how Christ
lyfted the prison
off the ground.

Ioseph reminds
them of the
wonders at the
Crucifixion,

“Well,” sayd Ioseph, “this was a great wonder, 105
Whan the sharpe spere to his hart was pyght,
To se great rockes and stones breke a-sonder,
The sonne darked & withdrew his lyght. 108
The erthe trymbled by his great myght ;
All these were maruaylous,” sayd Ioseph than ;
“Deed bodyes in theyr graues were sene with sight ;²
Wherfore I dare say, he is very god and man.” 112

when the dead
bodies rose.

[leaf 3, back]

Now here how Ioseph came into englande ;
But at that tyme it was called brytayne.
Than .xv. yere with our lady, as I vnderstande,
Ioseph wayted styll / to serue hyr he was fayne ; 116
So after hyr assumpeyon, the boke telleth playne,
With saynt Philip he went into fraunce,
His sonne and his wyfe to serue god with payne,
Fayne for to folowe vertuous gouernaunce. 120

Ioseph was 15
years with Mary,

but after her
Assumption went
to France with St
Philip.

¹ Printed holde.

² Printed sibgt.

- Ioseph had a sonne whose name was Iosephas,
 That our lorde a bysshop dyd consecrate,
 A vertuous lyuer the boke sayth that he was,
 Phylip bad them go to great brytayne fortunate. 124
 So to the see they went, of ioie seperate,
 For of them there were .v. C. & mo
 In that company, bothe erly and late,
 Taryeng for passage / togyder forto go. 128
- A shyp they toke, as I vnderstande,
 And passed without peryll ouer the salt streame ;
 Into the hauen they all aryued to lande,
 But yet of brytayne they fayled theyr course clene. 132
 They fortun'd to a countre of a tyraunt kene,
 Called wales, there was a kyng that tyme ;
 They landed all, as *the* boke telleth, on an ester eyn,
 xxxi. yere after the passyon, about the houre of nyne.
- Whan the kyng knewe that they dyd lande, 137
 He toke Ioseph and all his felowes truly,
 And put them in pryson great and strong ;
 Than they all prayed to god almyghty, 140
 And he herde theyr prayers lyghtly,
 That they were delyuered in short space ;
 He thought his sernauntes sholde nat in peryl lye,
 Than he sent them confort by his great grace. 144
- Our lorde apered to a kyng in the west,
 That named was Mordrayous in dede,
 Bydding hym for to make hym prest,
 With all his myght in to wales to spede ; 148
 Sayng, "there be my sernauntes, that of helpe nede,
 Go thou theder and bere thy¹ swerde in thy hande ;
 That proude kyng that me doth nat drede,
 Thou shalt hym onercome and all his lande." 152

His son,
Josephas, was
made bishop by
Christ.

500 of his
company set out
to go to Britain.

They take ship,

but land in
Wales on Easter
eve, 31 years after
the Passion.

The king puts
Joseph and his
fellows in prison.

[leaf 4]

God condescends
to deliver them.

Christ appears
to king
Mordrayous,

and tells him to
go to Wales.

¹ Printed they.

King Mordrayous
obeys,

Than the kyng, after his vysion sene,
Thought in hast his deuer to do ;
So vp he rose in the mornyng,
All his lordes he called hym to. 156

and prepares to
go to Wales.

He sayd, "in to wales in dede must I go ;
Now thyder wyll I hyc me with all my myght ;
God to me appered, and bad me do so,
Agayne the prince of that countre for to fight." 160

He makes over
his own kingdom
to a lord.

In all hast he dysposed his householde,
And to a lorde he toke the realme to gouerne,
To delyner goddes seruantes he sayd he wolde ;
" I knowe no maner man that shall me werne." 164
In his iourney he hyed, he thought not to turne,
Tyll he came to the place there Ioseph was.

He burns some
Welsh towns,
and frightens the
king.

Many a towne in wales dyd he burne,
The prynce of that countre herd therof in space ; 168

[leaf 4, back]

The king of
Wales submits,

And to Mordrayous he sent a messangere,
Prayng hym to come in with peace .
He sayd, " this lande is poore, therefore I hym fere,
Besechyng his goodnesse this stryfe to sease ; 172
And I wyll hym gyue a lady perellesse,

and offers him his
daughter, named
Labell.

Myn owne doughter, by name called Labell,
Precyously arayed in cloth of rychesse :"—
He bad the messangere all this vnto hym tell. 176

A messenger
comes to
Mordrayous,

Than went the messangere vnto Mordrayous,
And sayd all, as is before tolde :—
" Syr kyng, my lorde the prayeth to be gracious
Vnto him, and not so fyerse and holde ; 180
And ye shall haue his doughter with plentie of golde,
With all the prysoners that in his pryson be,
Ioseph & his felowes, both yong and olde."
Than sayd Mordrayous, " he shall haue peace with me."

saying that
Ioseph shall be
released.

- On a day these kynges togeder both dyd mete,
 Mordrayous toke Labell to his wyfe ;
 Eche saluted other with wordes swete,
 And loued togyder the terme of theyr lyfe. 188
 For Mordrayous was doughty *with* swerd & knyfe,
 That all landes nere hym dyd dowt.
 Ioseph was delyuered from daunger blyfe,
 With his felawes, all the hole rowt. 192
- Than hyther into brytayne Ioseph dyd come,
 And this was by kyng Aueragas dayes ;
 So dyd Ioseph and also Iosephas his sonne,
 With many one mo, as the olde boke says. 196
 This kyng was hethen & lyued on fals layes,
 And yet he gaue to Ioseph au[i]lonye,
 Nowe called Glastenbury, & there he lyes ;
 Somtyme it was a towne of famous antyquyte.¹ 200
- There Ioseph lyued with other hermyttes twelfe,
 That were the chyfe of all the company,
 But Ioseph was the chefe hym-selfe ;
 There led they an holy lyfe and gostely. 204
 Tyll, at the last, Ihesu the mighty,
 He sent to Ioseph thaungell gabryell,
 Which bad hym, as the writyng doth specify,
 Of our ladyes assumpeyon to bylde a chapell. 208
- So Ioseph dyd as the aungell hym bad,
 And Wrought there an ymage of our lady ;
 For to serue hyr great deuocion he had,
 And that same ymage is yet at Glastenbury, 212
 In the same churche ; there ye may it se.
 For it was the fyrst, as I vnderstande,
 That euer was sene in this countre ;
 For Ioseph it made wyth his owne hande. 216

Mordrayous
marries Labell.

Joseph is
released.

Joseph comes to
Britain in the
days of Arviragus,

[leaf 5]

who gives to
Joseph Avilion,
now called
Glastonbury.

Here Joseph and
12 hermits lived.

Gabriel tells
Joseph to build a
chapel to Our
Lady.

Joseph does so.

Our Lady's image
is still at
Glastonbury.

¹ Printed antyquyte.

He also made a crucifix,
 The rode of northdore of london also dyd he make,
 Moche lyke as our lorde was on the rode done ;
 For this Ioseph fro the crosse hym dyd take.
 And loke howe a man may make by proporcion 220
 A deed ymage lyke a quyeke, by cunnynge ;
 now the "Rood of Northdore."
 So lyke the rode of northdore Iesu henge deed,
 For Ioseph made it nere semyng
 Vnto our lorde enclynnge his heed. 224

[leaf 5, back]
 Than Ioseph there abode, prechyng the fayth,
 Joseph dies.
 Tyll by the course of nature he dyed ;
 Thus the olde boke recordeth and sayth,
 He is buried at Glastenbury,
 But in dede his body at Glastenbury doth abyde. 228
 Our lorde for hym well doth prouyde,
 where he is sougth by many a thousand.
 Likely there to be sought with many a .M. ;
 The name of Glastenbury wyll sprede full wyde
 To men & women of many a straunge lande. 232

By whose prayer god sheweth many myrakyll,
 In the 18th year o' our king Henry,
 Proued the .xviii. yere of henry our kyng ;
 In doltyng parysshe, there was sicke longe whyle
 two women of Dolting parish were healed of the pestilence,
 Two yonge women of the pestelence, lamentyng, 236
 Which passed the cure of men in eche thyng.
 Theyr prayer makyng to ioseph of Aramathye,
 and offered at Glastenbury on St Simon's day.
 So began to recouer, & brought theyr offryng
 On Symone day & Iude vnto Glastenbury. 240

Many miracles have happened there.
 And syth god there hath shewed many a myrakyl,
 I lacke tyme & season all to expresse ;
 But yet all that do vysyte that holy habytakyll,
 It is euer lyke newe to them that call in distresse. 244
 His body has lain there 400 [? 1100] years.
 Four C. yere ago / the boke bereth wytnes,
 So longe there hath rested that holy body ;
 And nowe pleaseth it god, of his goodnesse,
 Great myracles for hym to worke, as ye may se. 248

Many be there holpen through our lordes myght ;
 A chylde of welles raysted fro deth *wit*hout dout.
 Lame ar there heled, the blynde restored to sight ;
 One that had the fransy to his wytte was brought. 252
 The vykary of welles, that thyder had sought,
 On the tenth day, that many men dyd se,
 Where .iiii. yere afore he stande nor go mought,
 Released he was of part of his infyrmyte. 256

A child, of Wells,
 was raised to life
 there.

[leaf 6]
 The vicar of
 Wells was cured
 of lameness.

There is continuaunce of grace, as it is shewed
 On a woman of banwell, *the* wyfe of Thomas Roke,
 whyche was tempted by the fende & greatly styred ;
 With hyr husbandes knyues she cut hyr throte, 260
 And doutlesse, as true men do report,
 She slewe hyr selfe, so greuous was the wounde.
 For wo hyr husband wist not whether to resort, 263
 Whan he sawe hyr all bloody & his own knife found.

The wife of
 Thomas Roke, of
 Banwell,

cut her throat
 with a knife.

This wofull man, seyng his wyfe thus lye,
 Whiche with his knyfe had done that wofull dede,
 Vnto his neyghbours he cryed full pyteously,
 Hym for to helpe in that tyme of nede. 268
 The wounde to sewe fast he began to spede,
 Besechyng our lorde and holy Ioseph,
 This woman to saue, and so hertely prayed,
 That anone after she began to drawe brethe. 272

Her husband
 cried out for
 help.

He sewed up the
 wound, prayed to
 Ioseph, and she
 recovered.

And they yet say, that the stythes brake,
 That the flesshe / closed, and that was wonder ;
 She was confessed / hoseled / eneled, and spake,
 Therefore, good men, this in your myndes ponder ; 276
 yet lyueth, & in the .ix. day of apryl came she thyder,
 And went before the honourable procession.
 The same knyfe she offred vp all bloody there ; 279
 Now thanked be god & Ioseph, she is hole & sounde.

The stiches
 broke, but the
 flesh closed.

She came to
 Glastonbury on
 the 9th of April.

- [leaf 6, back] The .ix. day of Aprill, Iohn Lyght, gentylman,
 Dwellynge besyde Hehester at lyghtes care,
 His wyfe had vpon her a feuer quartayn,
 By the space of two yere vexed gretly ; 284
 No medeyne nor phisyke *that* coude do her remedy ;
 [She prayed to Ioseph to hele her of her payne],¹
 And promysed thyder her offrynge deuoutly,
 She recovered. Than was she delyuered of her dysease certayne. 288
- The 10th of April, a Sunday, a child died of the plague. The tenth daye of Apryll, that was than sonday,
 A chylde was smytyn with a plage all deed,
 And to euery mannes syght an houre so he lay.
 His moder hertely to sent Ioseph prayed, 292
 And bowed² her offryng, in her hert sore afrayed.
 The chylde recovered and had his hele,
 And on saynt marke daye there they offred,
 The child recovered, and made an offering on St. Mark's day. Hole and sounde ; no herme dyde he fele. 296
- On the 15th of April, Robert Browne, of Ycevil, The .xv. day of Apryll one Robert Browne,
 Of yeuell, that at ylehester was prysoner,
 He was delyuered by proclamatyon,
 And went to gader his fees for the kepar. 300
 had a fetter on his leg, which fell off. The prysoner about his legge had a fetter ;
 He prayed ioseph to helpe him, as he was not guilty,
 And sodenly the fetters sprange fro hym there,
 In myddes of *the* market-place of Glastenbury. 304
- John Gylton, of Milborne Port, was paralysed. Iohn Gylton, gentylman, of port melborne,
 The syde of his mouth was drawn to his eare ;
 His lyft syde and his arme was benome,
 That he of his lyfe stode in great fere ; 308
 Speke coude he nat nor hymselfe stere.
 [leaf 7] He prayed to Ioseph, promysyng his offryng,
 He was healed by Ioseph. So of his sykenes he was delyuered clere,
 Saue onely of an hurte in his lefte arme. 312

¹ A line omitted. Supplied from conjecture. ² For vowed ?

The .xx. day of apryll, Iohn popes wyfe of comtone, Had a yong chylde, that was taken sodenly, And so contynued and coude not be holpen ; His moder prayed to god and Ioseph deuoutly, 316 Her offrynge promysed, than founde she remedy. The chylde recouered, & had his lymmes at wyll. Lo ! ye well dysposed people, here may ye se, That there is nothyng to god impossyble. 320	The 20th of April, the wife of John Pope, of Comton, had a sick child. He recovered.
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yonge walter sergaunt, dwellynge in Pylton, His chylde in the pestylence was in Iopardy, And sore panged that he myght not mene hym, So that to theyr syght he appered deed verly. 324 This wofull moder, as the neyghbours testefy, Prayed to Ioseph and of the chylde the mesure, And promysed to do her offrynge truly ; Than shortly after the chylde dyde recure. 328	The child of Walter Sergeaunt, of Pilton, was nearly dead. He recovered.
---	---

Also Alys, wyfe to Walter benet, dwellyng in welles, Infect with the frenche pockes a yere and more, And doutlesse, as her owne neyghbours telles, Her fete were so paynfull and sore, 332 That go coude she not but as she was bore. Thyder was she brought in-to the chapell, Verely she was heled, and lefte her styltes thore, And on her fete wente home resonably well. 336	Alice, wife of Walter Bennet of Wells, was quite lame. She left her stilts in the chapel.
--	--

Iohn Abyngdons wyfe, of welles, had a sykenesse, Moost paynfull with a sore called a fistula ; So long it ¹ contynued that she laye spechelesse, And her lymbes dyde rotte, truly they do say, 340 So that with a knyfe the peces were cut away. At last she thought she had sene Ioseph in pycture, How he toke god fro the crosse, & to hym dyde pray, Her for to hele, and than began she to recure. 344	[leaf 7, back] The wife of John Abingdon, of Wells, had a fistula. She was healed.
---	--

¹ Printed is,

- Many more miracles happened there. .
- All the myracles to shewe it were to longe,
There is many mo full great *that* I do not reherse.
As pestylence, purpys, and agonys strong, 347
With megrymes also, & men *that* haue lyen specheles.
And this I knowe well, both in prose, ryme, & verse,
Men loue nat to rede an ower longe thyng ;
Therefore I entende this mater to short & sease,
I pray you all to marke well the endyng. 352
- 1 intend to cut this short.
- All ye pilgrims, serve St Joseph at Glastonbury.
- ye pylgrymes all, gyue your attendaunce
Saynt ioseph there to serue with humble affectyon,
At Glastenbury for to do hym reuerence ;
Lyft vp your hertes with goostly deuocyon, 356
Therwith conceyuyng this brefe *compylacyon* ;
Though it halte in meter of eloquence,
All thyng is sayd vnder correctyon,
And wryten to do holy Ioseph reuerence. 360
- This treatise is in Joseph's honour.
- Learned men may consult the books at Glastonbury.
- ye lettred, that wyll haue more intellygence
Of the fyrst foundacyon of Ioseph there,
The olde bokes of Glastenbury shall you ensence,
More plainly to vnderstande this forsayd matere. 364
To you shall declare the hole cronycle clere,
Wryten full truly with a notable processe.
Make ye no doute, nor be not in fere,
As olde clerkes therof bereth wytnesse. 368
- [leaf 8]
- Ye need not have any doubts.
- Sothely Glastenbury is *the* holyest erth of england,
Rede saynt Dauydes lyfe, and there may ye se,
That our lorde it halowed with his owne hande ;
For Dauyd by myracle proued it, parde. 372
Chryst made through his handes two holes truly,
Than went Dauyd, and his masse began ;
And, after sakeryng, the holes dyd shyte ; “a!” sayd he,
“This church was halowed by a better than I am !”
- Read St David's life,
- and you will find a miraculous story about Glastonbury.

Great meruaylles men may se at Glastenbury,
 One of a walnot tree that there dooth stande,
 In the holy grounde called the semetory, 379
 Harde by *the* place where kynge Arthur was founde.
 South fro Iosephs chapell it is walled in rounde,
 It bereth no leaues tyll the day of saynt Barnabe ;
 And than that tree, that standeth in the grounde,
 Spredeth his leaues as fayre as any other tree. 384

There is at
 Glastonbury a
 walnut-tree near
 Arthur's tomb,

which bears no
 leaves till St
 Barnabas day.

Thre hawthornes also, that groweth in werall,
 Do burge and bere grene leaues at Christmas
 As fresshe as other in May, whan *the* nightyngale
 Wrestes out her notes musycall as pure as glas ; 388
 Of all wodes and forestes she is *the* chefe chauntres.
 In wynter to synge yf it were her nature,
 In werall she myght haue a playne place,
 On those hawthornes to shewe her notes clere. 392

Three hawthorns
 at Werrall bear
 green leaves at
 Christmas.

The nightingale
 might sing there
 at Christmas.

Lo, lordes, what Ihesu dooth in Ianuary,
 Whan the great colde cometh to grounde ;
 He maketh the hauthorne to sprynge full fresshely.
 Where as it pleaseth hym, his grace is founde ; 396
 He may loose all thing that is bounde.
 Thankes be gyuen to hym that in heuen sytteth,
 That florysssheth his werkes so on the grounde,
 And in Glastenbury, *Quia mirabilia fecit.* 400

[leaf 8, back]

Jesus makes the
 hawthorn bud in
 Ianuary.

Thanks be to Kim
 who works
 miracles at
 Glastonbury.

¶ A prayſyng to Ioseph.

Praise to thee, O
Ioseph.

O Ioseph, sanctificate is thy fyrst foundation,
Thy parentycle may be prayſed of vs all.
Armony syng with hertely Iubylacyon,
That causeth many sorowes fro theyr hertes fall, 404
Of creatures dyseconsolate that there for grace call,
Lawdyng Ioseph with deuoute reuerence,
As a principall place chosen of Christ moost speciall ;
There shal thei fynde confort of Christes magnificence.

Here shall many
find comfort.

Hail, mighty
giant !

Hayle, mighty gyaunt, heuen & erth thou dyde bere,
As bright as the mone that¹ Illumyneth *the* nyght ;
Moche stronger than Sampson that had no pere ;

Hail, fragrant
flower !

Hayle, floure fragrant ; it with thy great myght 412
Putteth fendes vnto flyght, and euery yll ayre,
From men that deuoutly do theyr dylygence
Here Ioseph to serue with offrynge or prayer,
Shall fynde confort of our lordes magnificence. 416

Hail, Ioseph,
who didst bear
the honey-comb
on Good Friday.

Hayle, Ioseph, that bere the swete hony combe
On good friday, as holy scripture doth specyfie,
In thyn earne *thou* bere both the lyon & the lambe,
God and man in one humanyte. 420

[leaf 9]

Thou didst bury
the mirror of
humility.

In sepulture thou layd the myrrour of humylyte,
Bryghter than lueyfer in his resplendence,
After he had payed our raunson and made vs fre
Of his great fauour, grace, and magnyfycence. 424

- Hayle, myghty balynger, charged with plenty,
 Thou hast cast anker in the hauen of aduenterere ;
 O dentyous dyamonde, *the* destroye of yll desteny,
 As gay as euer was phebus in his golde spere ; 428
 O noble Ioseph, the tyme of grace draweth nere.
 Hayle, myrre so preecyous, dystroynge al pestelence ; Hail, precious
 O royall gem, whome men shall seke full ferre, myrrh, royal
 Here to haue confort of our lordes magnyfycence. 432 gem !
- Heyle, tresour of Glastenbury moost imperyall,
 In sauour smellynge swete as eglantyne ; Hail, treasure of
 Now shall thy name flouryssh euerall, Glastonbury !
 Ihesu for thy sake the bell of mercy doth ryng. 436
 Great cause hath Englande *Laus deo* to syng,
 God and Ioseph to prayse *with* all our dylygence, Great cause hath
 That many men delyuereth out of mouryng, England to praise
 By our lordes fauour, grace, & magnyfycence. 440 God.
- O noble Ioseph, O ghostly phesycon,¹
 By the is cured many a malady ; Oh ghostly
 Nat vsyng pylls / dregges / ne poeyon, who dost use no
 Ne other medecyne, yet doost thou remedy 444 pills ;
 To poekes / pestylence / and also frency,
 And all maner of feuer, we se experyence ;
 Thou helest Iaundes / goutes, and dropsyes
 By our lordes fauour, grace, and magnyfycence. 448 thou healest
 jaundice and
 gout.
 [leaf 9, back]
- Now, holy Ioseph, pray for vs to our lorde
 To sende vs peas and perfyte charite,
 And amonge the comyns welth and concorde,
 And that our ryche men may vse lyberalyte, 452 May our rich
 Whiche than shall [wende] towarde the deyte, men be liberal !
 Where aungelles to Ihesu do great reuerence ;
 Vnto the whiche god bryng bothe you & me
 Of his fauour, grace, and magnyfycence. 456 God bring us to
 heaven !

¹ Printed pheesycon.

¶ Ioseph, serue dei omnipotentis, miserere mei malefactoris. Esto michi solamen in suspiriis,¹ continuum iuuamen in molestiis. Super id quod opto da remedium, & tollator eo quicquid dessionum (*sic*). Ioseph, discipule, da in futuris agenda facere, in non agendis vim hec resistere, in virtuosis vitam terminare, demum in celis tecum habitare.

versus. Sancte ioseph, *christi* discipule. *Responsorium.* Intercede pro nobis ad Iesum qui elegit te. Oremus.

Domine iesu *christe*, cui *omnis* lingua confitetur, respice in nos seruos tuos & placare precibus tui dilecti discipuli ioseph : vt ipso intercedente mereamur in presentia habere peccati² remedium, & in futuro tue visionis dulcedinem. Qui viuus. &c.

¶ *Responsorium.* Serue dei, ioseph sanctissime, preces nostras clementer accipe, morbos cedes³ & pestes remoue. Et si meremur iam penas luere, *christum* regem superne glorie non iratum sed blandum effice. *versus.* Vt cum ceperit mundum discernere & in dextris⁴ oues reponere. Non ira. Oratio.

[lea.^r 10] **O**mnipotens, sempiterne deus, qui beatissimum ioseph famulum tuum tribuisti vnigeniti filii tui corpus exanime de cruce deponere : eique iusta humanitatis officia persolvere,⁵ presta quesumus, vt qui eius memoriam deuote recolimus consuete misericordie tue senciamus auxilium. Per eundem dominum nostrum.

A M E N.

¶ Imprinted at London in Fletestrete at the
sygne of the George / by Richard Pyn-
son printer vnto the kinges noble
grace Anno. domini.

M. CCCCC.

.xx.

[On the back of the leaf is the printer's device.]

¹ Printed suspiriis.

² Printed petisti.

³ Printed cades.

⁴ Printed dextris.

⁵ The contraction for "pro," not "per," is here used.

NOTES TO "JOSEPH OF ARAMATHIE."

1. JOSEPH of Arimathea, having been imprisoned by his countrymen for 42 years, is released by Vespasian. On his release, Vespasian asks him how long he thinks he has been in prison. He says he thinks it must be scarcely three days, for he was imprisoned on Friday, and *now it is Sunday*. Thus we may imagine the first extant line to form a part of some such sentence as this—

"I passed to þis put · and to prisoun eode
On Frydaye, *sire*," *he seis* · "*and soneday is nouwe*."

The corresponding passage of the French romance may be found at p. 32, vol. i. of the *Seynt Graal*, ed. Furnivall. "Et vaspasiens li dist: 'ioseph combien quidies vous auoir este en cheste prison.' Et ioseph li dist, '*Sire*, ie i quit auoir demoure des uenredi iusch'a hui, et ie quit *qu'il soit hui diemenches*. Et uenredi despendi ion le urai prophete de la crois pour qui ie fui en prison mis.' Et quant il ent che dit, *si commenchièrent a rire tout chil qui estoient entour lui*." The last sentence corresponds to our l. 2. The French prose romance is fuller than the present poem, and contains more details. The English poet has evidently aimed at compression, but does not always escape being obscure. The object of these notes is to explain some of these obscurities, and at the same time to point out the signification of some of the *phrases* used. For difficult *words*, recourse should be had to the Glossary. I quote Mr Furnivall's book frequently, referring to it merely by the letters *S. G.*; and I refer to the pages of the *first* volume, unless the second is expressly mentioned. This volume contains the romance in French prose, which, after l. 402 of our poem, is accompanied by the Old English translation made by Henry Lonclich in the time of Henry VI.

7. Joseph was baptized by S. Philip the apostle (*S. G.* 36), and Vespasian by Joseph.

12—20. This piece is not in the French; nor is it clear whence it is derived.

12. *His fader*. This means that Vespasian fetched his own father and a company of soldiers, and then returned to Jerusalem. History

makes Vespasian's father a man of mean condition, but not so the legend. Vespasian's father was the real emperor at this time, and Vespasian himself only a general. "Et quant vous fustes enprisoines, tyberius cesar estoit empereres de rome, et puis en i a eu trois. Ore est mes peres li quars;" S. G. 32. "When you were imprisoned," says Vespasian to Joseph, "Tiberius was emperor, and since him there have been three [Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, *sic*] and my father is the fourth." Probably "Vespasian and his father" of the legend are, respectively, the Titus and Vespasian of history.

13. An obscure passage. I take *per þei bosked hem out* to mean "where they came out," where *þei* refers to the Jews who had taken part in the crucifixion. That is, Vespasian and his father returned to Jerusalem, where the Jews who had hidden themselves came out of their hiding-places, and made them to leap down into the pit where they had formerly imprisoned Joseph. This downward leap was one of fifty feet, and the Jews were made to seek for the bottom of it, though they could not see it. Thus they led their life, and remained long there, so that his game (*leyk*) pleased them but little, as long as he remained there. Many other Jews fled for fear out of their own country into the land of Agrippa, Herod's heir, where many exiles were living, deprived of their own land (*or*, forsaken of their own people).

21. *A vois*, viz. the voice of Jesus Christ (see l. 38), who appeared to Joseph in a vision, and told him to leave Jerusalem for ever, and preach the Gospel in other lands, taking with him no provision for the journey except only the Holy Grail. This accounts for the complaints of Joseph's company; l. 30.

36. *Argos*. "A tant laissa ioseph a parler, si alerent tant ke il vinrent a .j. petit bos, qui estoit a demi lieue de bethanie [l. 29], si auoit nom li bos des *agais*. Et si estoit apieles par chel non, pour chou que en che bos fu agaities herodes thetrarches quant li inis le liurerent a rethe le roi de damas pour sa fille ke il auoit laissie, quant il prist la feme philippe son frere;" S. G. p. 38. Thus it appears that the wood was called *Agais* (not *Argos*), because Herod the tetrarch was surprised there when the Jews delivered him up to Rethe, king of Damascus, whose daughter he had put away in order to take his brother Philip's wife. Mr Furnivall translates it "the wood of *ambush*," and so Roquefort explains the Old French *agait* by "subtilité, surprise, artifice, piège, *embûche*;" but the verb *agaiter* is explained "examiner avec attention pour surprendre, tendre des pièges," &c.; from which I gather that, though Herod lay hid there, he was caught and taken away. In fact, the Old French verb *agaiter* is identical with the English *await* in form, and with *watch* in derivation and signification. The notion of a wood near Bethany bearing a name which can only be explained in French is precisely what one expects in an old romance. The English poet has even improved upon it; for, finding mention of the king of Damascus, he boldly transfers his *Argos* (though close to Bethany) to the country of Damascus at once.

39. "Et anchois que tu isses de cest bos, feras a m'escuele que tu as vne

petite arche de fust en quoi tu le porteras," &c., S. G. p. 38. 1. e. "you are to make for the dish which you have with you a little wooden box to carry it about in." The English poet does not explain what "*þat ilke blod*" is. It means the blood which was preserved inside the Holy Grail. The French also tells us that Joseph was to say some prayers daily on his knees before the box or ark which held the Grail; also, that Joseph's company were miraculously fed in the wood, and arrived at Sarraz in eleven days.

48. Evidently copied from Exod. iv. 10.

54. *faste bi-syde*, close beside; a common expression; cf. ll. 457, 522.

55. The French romance says the Saracens were named from Sarraz, but *not* from Sarah, the wife of Abraham, as that would be an absurd supposition; S. G. p. 39. Mediæval etymology (and a great deal too much modern etymology) is made to depend upon mere *sound*, without reference to *sense*. The following seems a rational account. "*Saracens*, a name improperly given by the Christian authors of the middle ages to the Mohammedans who invaded France and settled in Sicily. Concerning the etymology of this word there have been various opinions. Du Cange (Glossarium, v. *Saraceni*) derives it from '*Sarah*,' the wife of Abraham; Hottinger (Bib. Or.) from the Arabic word *saraca*, which means 'to steal, to plunder.' Forster, in his '*Journey from Bengal to England*,' derives it from *sahra*, 'a desert.' But the true derivation of the word is *sharkeyn*, which means in Arabic 'the Eastern people'—first corrupted into *Saraceni* (Σαρακηνοί) by the Greek, and thence into *Saraceni* by the Latin writers. . . . The name *Saraceni* occurs in Pliny (vi. 28), and it seems that it began to be used about the first century of our era, and was applied to the Bedouin Arabs who inhabited the countries between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and separated the Roman possessions in Asia from the dominions of the Parthian kings, &c." *English Cyclopædia*; Arts and Sciences, vii. 282.

57. *þe temple*, viz. the temple of the Sun, in which was a seat called the Seat of Judgment; S. G. 41.

63. "He wished to have counsel from his people, and go to meet the enemy notwithstanding; and they (his barons) have refused to do it, so that he is sitting there in a very angry mood."

68. *mi foundeor*, my creator, or my patron; viz. Christ.

73. *& ȝe wol*, if ye wish to. The plural *ȝe* is used as a mark of deference.

82. *bi hoten*, be called. As the prep. *by* is spelt both *bi* and *be* in Early English, so here the scribe seems to have written *bi* for *be*.

83. *he*, she; the A.S. *hēo*; spelt *heo* in l. 87.

85. *for him*, as regards him.

90. In Mr Cowper's Introduction to his "*Apocryphal Gospels*," p. xxxiii, he gives several curious stories about the miracles which happened at Christ's birth, from the "*Sermones Dominicales*" of Hugo de Prato, who died in 1322; the same stories are also found in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus a Voragine. They include the following. Three suns ap-

peared in the East, and immediately were formed into one ; a Sibyl at Rome told Augustus Cæsar that his greatness was surpassed by that of a child, who suddenly appeared in the lap of a maiden, within a golden circle which was formed round the sun ; the star in the East appeared to the Magi, and in this star appeared a child with a cross on his forehead : at Rome, a fountain of oil gushed out and flowed into the Tiber, and the Temple of Peace fell down ; at Bethlehem, the ox and the ass, standing near the manger, bowed down to Christ, as foretold in Isaiah i. 3, &c. Cf. Piers the Plowman, B. xviii. 230—239 ; also (for the visit of the three kings) B. xix. 71.

91. " And besyde that, is the place where the sterre felle, that ladde the 3 kynges, Jaspas, Melchior, and Balthazar ; but men of Greece clepen hem thus, Galgalathe, Malgalathe, and Saraphie ; and the Jewes clepen in this manere, in Ebrew, Appelius, Amerrius, and Damasus. Theise 3 kynges offreden to oure Lord, gold, encense, and myrre ; and thei metten to-gedre, thorghe myracle of God ; for thei metten to-gedre in a cytee in Ynde, that men clepen Cassak, that is 53 journeyes fro Bethleem, and thei weren at Bethleem the 13 day. And that was the 4 day afre that thei hadden seyn the sterre, whan thei metten in that cytee, and thus thei weren in 9 dayes fro that cytee at Bethleem, and that was gret myracle." Maundeville's Voiage, ed. Halliwell, 1866, p. 70.

95. The French says Herod killed 140,000 children ; S. G. p. 46. Our poet says 4140.

99. The story of the idols in the Egyptian temples falling down at the presence of Christ is from the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew ; see Apocr. Gosp. ed. Cowper, p. 63 ; it occurs also in the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy ; p. 179. See also the "Cursor Mundi," quoted in Morris's Specimens of Early English, p. 138.

" Quen seo [she, i. e. Mary] was eummen þat kirk witin,
Man moht a seleuth se to min,
þat al þair idels, in a stund,
Grovelings fel unto þe grund," &c.

111. This speech is given at great length in the French romance ; S. G. pp. 48—54.

117. *castest*, contradictest, confutest ; lit. throwest over ; cf. l. 703.

120. *hou may þis sitte same*, how may this agree together ?

121. " He was (Christ's) Father, and for his Son's sake was so called, who was considered to be His Father spiritually, before he was formed as a man."

127. With this explanation of the Trinity compare the one in P. Plowman, B. xvi. 181—227 ; xvii. 124—249.

141. *bote I pertly vndo*, except I clearly explain.

145. " His Godhead decreased not, though he lighted low, in such a way as to make him not always of the same might ; honoured may He be !"

149. *tei for his teeme*. *Tei* means *tugged*, pulled hard, drew ; hence it means, " used his best endeavours for his theme." Unless *for* is an

error for *forþ*, and then it means "drew forth his theme." The *theme* is the subject of discussion, Gk. *θέμα*; cf. P. Plowm. B. iii. 95, v. 61, vi. 23.

152. *bar him in herte*, bare (witness) to him in his heart, i. e. admitted to himself as regarding Joseph. To *beren in herte* is almost as untranslatable a phrase as *to beren in honde*, which occurs in Chaucer, Wif of Bathes Prol. 380, and elsewhere. See "Bear in hand" in Nares' Glossary. In the French, Joseph explains that he went barefoot for the love of Christ.

153. *He hedde I-ben*, He would have been; *hedde he ben*, had he been.

159. *heiz in him-self*, incomprehensible in itself. *Of tellest*, tellest of.

161. *seie þe*, tell thee. *Haue to done*, have (something) to do, i. e. am engaged.

164. "When our leisure is greater, our power of listening is better."

165. *aboute fifti*. The French says *seventy-five*; S. G. 56.

177. "He was in three kinds of anxiety, and they were these: 1. about the obstinacy of his barons; 2. about Joseph's attempt to convert him; and 3. how God could spotlessly dwell in a maiden."

181. *þreo*, three; this means three trees or stems, or rather, one tree with three stems or trunks, a common symbol of the Trinity, as in P. Plowm. B. xvi. 22, 23. "Si li auint vne auisions, ke il veoit en mi lieu de sa maison la choke d'un grant arbre. . . De chele choke naissoient .iij. ieton mult grant et mult droit et mult haut, et si estoient tout .iij. d'un grant et d'un gros et d'une maniere;" S. G. p. 58.

185. *signede*, signified. The stem with the dim bark signified Christ.

186. *out-wiþ*, without; a Northern form; see Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary.

187. *to kennen vneouþes*, to inform (him) of the marvels.

188. The chamberlain rises from his bed, but, on seeing the vision, falls down for fear; but Evalak lifts him up, and tells him not to be afraid.

189. *feres* in the MS. may be an error for *beres*, which is alliterated to *bad*. See *feres* in the Glossary.

194. *of þreo maner enkes*, of three kinds of inks or colours. "Si uit en cascun des arbres, letres escrites, les vnes d'or, et les autres d'asur;" S. G. p. 59. Here the French omits the *second* or silver ink, evidently by a mistake.

196. Our poet uses the word *wiht* (wight, person) unadvisedly; no person spoke the words, but they were written on the stems. Or we may, perhaps, take *wiht* in the more unusual sense which it sometimes bears, viz. creature, thing, object; a sense still retained in our *no whit*. On the first stem was written *Chist forme* (this makes or creates); on the second *Chist sauue* (this saves); on the third *Chist purifie* (this purifies). The allusion to the Trinity is sufficiently obvious.

200. While he is looking, the three stems seem to coalesce into one, so that he cannot tell what to think of it; S. G. p. 60.

204. The king has a second vision, in which (according to the French) he sees in the wall of his chamber, which was of wood, a door of marble, so neatly fitted into the wall that the joints could hardly be distinguished; and through this door, whilst still closed, he sees a child enter the room and go out again. This denoted the immaculate Incarnation of Christ.

209. *A vois*. In the French, this voice is heard by all the people in the palace, but the king tells the people it is a clap of thunder.

212. Here, as in the English, the French narrative returns to Joseph, who, in a very long prayer, beseeches for success.

213. *how may þis linpe*, &c.; "how will this turn out with regard to this king, who cannot understand?"

215. *Bote ȝif*, &c., "Unless I convert him at this time, ere he passes hence, he will never be converted." Observe the *future* sense of *botes* *he*, which is a Northern form.

219. *for no-skunus þinge*, for a thing of no kind, i. e. on no account. The odd form *no skunus* is for *nos kunus*, a contraction of *nones kunes*. The form *any skynes* for *any kynges* is also found; see my note to P. Plowm. A. ii. 175.

221. *wustest*, didst protect; the French has *garandis*, didst warrant or protect. The verb *widen* sometimes means to protect; as in *Seinte Marherete*, ed. Cockayne, p. 2, fol. 38, l. 16; and *Havelok*, l. 405.

225. "Thou didst promise holy church that wouldst exalt her (the church's) strength."

231. Galahad, Joseph's youngest son, was (according to the French) the *ancestor* of the famous men who so increased the renown of Britain; but our translator seems to think he was all one with Galahad, the son of Lancelot and Elaine.

232. *Auventures*, adventures, marvellous deeds.

234. In the morning Joseph arose, and roused all his company, and they prayed before the Grail-Ark, as was their custom; S. G. p. 66.

235. *hit þester bi-gon*, it began to grow dark. The French says nothing about the darkness, only that there was *en mout grant escrois*, a very great thunder-clap.

236. "Si sentirent *la terre*, qui trambloit desous aus mult durement." S. G. p. 67. The change of *earth* to *grave* is no doubt due to the exigencies of alliteration.

237. Here our poet mentions how Joseph repaired to the ark, which he should have said sooner; see note to l. 234.

243. *Er*, at first, formerly; in the next line, *bote* means *but afterwards*.

251. *Josaphe*, called *Josephes* in the French to distinguish him from his father. Note this distinction.

253. "I will entrust to thee to-day, in a favourable time, a thing that is considered as the most honoured thing on earth; no one else is joyfully to receive it from me, but, on the contrary, each man who after this receives it, is to receive it from thee."

258. Josaphe (or Josephes) on opening the lid of the ark, sees Christ surrounded by the five angels who bear the instruments of the passion.

262. *Three nails*; "trois claus tons sanglens." This is because *one* nail was supposed to have pierced *both* feet.

"The crowne of thorne, þe spere, and nailys *thre*."

Political, Rel., and Love Poems, ed. Furnivall, p. 111.

264. *lemede*, gleamed or glittered, when driven into the body. This word is clearly only used to obtain alliteration; it occurs again in l. 687.

267. *he fallēs*; *he ros*; here *he* refers to Josaphe. *He* bad *him*, Christ bade Josaphe.

269. Here Josaphe is supposed to look into the ark a second time, and he now sees the actual Crucifixion.

273. "Pierced with the spear (which) looses (or sets free) blood and water."

274. "Saw (blood) run from them; (indeed he saw them) run all with red blood, streaming about." The ellipses are very awkward. *Eornen* is another form of the verb *renne*. The French adds, that this blood is seen dripping into the Grail; which our poet should have mentioned.

277. Josaphe remains in a trance, till his father rouses him; then both look in together, and see Jesus as He was at the time of the Entombment.

285. The French mentions at least 13 angels, and is fuller. *Twayles* is the Fr. *touailles*, the modern *towels*.

288. *Wasscheles*. The French has—"si en nit issir .ij. anges, dont li vns tenoit .i. *orchuel* tout plain di auc. et li autres tenoit .i. *jetoir* en sa main destre;" S. G. p. 72. *Orchuel* is the Lat. *urceolus*, a little pitcher; *jetoir* is proved by the context (S. G. p. 73) to be a vessel for sprinkling people with holy water. Thus *wasscheles* signifies vessels for holy water; but the form *wasschel* looks more like a derivative from *wash* than another spelling of *vessel*; see l. 298.

291. I do not find the *name* "Gabriel" in the French; only that an angel appeared on whose forehead was written—"ie sui apicles forche del tres haut signour;" i. e. I am called the Strength of the Most High God. This angel does not carry a "sege" or *seat*, but a green cloth, with the Grail resting upon it; but further on we find an account of a very rich *kaiere* (chair) on which Josaphe is made to sit, which chair was afterwards preserved in the city of Sarraz; S. G. p. 75.

299. *þat geyn weede*, that excellent garment, or rather, clothing, referring to the *vestimens* (Fr. *vestimens*) of l. 294.

300. "And consecrated him as bishop, with both two (of) his hands, and told him about the vestments, what they signified." In the French, he is arrayed with shoes, to keep his feet from evil paths, an upper garment signifying Chastity, an under-garment signifying Virginity, a head-covering meaning Humility, a green garment meaning Invincible Patience, another white one for Justice, a band on the left arm for Abstinence, a necklet of Obedience, and an upper garment over all, which is

Charity. He also holds the staff of Vengeance-and-Mercy, the former being denoted by the bend at the top, the latter by the spiked end; a ring on his finger, called the ring of Matrimony, and a horned hat, meaning Confession.

302. The oil with which Josaphe was consecrated was kept in the Grail-ark, and afterwards used at the consecration of all the kings of Britain down to Uther-pendragon; S. G. p. 75.

306. "I commit to thee souls to keep; if any, through thy fault, fall from my kingdom, at the Day of Judgment thou shalt be sharply reformed." The word *defaute* is from the French "par *defaute* de toi;" S. G. p. 79.

314. *paleys*, palace. This "palace" was the one which had been assigned to Joseph and his company to lodge in. It bore the name of Spiritual Palace (*li palais esperiteus*), a name which had been given to it by Daniel, who had caused this name to be written upon it in black letters in Hebrew characters. But no one at the time knew what the name meant, nor was the meaning ever suspected till it was rendered evident by the lodging of Joseph and his company in it, when they prayed before the Grail-Ark, and the Holy Ghost descended on them; S. G. 67. Our English version somewhat alters this, obtaining from the word "spiritual" the statement that evil spirits had once dwelt there, l. 315; and changing the name into Adventurous or Marvellous. The word *Auntres* is lit. "adventures," but it is probably an error for *Auntrous* (adventurous), which is spelt *Auntrose* in *William of Palerne*, l. 921.

329. *take*, to catch him; this reminds us of Mark xii. 13.

335. *forsake*, go back from, recall, deny.

345. Josaphe stands up, and his father sits down, feeling himself beaten.

349. This seems to be—"Thou hast seen to-night (that which) signifies to some (that) thou hast made evident to them in what point He (God) is displeased; thou shalt be visited with vengeance [lit. shalt have vengeance] verily and soon." *Somme* is, apparently, the dative plural of *sum*, the modern *some*. To "diskeuer" is to make plain, reveal.

355. This idea of suffering from an enemy's invasion is probably imitated from 2 Sam. xxiv. 13.

360. In the French, the clerk becomes dumb and blind, but without his eyes flying out of his head. See a very similar story in Chaucer, *Man of Lawes Tale*, 573.

371. *to fonge pe troupe*, to receive the truth (will help you); in the French, "se tu rechois la creanche;" S. G. 87.

372. "And what (says Evalac) do you think will befall this man (the clerk who was blind and dumb); is recovery in store for him?" *Tides him hele* is lit. does recovery of health betide him? The phrase recurs in l. 617, where it means—"is he successful and well?" The French has—"Et li rois li redist (*answered*), 'Ore me di, iosephe, de chelui qui a perdu la parole et la veue, se il recouerra iamaiz.'" S. G. p. 88. Josaphe re-

plies by telling the king to go to the temple of the idols, and to test their might. So the clerk is taken thither accordingly.

376. *Appolin* in the French.

379. The French mentions "*ymage martis*," the image of Mars, whence the *Martis* of the English version.

385. "The fiend flew out of his body into the air." In the French, it is not Josaphé himself, but the evil spirit which was in the image of Mars, which, by Josaphé's permission, destroyed the image of Apollo as well as all the other images in the temple. Some of the fiends were supposed to reside in the air (Eph. ii. 2); cf. P. Plowm. B. i. 123.

386. *opure*, others. In the French, the king turns to the image of Mars, and begins to do sacrifice before it, but is stopped by Josaphé, who tells him that he will die on the spot if he persists.

391. The king here goes on to another question, no more mention being made of the blind and dumb clerk. A similar omission occurs in MS. Addit. 10292, which differs somewhat from the Royal MS. xiv. E. iii, the one partly printed by Mr Furnivall, and from which therefore all my extracts are made.

394. The MS. has *vmbe mong zongen*, which certainly seems to prove that there was once a word *vmbe-mong*, compounded of *vmbe*, round about, and *-mong*, amongst (A.S. *on-mung*); but I have not found *vmbe-mong* elsewhere. We cannot suppose it an error for *vmbe mon zongen* = must go about, because that would refer to the future, whereas the spirit complains that the two Christians are going about already. The verb *ymb-gan* occurs in A.S., meaning *to go round*, and corresponds to the O. Fries. *umbegunga*, Old-Saxon *umbigangan*, Icel. *umganga*, G. *umgehen*.

396. "Il a .ij. angeles anoez lui qui le conduisent et gardent par tous les lieux ou il va; si tient li vns vne espee toute nue, et li autres vne crois;" S. G. p. 89.

402. Hereabouts begins the English translation by Henry Lonelich, which is defective at the beginning; I give a few extracts below.

405. *Nagister*; called *Ouagre* in the French, and *Oriable* in Lonelich's translation; S. G. p. 91.

406. *keueres rpon*, advances further.

407. *Alongines*; called *Eualachin* in the French, and *Valachin* by Lonelich.

408. The French says 30,000 knights and 60,000 foot; Lonelich has 20,000 horsemen and 40,000 foot; S. G. p. 91.

410. *pei han*. Our poet is certainly wrong here, or else the scribe should have written *han pei*; i. e. *if* they have gotten that hold, &c. Eualac raised an army to relieve the siege of this town, and succeeded so far, that Tholomer never took it.

414. *bounen*, to prepare, get ready. Mr Morris suggests that it is equivalent to *bannen*, to assemble, but perhaps the former explanation may stand. The adjective *boune* (ready) is common, but the verb is somewhat scarce. I give three instances from the Percy Folio MS., ed. Hales and Furnivall.

"He bad buske him & *borne* him: to goe on his message;"

Scotish Feilde, l. 113.

"Then they *borned* them, both more & lesse;" *Eger & Grine*, l. 1325.

"In ladyes [clothes] will yee mee *borne*;" *Kinge Adler*, l. 57.

See the adj. *boun* in l. 461.

416. *Carboye*; called *Carabel* in one French version, and *Tarabiel* in another. Lonelich has—

"Anon his sonde he dide to sende
Ouer al tho into euerich ende,
To alle tho that of him took ony fe,
Anon with him that thei scholden be,
And on the morwe to ben gadering
Atte castel of *Tarabe* with-owten taryenge,
That twenty miles from Sarras is,
And fro Valachim sixtene more ne mis (*sic*),
Where-as Tholomes atte sege was."

Thus in l. 418, the expression "from thence where they lay" means "from the town of Valachim (Alongines) which the enemy were besieging."

420. *Wostou*, knowest thou; *wendes*, goest. A mixture of dialectal forms. Cf. *const* in the next line.

423. Evalac's father was a cobbler in the town of *Miaus* or *Miaux*, i. e. Meaux.

425. *Ouzte*, possessed, had dominion over. The story is, that Augustus, hearing that a Child was to be born who would be his Superior, determined to exact homage from his subject states, and demanded from France a hundred knights, a hundred knights' daughters (our version merely mentions forty of the latter), and a hundred children under five years of age. Amongst these were two daughters of Count Sevain, lord of Meaux, with whom Evalac went as page. The girls died, and Evalac, at the age of twenty, was sent by Tiberius as a present to Felis, Count of Syria. Evalac quarrelled one day with the earl's son, whom he slew, and thereupon fled to the court of Tholomes, king of Babylon, then at war with Holofernes, whom Evalac conquered. For this service, he received Holofernes' kingdom.

428. *For þou were*, because thou wast.

431. *souȝtes fro*, wentest away from.

433. *woren un-souȝt*, became unreconciled, i. e. quarrelled.

435. *laȝtest*, didst remain.

436. The French does not say that Tholomes (who may be different from the Tholomer above) was an old man.

438. *For þou toke*, because thou didst take.

446. The cross was made by fastening two strips of red cloth, each a foot long, crosswise upon the shield.

448. *Figore*, figure. In one MS. of Chancer's Astrolabe, *figure* is spelt *rigour* throughout. The French has *chest signe*, this sign. Further on, in a passage corresponding to l. 560, Lonelich has—"And the *rigour* of the cros þere he beheld;" S. G. p. 150.

450. *pis oþer*, these others, *pl.* It means the enemy. Here follows, in the French and *Lonelich*, a long description of the castle of Valachin.

452. "Tholomer's men got the upper hand, and bore Evelac's men down, and brought them to the ground; then Evelac's men turned again (fled)." Evelac retreated to a castle named Laoines (*Comes* in *Lonelich*), and Tholomer pursued him hotly. Meanwhile, however, Evelac's subjects in Valachin sallied out, spoiled Tholomer's tents, and retreated again; this is the sense of ll. 455—457.

459. "Then came one spurring quickly to meet him."

463. *scholde*, must, had better.

465. "Therefore she is desirous that he may know it." The queen, by Joseph's advice, warns Evelac that he is in a dangerous place.

472. Evelac, retreating on Sarra, gets more men together, and, in particular, is reinforced by a party of 500 men (*Lonelich* says 4000) led by Seraphe, his queen's brother, whom he had formerly treated very badly, though not deserving such hatred.

486. "Seraphe, so thou ill oughtest (to have done); it sore repents me that I often ill-used you; for those of one's own kin will ever be friendly, whatever may happen."

489. *pis oþere*, these others; as in l. 450.

491. "That they who acted on his advice should rue no attack, through him."

493. "And think, good men, upon the grief that is our children's; (lit. to our children), and what will befall thereof, if we be confounded."

497. *geten on hem*, approached them. It means, the hosts had now approached each other within a glaive's length. This battle took place before a town called *Orkans* or *Orkaus*.

499. "And thrust down the proude ones."

502. "Bore death in his hand, and distributed it around him. He had an axe on high, with a great handle (helve); he held it hard with ligatures (or pressure?) in his two hands; so he smote them with it, and proved his strength, that little might they get away from him, and take to flight. There were steeds to destroy, conflicts to mingle (in); mighty men meet, and hammer through shields; hard hauberks they burst through, and pierced the breast (of the foe); bright shone upon the shaft the blood of heroes. Those that hover about on horse-back hew through helms," &c. Surely a fine passage.

513. *schindringe of scharpe*, cutting of sharp swords; and afterwards died the death, &c.

516. "Hard shields, cloven apart, fell in quarters; (they) slay horse and man wholly at once."

518. *in þe stour lufte*, remained in the battle. In the French, Evelac's steward nearly succeeds in slaying Tholomer himself.

521. *wel a two*, about two. See l. 549.

522. In the French, Tholomer's men flee, and are pursued by Seraphe and Evalac to a narrow pass, where there was a rock which was named

afterwards the "Rock of Blood" from the great loss of life there in this battle. Evalac left some men there to keep the pass, and a second skirmish afterwards took place there; cf. l. 604

527. Tholomer's brother was named Manarcus (Manaquit in the French); he is sent by Tholomer to attack Seraphe; S. G. p. 140.

530. *aseries*, cries out against, shouts against. The French has "si s'eserie," and Lonelich translates—

"Seraphe gan hem *aserie* mani folde;" S. G. p. 130.

531. *a gome*, a man. This was Manarcus; see l. 536.

539. "Then they fell, for anger, upon Seraphe's knights."

543. While Seraphe is in his swoon, 200 horsemen ride over him, and he is naturally supposed to be dead.

544. *streȝte to*, stretched his hand towards.

545. *culles on*, strikes upon. Here *cullen* is used merely for *hitting*, just as the E.E. *slen* (*slay*) means both to strike and to slay.

550. "That he might not (go) to him."

555. Evelac was pierced with three glaives, seized by Tholomer's men, and beaten.

558. *forte fallen him feye*, to fell him dead.

560. *Child*, man, viz. Christ. Evelac looks at the red cross so long that at last the figure of Christ appears upon it. *Stremynge on*, streaming with.

562. The white knight is an angel. Similar stories are not uncommon; cf. 2 Maccabees, x. 29. Santiago visibly aided the Spaniards in as many as thirty-eight different battles; Southey's *Pilgrim to Compostella*, note 5. See also Southey's *Roderick* (canto xxv.), where the king is supposed to be an angel.

567. In the French, the white knight only unhorses Tholomer, and sends him prisoner to the town of Orkans.

575. I here give a specimen of Lonelich's translation.

"On of hem drowgh owt a lite knyf,
And wolde hau be-reved Seraphe his lif,
Forte hau smeten him a-middes the fise
Through the oylettes of his helm in that plase.
But ouereomen so was tho Seraphē
That comfort with him myhte non be;
For he was ouereomen so with his blood
So it was merveille that [he] vppe stood,
For on hors power hadde he non to sitte,
Ne of that stede there onys to flytte;
But for febelte that he inne was
Ouer the hors nekke he bowede in that plas,
That power vp to sitte non hadde he,
So that of his purpos failed his eneme." S. G. p. 156.

588. *note*, make good use of; *newed*, renewed.

589. *Haue her-on*, take hold of this; *vypon my bi-halue*, for my sake.

595. "As fresh as a hawk; (yea) fresher at that time than when they advanced thither, at their first onset."

601. Tholomer's steward, named Narbus, rallies his men, and they attempt to retreat by the pass of the "Rock of Blood;" but "the folk of the Rock" (i. e. those left by Evalac to guard it) utterly rout them.

616. *bi-leued*, left behind. The queen's name was Sarraquite or Sarracynte.

623. "Give me an assurance of that." The queen then offers to pledge her faith; Joseph replies that she has no faith. She asks him what is his belief, and he repeats the creed. The queen also repeats the creed, and admits that she has secretly been a Christian for a long time.

635. The hermit's name was Salustes or Salustine; he cured Sarra-cynte's mother, as related below.

645. *heo*, she; viz. my mother.

646. "Wilt thou believe on this man?" Sarracynte thinks her mother refers to the hermit, and replies that she will not believe on one so old and gray, but only on one who is as fair as her own brother. She then sees Christ in a vision.

655. *ar þow heanne seehe*, ere thou go hence.

657. *blusch*, glance. "A wind and a scent wrapped us around;" i. e. enclosed us. *Lonelich* has—

"Many wondirful swetnesse aforne me fyl [*fell*],
And the hows so ful there-offen was,
And therto swich delicacie in that plas;" S. G. p. 174.

660. *Vsede of Goddes bord*, made use of God's table, i. e. administered to us the sacrament, "si fist deuant nous ichel saint sacrement;" S. G. p. 176.

661. "He brought us a writing, which he entrusted to us to keep joyfully." Our version here omits a very long piece about Sarracynte's mother.

674. Insert *he*, which means Joseph.

679. "He had his one arm cut off, which he carried in his other hand."

687. "It seemed to them that he gleamed as light, all in a blaze."

695. Mordreyus is explained to mean "tardiens en creanche," slow of belief. *A lat mon* = a slow or sluggish man; lit. a *late* man. The healed knight was named Climachideus (*Clumacides* in *Lonelich*, *Cleomadas* in our l. 692), which means "gonfunonniers au glorieus" (stand-ard-bearer to the Glorious One); S. G. p. 178.

698. *let water hiȝe*, caused (or commanded) water to go quickly (i. e. to fly about quickly). *Let* (caused) is nearly always thus followed by an infinitive, and the only infinitive thus spelt is *hiȝe*, to lie, hasten, come or go in haste. *Hiȝe* has nothing to do with *high*, for the latter is spelt *heȝe* throughout.

702. *nouper þei nusten*, lit. not where they knew not, i. e. they knew not whither.

703. *casten*, to confute; cf. l. 117.

704. For the rest of the story, see "The Lyfe of Joseph of Armathy," here printed; p. 27. The king of North Wales, named Crwdelx, imprisons Josaphe, but is slain by Mordreins; cf. S. G. vol. ii.

708, 709. "Then they (Josaphe and his company) committed the blood (the Grayl) to two men to keep safely, and they depart from the town, and leave the Grayl behind." Lonelich's version has—

"Than alle tho gan he with him take
 That owt of Ierusalem weren his make,
 Excepte only persones thanne thre
 That he lefte with the Arche [*Ark*] forto be,
 And that holy disch that was there-inne
 It savely to kepen from more oþer mynne [*greater or less*];
 Which on of hem "Enacore" gonne they calle,
 The tother "Manasses," as tho gan falle;
 The thridde was clepid "Lwean"
 Thi[l]ke same tyme of every man,
 That Ioseph took [*gave*] the Arch in kepinge
 To his purpos as to a man of best levyng;
 And thus these thre leften there
 To kepen this holy Arch in this manere;
 And alle the tothere gonne forth to gon,
 Cristes name to sanctefien anon,
 And the peple to 3even baptiseng,
 And this was alle here labowreng;" &c. S. G. p. 200.

As the most interesting part of Evelac's early history breaks off here, I think it very likely that the author of our English version, having told about the baptism of Evelac and Seraphe, and leaving the Holy Grail in safe keeping, purposely broke off here; there being nothing to shew that the copy in the Vernon MS. is incomplete at the end.

NOTES TO "THE LYFE OF JOSEPH OF ARMATHY."

THIS one piece has purposely been printed so as to retain the peculiar punctuation of the original, in order to shew the method then in use. Thus, the full stop in l. 11 after the word "prophecy" is used where we should now use a comma, and so on.

P. 27, l. 7. *thantyquytes*, the antiquities; compare *thounourable* in the next line. The unusual words occurring in this piece are explained in the Glossarial Index to it.

P. 30, l. 6. *wyped my face with a rose*; this is hardly a correct translation. Capgrave has—"elevavit me de terra, *rosa*que perfudit me, et extergens faciem meam osculatus est me, et dixit michi," &c. That is, "Christ sprinkled me with a rose, and, wiping my face, kissed me."

P. 30, l. 34. For the story of the Assumption of the Virgin into heaven, see "King Horn, with fragments of Floriz and Blancheflur, and of the Assumption of Our Lady," ed. Rev. J. R. Lumby (E. E. T. S.). The apostles were all present at it—

"Come þe apostles euerychon
To-gidre, but þei wist nouȝt
How þei weren to-gidre brouȝt." Ll. 304—306.

See also Mr Lumby's preface, pp. vii, viii.

P. 31, l. 16. In Mr Furnivall's "Seynt Graal," vol. ii. p. 125, the number of persons who crossed the sea upon Joseph's shirt is increased to 150, the number left behind being 260.

P. 31, l. 23. In the same work, vol. i. p. 363 and pp. 377—419, "Solomon's ship" is mentioned and described. It was made by order of Solomon's wife, and contained David's sword. See Sir Thomas Malore's *Morte d'Arthur*, reprinted by Southey in 1817; or see the "Globe" edition, book xvii. ch. vi. The word "Medor" in the title of Nataniis (Nasciens) is a corruption of the Latin gen. pl. *Medorum*.

P. 31, l. 32. For the account of Crwdelx, king of North Wales, see "Seynt Graal," vol. ii. p. 187; he was attacked by Mordreins and Nasciens, and slain by Gaanort. Celydomus or Celydoine was the son

of Nasciens and Flegentyne, who preached to Label, king of Persia, and afterwards married his daughter; he became king of a part of Britain, defeated the Saxons, and was buried at Camelot; Seynt Graal, ii. 221, 377, &c. Observe that "the kynges doughter of Persye" means "the daughter of the king of Persia." The reader will also further observe that *Labell* was rather the name of *the king himself*; but the name is given to the daughter not here only, but also in the verse "Lyfe;" see p. 42, l. 174.

The "Lyfe of Joseph of Armathy" is simply a translation from Capgrave's "Nova Legenda Angliæ;" see the preface. A similar Latin original is printed also in Johannes Glastoniensis, ed. Hearne, vol. i. p. 48. The title is, in Capgrave, "Sequitur extractio de libro antiquitatis glastoni, de sancto Ioseph ab armathia accepta de libro quodam per theodosium imperatorem inuento in pretorio pi[la]ti in hierusalem." *Nova Legenda*, fol. clxxxvi b. This clearly points to the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, the prologue of which represents one Ananias as translating the said Gospel in the time of *Theodosius*; see Cowper's Apocryphal Gospels, p. 229. The translation is in general very close. It must be noted, however, that the opening sentence—"Forasmuch as often times," &c.—is not found in Capgrave, but occurs in John of Glastonbury in the form following. "Quoniam dubia sæpe legentem fallunt, certa, dubiis ablatis, atque ex antiquis historiographorum dictis probata, de antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiæ quædam subinferemus." Then follows, in *both*, the Latin text beginning, "Crucifixo Domino, & completis omnibus quæ de eo fuerant prophetata," &c.

The story follows the Gospel of Nicodemus, beginning near the end of Chap. XI, p. 248 of Cowper's edition, where we read of Joseph's imprisonment, his miraculous escape, how he was found at Arimathea, and how the priests and Levites wrote a letter to him, in consequence of which he rode to Jernsalem and there told Annas and Caiphas how Christ had released him, and commanded him not to go out of his house for forty days. At the words in l. 23, on p. 30—"And this sayd and done, Ihesus vanysshed awaye" (*et hijs dictis disparuit*) Capgrave ceases to follow the account in the Gospel of Nicodemus, and I therefore give the remainder of the story in his words.

"Post hec fidei fervore animatus nobilis ioseph ab armaþhia beati philippi apostoli disciplinatus se tradidit: atque eius salubri disciplina affluenter refertus, ab ipso cum filio suo iosefe baptizatus est. Postea vero a beato iohanne apostolo dum ipse predicationi efesorum insudaret, beate perpetueque virginis marie paranympus¹ delegatus est, eiusdemque gloriose virginis assumptioni cum beato philippo ceterisque discipulis interfuit. Atque ea que de domino² ac de eius genitrice³ audierat & viderat constanter⁴ per diuersas regiones predicauit. Multosque conuertens & baptizans, tandem quinto decimo post⁵ beate virginis assumptionem anno, cum memorato filio suo iosefe quem dominus ihesus prius in ciuitate sarath in episcopum consecrauit,⁶ ad sanctum philippum apostolum in

¹ Misprinted "*paranympus*" in Capgrave, but see Hearne's "Johannes Glastoniensis," vol. i. p. 51; where we find *paranympus*.

³ Here Hearne inserts *Maria*.

⁵ Hearne inserts *supradicta*.

² Here Hearne's text inserts *Ihesu Christo*.

⁴ Hearne has *instanter*.

⁶ Hearne has *consecraverat*.

gallias venit. Dispersis enim post ascensionem domini discipulis per diuersa regna orbis terrarum, vt testatur *freculfus*¹ libro suo secundo, capitulo quarto, reg[u]m francorum predicandi gratia adiens philippus² plures ad fidem christi conuertit & baptizauit. Volens igitur beatus³ apostolus verbum dei dilatari: duodecim ex discipulis suis ad euangelizandum vite⁴ verbum in britanniam misit, quibus charissimum amicum suum ioseph predictum, qui sepeliuit dominum, vna cum filio suo iosefe prefecit. Venerunt autem cum eis, vt legitur in libro qui sanctum graal appellatur, sexcenti et amplius tam viri quam femine, qui omnes votum vouerunt quod ab uxoribus propriis abstinerent quousque terram sibi delegatam ingressi fuissent. Quod tamen preuaricati sunt omnes preter centum quinquaginta, qui iubente domino mare super camisiam ipsius iosefes transeuntis in nocte dominice resurrectionis⁵ applicuerunt in mane. Aliis autem penitentibus & iosefe⁶ pro eis orante, missa est nauis a domiuo quam rex salamon artificiose suo tempore fabricauerat vsque ad christi tempora duraturam: in qua die eadem ad suos socios peruenerunt cum quodam duce medorum nomine naciano, quem ioseph prius baptizauit⁷ in ciuitate saram⁸ cum rege eiusdem ciuitatis cui nomen mordraius. Cui dominus postea in visu apparens: manus & pedes perforatos cum latere lanciato ostendit. Cui rex quasi multum compatiens dixit; 'O domine deus meus, quis tibi talia inferre presumpsit?' Et dominus; 'Hec mihi,' inquit, 'fecit perfidus rex nort[h]wallie qui seruum meum ioseph nomen meum in partibus suis predicantem cum sociis suis carceri mancipauit, inhumanitus negans eis victui necessaria. Tu ergo gladio tuo accinctus ad partes illas properare ne⁹ differas, vt vindictam facias de tyranno et seruos meos soluas a vinculis.' Rex autem euigilans et de visione¹⁰ exultans in domino, disposita domo sua et regno iter cum exercitu suo arripuit: & deo ducente ad locum perueniens regi prefato mandauit quatinus seruos dei liberos abire permitteret. Ille vero mandato eius nullatenus acquiescens, ei cum indignatione mandauit quatinus absque mora de terra sua exiret. Quo audito, rex mordraius venit contra eum cum suo exercitu & duce naciano supramemorato, qui ipsum in bello iusta vltione peremit. Tunc rex mordraius accedens ad carcerem¹¹ ioseph cum sociis suis in magno gaudio eduxit, narrans ei visionem ostensam a domino super liberatione eorum. Tunc vniuersi gaudio magno repleti immensas gratiarum actiones domino persoluebant.¹² Post hec¹³ ioseph cum filio suo iosefe¹⁴ ac decem aliis sociis peragrantes britanniam, regnante tunc in eadem rege aruirago: anno ab incarnatione domini sexagesimo tertio, fidem christi fiducialiter predicabant. Rex autem barbarus cum sua gente tam noua audiens et inconsueta, nec paternas volens in melius commutare traditiones, predicationi eorum [consentire]¹⁵ renuebat. Quia tamen de longe venerant, visa vite eorum modestia, quandam insulam siluis, rubis, atque paludinibus circumdatam ab incolis ynswytryn, id est, insula vitrea nuncupatam, in lateribus sue regionis ad habitandum concessit: vnde quidam metricus [sic ait]¹⁶

Intrat aualloniam duodena caterua virorum,
Flos armathie ioseph est primus eorum:
Iosephes ex ioseph genitus patrem comitatur;
Hijs alijsque decem ius glastonie propriatur.

¹ Printed text, *freculfus*.

² Printed text, *philosophus* (!) "Philippus . . . Gallis predicat Christum," &c.; Freenplius, *Chronicon Libri Duo*, Tom. ii. Lib. ii. c. iv. Hearne has *adiens plures*, omitting *philippus*.

³ Hearne—*Sanctus*.

⁴ Hearne—*verbum Dei*.

⁵ Hearne—*resurrectionis dominice*.

⁶ Hearne inserts *memorato*.

⁷ Hearne—*baptisauerat*.

⁸ Hearne—*Saram*.

⁹ Hearne—*non*.

¹⁰ Hearne inserts—*sibi ostensa*.

¹¹ Hearne—*carcerem*, in quo rex ille iniquus Ioseph inclusum cum suis sociis detinebat, ipsum cum gaudio magno inde eduxit, &c.

¹² Here the English ceases to follow the Latin, viz. at p. 82, l. 19.

¹³ Hearne inserts *memorato*.

¹⁴ From Hearne.

¹⁵ Hearne inserts *Sanctus*.

¹⁶ From Hearne.

Predicti igitur sancti in eodem deserto conuersantes post pusillum temporis per archangelum gabrielem in visione admoniti sunt ecclesiam in honore sancte dei genitricis & perpetue virginis Marie in loco eis¹ celitus demonstrato construere. Qui diuinis admonitionibus obedientes capellam quandam per circuitum virgis torquatis muros perficientes consummauerunt anno post passionem domini tricesimo primo, ab assumptione vero virginis gloriose² quinto decimo, eodem autem³ anno quo ad sanctum philippum apostolum in gallias venerant & ab eo in britanniam missi sunt, ex deformi quidem scemate sed dei multiplicitate adornatam virtute. Et cum hec in hac regione prima fuerit ecclesia, ampliori eam dignitate [Dei filius]⁴ insigniuit, ipsum in honore sue matris principaliter dedicando. Duodecim igitur sancti predicti⁵ in eodem loco deo et beate virgini deuota exhibentes obsequia, vigiliis, ieiuniis, & orationibus vacantes, eiusdem virginis dei genitricis auxilio in necessitatibus suis refocillabantur. Quorum comperta vite sanctimonia, alij duo reges, licet pagani, marius aruiragi regis filius et collus marij filius, vnique eorum vnam hidam terre concesserunt ac pariter confirmauerunt, vnde & adhuc duodecim hodie per eos nomen sortiuntur. Effluentibus namque paucis annorum curriculis sancti memorati carnis ergastulo sunt educti; inter quos et ioseph sepultus est et positus in linea bifurcata iuxta oratorium predictum. Cepit igitur idem locus esse ferarum latibulum, qui prius fuerat habitatio sanctorum; donec placuit beate virgini suum oratorium redire ad memoriam fidelium.

¶ Hec scriptura reperitur in gestis⁶ regis arturi. Ioseph ab armathia nobilem decurionem cum filio suo iosephes dicto & alijs pluribus in maiorem britanniam, que nunc anglia dicta est, venisse & ibidem vitam finiuisse testatur liber de gestis incliti regis arturi; in inquisitione scilicet⁷ cuiusdam militis illustris dicti lancelot de lac facta per socios rotunde tabule, videlicet vbi quidam heremita exponit Walwano misterium cuiusdam fontis saporem & colorem crebro mutantis; ⁸[ubi & scribebatur, quod miraculum illud non terminaretur, donec veniret magnus leo, qui & collum magnis vinctulis haberet constructum. Item in sequentibus, in inquisitione vasis, quod ibi vocant *Sanctum Graal*, refertur fere in principio, ubi albus miles exponit Galaat, filio Lancelot, misterium cuiusdam mirabilis senti, quod eidem deferendum commisit, quod nemo alius, sine gravi dispendio, ne una quidem die poterat portare.]

Hec scriptura inuenitur in libro melkini, qui fuit ante merlinum.

Insula auallonis auida⁹ [funere paganorum, præ ceteris in orbe ad sepulcrum eorum omnium sperulis prophete vaticinantibus decorata, & in futuram ornata erit altissimum laudantibus. Abbadare, potens in Saphat,¹⁰ paganorum nobilissimus, cum centum [et] quatuor milibus dornicionem ibi accepit.] Inter quos ioseph de marmore, ab armathia nomine, cepit somnum perpetuum. Et iacet in linea bifurcata iuxta meridianum angulum oratorii, eratibus preparatis, super potentem adorandam virginem, [supradictis]¹¹ sperulatis locum habitantibus tredecim. Habet enim secum ioseph in sarcophago duo fassula alba & argentea, cruore prophete ihesu & sudore perimpleta. Cum reperietur eius sarcophagus, integrum illibatam in futuris videbitur, & erit apertum toti orbi terrarum. Ex tunc nec aqua, nec ros celi insulam nobilis-

¹ So in Hearne; Capgrave has *eius*.

⁴ From Hearne.

² Hearne inserts *ut dictum est*.

³ Hearne—*scilicet*.

⁵ Hearne has—*itaque Sancti, sapius memorati*.

⁶ Hearne inserts *incliti*.

⁷ So in Hearne. Capgrave has *inquisitiones*, omitting *scilicet*.

⁸ Omitted by Capgrave; supplied from John of Glastonbury.

⁹ Capgrave has "funeris, &c.," omitting a passage, which is here supplied from John of Glastonbury, and may be found also in MS. Cotton, Titus D. vii, fol. 29 b; and again, in MS. Arundel 220, fol. 271.

¹⁰ *Masphat* in Cotton and Arundel MSS.

¹¹ From Hearne.

simam habitantibus poterit deficere. Per multum tempus ante diem iudicalem in iosaphat erunt aperta hec, & viuentibus declarata. Hucusque melkinus."

Here Capgrave's account ceases, but we find in John of Glastonbury some verses and a couple of genealogies shewing King Arthur's descent from Joseph, which I here subjoin.

"Versus de Sancto Joseph de aurora, quæ & biblia versificata dicitur.

Cum sero fieret Joseph decurio dives,
Civis de Ramathia justus honestus adest.
Clam servus Christi fuit hic; a præside corpus
Postulat ergo Ihesu, præcipit ille dari.
Præbet opem Nichodemus ei, qui tempore noctis
Venerat ad Ihesum, corde fatendo fidem.
Hii mundum corpus involvunt sindone munda,
Inque petra tumulant, qui petra nostra fuit.

Hæc scriptura testatur, quod rex Arthurus de stirpe Joseph descendit.

Helaius, nepos Joseph, genuit Iosue. Iosue genuit Aminadab. Aminadab genuit Castellors. Castellors genuit Manaël. Manaël genuit Lambord & Urlard. Lambord genuit filium, qui genuit Ygernam, de qua rex Uterpendragun genuit nobilem & famosum regem Arthurum; per quod patet, quod rex Arthurus de stirpe Joseph descendit.

Item de eodem.

Petrus, consanguineus Joseph ab Armathia, Rex Organie, genuit Erlan. Erlan genuit Melianum. Melianus genuit Arguth. Arguth genuit Edor. Edor genuit Loth, qui duxit in uxorem sororem regis Arthuri, de qua genuit quatuor filios, scilicet Walwanum, Agraneyns, Gwerhes & Geheries."

Besides the passage just quoted from the "book of Melkin," the Cotton and Arundel MSS. have a passage, which I here add for the sake of completeness. It stands exactly the same in both, except that some of the contractions used are different.

"Ex quo apostoli divisi erant in diuersas regiones predicare verbum dei, sanctus philippus apostolus sortitus est regionem francie cum suis discipulis. De quibus misit in britanniam .xij. quorum primus erat Ioseph ab aramathia, qui et dominum sepeliuit, Anno ab incarnatione domini lxiij. et ab assumptione beate marie xv.; quibus xij. hinc a paganis regibus ibidem inuentis erant concessæ et confirmatæ; qui ibidem commorantes, per gabrielis archangeli admonitionem ecclesiam in honore sancte marie ex virginis torquatis muros perficientes construxerunt, anno post passionem domini xxxj.; quam ecclesiam dominus noster ihesus christus in honore sue matris presencialiter dedecauit, et idem Ioseph ab aramathia cum filio suo Iosepho et ceteris suis socijs ibidem vitam suam finisse multi testantur, etc."

A very similar account is given in the Historia Johannis Glastoniensis, ed. Hearne, vol. i. p. 1.

"Anno post passionem Domini trecesimo primo duodecim ex discipulis Sancti Philippi apostoli, ex quibus Ioseph ab Arimathia primus erat, in terram istam venerunt, qui regi Arvirago renuenti Christianitatem optulerunt. Tamen locum istum cum duodecim hidis terre ab eo impetraverunt, in quo virginis torquatis muros perficientes, primam hujus regni construxerunt ecclesiam, quam Christus in honorem sue matris, & locum ad sepulturam servorum suorum presencialiter

dedicavit. Isti duodecim & eorum successores, diu sub eodem numero heremiticam vitam hic ducentes, magnam multitudinem paganorum ad fidem Christi converterunt."

NOTES TO "DE SANCTO JOSEPH AB ARIMATHIA."

This extract from "The Kalendre of the New Legende of Englande" is a mere epitome of the account in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, but all reference to the "book called the Graal" seems to be carefully avoided.

P. 34, l. 3. The Latin hexameters commencing "Intrat Aualloniam" have been already printed on p. 69, in their due place in Capgrave's account.

P. 34, l. 8. The *two kings* were Arviragus and Coillus, as in Capgrave's account, on p. 70.

P. 34, l. 10. *whiche to this day be called the .xii. hydes.* This statement is, I suppose, still true even at the present day. At any rate the mention of "a district, denominated *to this day* 'the twelve hides of Glaston'" occurs in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, v. i, p. 1; see the whole passage, as quoted in the preface.

NOTES TO THE VERSE "LYFE" PRINTED BY PYNSON, A.D. 1520.

The first 216 lines agree with the accounts already given, and seem to be from the same source, viz. Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*. The latter part of the poem is sufficiently original, and was probably written in the year 1502, or soon after.

L. 5. *v. welles.* i. e. the five wounds. For the story of Longinus, see *Piers the Plowman*, B. xviii. 78—91, &c. It is taken from the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.

13. *perysshed*, pierced; as at p. 31, l. 28. This curious spelling also occurs in some MSS. of *Piers the Plowman*; see the footnote to Text B. xvii. 189.

32. The *two cructs* are shewn in the woodcut on the title page; p. 35.

125. *of ioye separte*; this corresponds to p. 31, l. 13.

174. See note to p. 31, l. 32.

194. Arviragus, the younger son of Cymbeline, is Shakespeare's Arviragus. See *Lazamon's Brut*, v. i. p. 392, and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, bk. ii. c. x. st. 52, 53.

234. The 18th year of Henry the Seventh began Aug. 22. 1502, and ended Aug. 21, 1503. The writer is here referring to the numerous cures said to have taken place chiefly in April, 1502 (cf. note to l. 289), but the first cure which he mentions must have taken place in 1501, when two young women of Dolting or Doulting parish, near Shepton Mallet, "made their offering" on St Simon's day, Oct. 28. After this happened many a miracle (l. 241), followed by a "continuance of grace" (l. 257), and then the numerous miracles in April, 1502, in the middle of Henry's eighteenth year.

245. *Four hundred* should surely be *fourteen hundred*. If Joseph died in the latter half of the first century (cf. l. 136), this would come nearly right.

258. Banwell lies a few miles to the N.W. of Axbridge.

277. This is the 9th of April, 1502, a Saturday.

282. *lyghtes carè*, Query, Light's Cary, as implied by the rime. There is also a Castle Cary in the same county.

289. The 10th day of April fell on Sunday in 1502, and as this year was the 18th of Henry the Seventh, it is doubtless this year meant. In fact, this point admits of exact proof; for, owing to the year 1508 being a leap-year, the 10th of April did not again fall on Sunday till 1513, when "Henry our kyng," mentioned in l. 234, had ceased to exist.

295. St Mark's day; i. e. April 25, 1502, being Monday.

305. Milborne Port is near the border of Somersetshire, towards Dorsetshire.

313. There are several villages named Compton in Somersetshire, as Compton Bishop, near Axbridge; Compton Martin, several miles to the Eastward of Axbridge; Compton Dando, not very far from Bath; and Compton Dundon, to the S. of Glastonbury. Probably the last of these is here intended.

321. Pilton is on the road between Glastonbury and Shepton Mallet.

370. The story about St David is to the effect that the Saint came to Glastonbury to consecrate the church which had just been rebuilt there, when Our Saviour appeared to him and told him that it had already been consecrated by Himself; in sign whereof, He caused two holes to appear in the Saint's hands, which closed up again after mass had been said. See Hearne's edition of *Johannes Glastoniensis*, p. 2.

378. The miraculous walnut-tree is noticed by Camden; see Chambers' Book of Days, vol. ii. p. 759, and Hearne's History and Antiquities of Glastonbury. St Barnabas' day, June 11, was, before the change of style, the day of the summer solstice; possibly the budding of the tree was supposed to be influenced by the sun's position in the zodiac.

385. The story of the hawthorn-tree is also quoted by Chambers from Hearne. *Werrall* is a local abbreviation of *Weary-all-Hill*, on the south ridge of which the tree grew. The following account is too good to be passed over. "Concerning the alleged flowering of the tree on Christmas-day especially, there is a curious entry in the Gentleman's Magazine for January, 1753, when the public were under some embar-

rassment as to dates, owing to the change from the old style to the new.—'Glastonbury.—A vast concourse of people attended the noted thorn on Christmas-day, new style ; but, to their great disappointment, there was no appearance of its blowing, which made them watch it narrowly the 5th of January, the Christmas-day, old style, when it blowed as usual.' Whether or not we credit the fact, that the tree *did* blossom precisely on the day in question, it is worthy of note that although the second trunk of the famous legendary tree had been cut down and removed a century before, some one particular tree was still regarded as the wonderful shrub in question, the perennial miracle." Chambers, *Book of Days*, ii. 759. And this miracle happened less than a hundred and twenty years ago !

401. A PRAYSING TO JOSEPH. Every stanza ends with a similar line, forming a sort of burden. If the third and fourth stanzas be transposed, these final lines agree better together. The evident object of the prayer is expressed in l. 452.

P. 52. The office is printed as in Pynson ; but it ought rather to be arranged in lines as under.

Joseph, serue dei	[Sancte ?] Joseph,
omnipotentis	[Christi ?] discipule,
miserere mei	da in futuris
malefactoris.	agenda facere,
Esto michi solamen	in non agendis
in suspiriis,	vin hec resistere,
continuum iuamen	in virtuosis
in molestiis.	vitam terminare,
Super id quod opto	demum in celis
da remedium,	tecum habitare.
& tollatur eo	
quicquid dissonum.	

Versus. Sancte Ioseph, Christi discipule, &c.

Responsorium. Intercede pro nobis ad Iesum qui elegit te. *Oremus.*

Domine Iesu Christe, cui omnis lingua confitetur, respice in nos seruos tuos, et placare precibus tui dilecti discipuli Ioseph ; vt, ipso intercedente, mereamur in presentia habere peccati remedium, et in futuro tue visionis dulcedinem. Qui vivis, &c.

Responsorium. Serue dei, Ioseph sanctissime,
preces nostras clementer accipe,
morbos, cædes, et pestes remoue.
Et si meremur iam penas luere,
Christum regem superne glorie
non iratum, sed blandum effice.

Versus. Vt cum ceperit mundum discernere,
et in dextris oues reponere,
non ira[tum, sed blandum effice].

Oratio. Omnipotens, sempiternus Deus, &c.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX TO "JOSEPH OF ARAMATHIE."

ABBREVIATIONS, &c.

Dan. Danish.—Du. Dutch.—F. French.—G. German.—Icel. Icelandic.—Lat. Latin.—A.S. Anglo-Saxon.—Ch. Chaucer.—P. Pl. Piers Plowman.—All. P. Alliterative Poems (ed. Morris, E.E.T.S.).—Prompt. Parv. Promptorium Parvulorum (ed. Way, Camden Soc.).—Will. of P. William of Palerne (ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S.), to which the reader is particularly referred.

The following are used in a special sense—*v.* a verb in the infinitive mood; *pr. s.* present tense, 3rd person singular; *pr. pl.* present tense, 3rd person plural; *pt. s.* past tense, 3rd person singular; *pt. pl.* past tense, 3rd person plural. Other persons are denoted by 1 *p.* and 2 *p.* Also *imp.* is used for the imperative mood, 2nd person, and *pp.* for the past participle.

A, *in phr.* wel a two hundred = about two hundred, 521; see also l. 549.

A-bak, *adv.* backwards, 496. A.S. *on-bæc*.

A-bascht, *pp.* abashed, terrified, 202. O.Fr. *esbahir*. See Pr. Parv. and Partenay.

A-brod, *adv.* abroad, 501.

A-byden him, *vb. refl.* remain, 701.

A-down, *adv.* down, 642. A.S. *af-dūne*. Havelok.

A-dred, *pp.* afraid, 47. Hav.

A-ferd, *pp.* afraid, 203, 412. Crede. See Ferd.

Afurst, *adj.* athirst, very thirsty, 553. P. Pl.

A-grisen, *pr. pl.* grow terrified, 236. Will. of Pal.

Allynge, *adv.* completely, absolutely; hence, allynge to carpe = altogether (the right thing) to speak, quite (the thing) to speak, 440. A.S. *eallunga*, *eallinga*, *allunga*, entirely, absolutely, altogether.

Also, as; also wel = as well, 113; also fresch as = as fresh as, 595.

A-mende, *v.* to mend, repair (shoes), 423.

A-middes, *prep.* amidst, in the middle of, 602. Ch.

A-morwe, on the morrow, 34; cf. "In þe morwe," 26.

An heiȝ, on high, 2;—vppon heiȝ, 503;—on heiȝ, 182.

And, if, 48, 389; written &, 73; and we be = if we should be, 494.

- A-non, *adv.* anon, 628, 670. A.S. *on an*, in one; hence, immediately.
- A-noþur (*put for an oþur*), a second, 179; another, 378.
- An-oýgnten, *v.* to anoint, 304. Miswritten *an-oýgten* in the MS.
- A-pertliche, *adv.* evidently, plainly, 276. Ch.
- Ar, *conj.* ere, before, 122, 127.
- Armure, *sb.* armour, 563.
- A-series, *pr. s.* eries out to, shouts to, 530. Cf. Sw. *anskri*, an outcry, scream, cry; O.Fr. *escrier*, to call out. Will. of Pal. and Ch.
- A-semblet, *pp.* met in a hostile manner, encountered, 520. Will. of Pal.
- Asur, *sb.* azure, blue, 194.
- Atenes, *adv.* at once, 51;—at enes, 181. Cf. Enes.
- Atte, at the, 281, 705. Will. of P.
- A-two, *adv.* asunder, in twain, 103.
- A-twynne, *adv.* apart, asunder, in twain, 49. Ch.
- Auentures, *sb. pl.* adventures, 232.
- Auntres, *properly sb. pl.* adventures; *but probably miswritten for* auntrous, *adj.* adventurous, 320. Cf. *auntrose* in Will. of P.
- Auter, *sb.* an altar, 295.
- Auþte, *pt. s.* possessed, 434. *See* Oupþe.
- Ay, *adv.* ever; ay forth = ever after, 126.
- A-3ein, *adv.* again (with the idea of recurrence), 12, 25; back again, 207; in return, 393.
- A-3ein, *prep.* against, 106; him a-3eýnes, to meet him, in the opposite direction to himself, 459;—a-3eýnes, 562. Will. of P.
- Bad, *pt. s.* begged, prayed, intreated, 637, 648. A.S. *biddan*, to ask.
- Bad, *pt. s.* bade. *See* Beode.
- Bale, *sb.* death, destruction, 502. A.S. *bealu*.
- Bar, *pt. s.* bare, 152;—baar, 566;—beer, 502; *pl.* beeren, 453.
- Baronage, *sb.* nobility, nobles, 62. Havelok.
- Basin, *sb.* 697;—basyn, 286.
- Batayle, *sb.* a battalion, squadron, 527, 538; battle, 571.
- Bed, *pt. s.* dealt (lit. offered), 502. *See* Beode.
- Beden, *pp.* appointed, lit. bidden, 416. *See* Beode.
- Beer, *pt. s.* bare, 502; *pl.* beeren, 453. *See* Bar.
- Be-hynde, *adv.* in the rear, 30.
- Be-knownen, *v.* to confess, 665. [Unless it is two words, *be knownen* = be known.]
- Ben, *v.* to be, 248;—beo, 323, 388;—bi, 82; 2 *p. s. pr.* (*with fut. sense*) beost, shalt be, 308; *pr. s.* (*with fut. sense*) beos, will be, 216; 2 *p. pl. pr.* ben, 66; *pr. pl.* beon, 168;—ben, 140;—beþ, 409;—beoþ, 331;—aren, 672; *pr. s. subj.* beo, 388;—be, 469; *imp. s.* beo þou, 80; *pl.* beo 3e, 245; *pp.* I-ben, 153;—I-beo, 469;—be, 626;—ben, 153; 2 *p. s. pl.* were, 428;—weore, 430; *pl. s. subj.* weore, 447; &c.
- Bente, *sb.* grassy plain, plain, 450, 489. G. *linse*, a rush.
- Beo, *prep.* by, 366.
- Beo, Beos, Beost. *See* Ben.
- Beode, *v.* to offer, 387; *pr. s.* biddes, bids, 22; *pt. s.* bad, bade, 31, 84, 637, 643;—bed, offered, dealt, 502; *pp.* beden, appointed, 416. A.S. *beodan*, to bid, offer.
- Bernes, *sb. pl.* men, 414. *See* Burnes.
- Bert, *sb.* beard, 648.
- Bi, *prep.* concerning, with regard to, 169.

- Bi, *v.* be, 82. See note. Cf. Ben.
- Bi-com, *pt. s.* had got to, had taken himself off, 607. So we hear people say, "one wonders *where he is gone to.*" Cf. P. Plow. B. v. 651. Cf. G. *beikommen*, to reach to.
- Biddes, *pr. s.* bids, 22. See Beode.
- Bi-falle, *v.* to befall, 488.
- Bi-foren, *adv.* before, in front, 28; before (in point of time), 85, 118; *prep.* in front of, before, 167.
- Biggore, *adj. pl. comp.* stronger, 452.
- Bigly, *adv.* stoutly, boldly, 571. All. P.
- Bi-gonnen, *pt. pl.* began, 575. Or it may be the pp.
- Bi-halue, *sb.* behalf, 589; *vppon* my bi-halue = for my sake.
- Bi-heete, *v.* to promise, 67;—bi-hote, 621, 640. Hav.
- Bi-heolden, *pt. pl.* beheld, 686.
- Bi-leeue, *sb.* belief, 358.
- Bi-leued, *pp.* left behind. 616. Will. of P.
- Bi-reuen, *v.* to bereave, 356.
- Bi-sydes, *adv.* near at hand, hard by, 527.
- Bi-take, *v.* to commit to one's care, entrust, 253; to pledge (one's truth), 624; 1 *p. s. pr.* beo-take, 306; *pt. s.* bi-taughte, gave (it to), 661; *pt. pl.* bi-taughten, 708. Hav.
- Bi þat, by that time, 324; by the time that, 473.
- Bi-þenkes him, bethinks him, remembers, 237. Will. of P.
- Blenheden, *pt. pl.* looked with blinking eyes; blenheden a-boue = opened their eyes and looked up, 586.
- Bluseh, *sb.* look, glance, 657. All. P.
- Bok, *sb.* a book, 612.
- Bone, *sb.* command, 268;—boone, prayer, 227. All. P.
- Boone, *sb.* boon, prayer, 227. See Bone.
- Bord, *sb.* a table, viz. the sacramental table, 660.
- Boskes, *pr. s.* gets ready, prepares (letters), 414, 472; *pt. pl.* bosked hem out, came out, 13; *pp.* bosked, royally arrayed, 111;—I-bosket, 153;—bosket, arrayed, in order, 527. See Buskes.
- Bote, *conj.* except, 43, 141; *adv.* only, 338.
- Bopem, *sb.* the bottom (of the pit or prison), 15.
- Boto, both two, both, 300. A.S. *bútú, bátcá*, both the two, from *bá*, both, *twá*, two. Cf. *bofe two* in l. 697; and P. Pl. A. ii. 36.
- Boun, *adj.* prepared, ready, 26, 461. Icel. *guinn*, prepared. All. P.
- Bounen, *v.* to make ready, array, 414;—boune, 472. Troy Book, 827.
- Bouwes, *pr. s.* bends or makes his way, 571;—bowes to, bends over, 387; *pr. pl.* bouwe, incline, bend (their way), 489; *pres. part.* bouwynde, bowing, bending down, 294.
- Bradde, *pt. s.* made broad, i. e. spread open, 642.
- Braset, *pp.* lit. braced, i. e. tightly held, 380. See I-braeced.
- Breck, *pt. s.* brake, scattered, 501.
- Bren, *imp. s.* burn, 103.
- Brimme, *sb.* brim, edge, 458. A.S. *brymme*.
- Brusede, *pt. s.* bruised, 501.
- Burnes, *sb. pl.* men, 501, 708;—buirnes, 29;—bernes, 414. A.S. *beorn*.
- Buskes, *pr. s.* repairs, goes, 202, 233, 450; comes, 354. All. P. See Boskes.

- Byden, *pr. pl.* abide, are waiting, 450;—bydes, wait for, 468.
- Carke, *pr. pl.* are anxious, 30.
A.S. *becarcan*, to take care concerning (Lye); A.S. *care*, *cearc*, care; mod. E. *cark*; cf. O.H.G. *karc*, *karch*, *charch*, clever (*perhaps originally solicitous*). See *Carcking* in Atkinson's Cleveland Glossary. It occurs in the *Plowman's Tale*.
- Carpen, *v.* to speak, 175, 615;—carpe, 440; 1 *p. pr. pl.* we speak, 212. Will. of P.
- Casten, *v.* to confute, refute, 703; 2 *p. s. pr.* castest, 117. Lit. it means to throw, or overthrow; cf. Sw. *kasta*, Dan. *kaste*. See *Kest* in All. P.
- Chaumbre-wouh, *sb.* chamber-wall or wooden partition, 204.
- Cher, *sb.* countenance, 83. Ch.
- Child, *sb.* used of a grown-up person, viz. Jesus, 560.
- Childre, *sb. pl.* children, 493.
- Clanses, *pr. s.* cleanses, 198.
- Clepeþ, 2 *p. pl. pr. ye* call, name, 379;—clepen (*either inf. or pr. pl.*), 692. A.S. *cleopian*.
- Clergye, *sb.* learning, 171. P. Pl.
- Come, 2 *p. s. pt.* didst come, 434; *pt. s. com*, there came, 21; *pl. comen*, 91, 283;—come, 35; *pp. comen*, 622.
- Come, *sb.* coming, method of approach, 206; coming, advance, 596.
- Con, *pr. s.* he knows, 171; 1 *p. s. pr. I* can, 402; 2 *p. const, canst*, 401, 421. See *Cunne*.
- Coroune, *sb.* crown (viz. of thorns), 263.
- Cristendom, *sb.* Christianity, 632, 662.
- Cristene, *v.* to Christianize, 703.
- Crois, *sb.* a cross, 446.
- Cruetes, *sb. pl.* cruets, 287.
- Cuipe, *v.* to make evident, shew, 484. See *Kiþen* in Will. of P.
- Culles, *pr. s.* strikes; culles on = strikes upon, hits a *killing* blow upon, 545.
- Cun, *sb.* kin, 422.
- Cunne, *pr. s.* 1 *p.* I know, 48;—con, 402; *pr. s. con*, 171; 2 *p. const* (canst), 401, 421.
- Cupþhe, *sb.* native country, 18;—kupþe, country, kingdom, 434. A.S. *cyððe*, a region, native country. All. P.
- De-deyn, *sb.* disdain, 244. See *Dedain* in Will. of P.
- Defaute, *sb.* fault, 307.
- Demayȝen, *v.* to fear, be dismayed, 31;—demayen, 84. Span. *desmayar*, to be dispirited. Cf. O.Fr. *esmaier*, to amaze. See *Demaye* in Halliwell.
- Deore, *adv.* dearly, 69.
- Dere, *adj.* noble, excellent, i. e. fertile, 37. Cf. “þe dere kyng,” “his dere knyghttes,” *Morte Arthure*, 1601, 1602.
- Derne, *adj.* secret, 576. Ch.
- Derue, *v.* to afflict, harm, 47; *pt. s. deruede*, vexed, 535. A.S. *deorfan*, to toil; O.Fries. *forderva*, to perish; G. *verderben*, act. to spoil, neut. to perish.
- Deþ, *sb.* death (with þe prefixed), 514, 534.
- Digne, *adj.* worthy, 252. Ch.
- Discounfitede (*reul* discounfited), *pp.* discomfited, 61.
- Diskeueret, *pp.* disclosed, 350. It means that Erelak had disclosed the marvels which he saw to his chamberlain. Hem = them, sc. the marvels.
- Dispit, *sb.* despite, harm, injury, 581. See *Despit*, Will. of P.
- Diȝen, *v.* to die, 495; dye, 390; *pt. s. diȝede*, 132, 134.

- Digt, *pp.* dressed, prepared, ready, 34. Cf. I-diht. Ch.
- Don, *v.* to do, 26;—done, *in phr.* have to done = have to be busy, 161;—do[fe] to preue, cause[thee] to experience, 389;—do in, put in, 40; *pr. s.* dos, 233; causes, 252; *pl.* don hem to zonge, set out to go, 34; *pt. s.* dude, 90; caused, 129; 1 *p. pl. pt.* duden, did, 659; *imp. s.* do awei, put away, 102; do me, give to me, 623; do tel me, 391; *pp.* do, 524.
- Dorste, 1 *p. s. pt.* I durst, 664.
- Douhtilyche, *adv.* doughtily, bravely, 495.
- Douȝti, *adj.* doughty, 480. Will. of P.
- Dredde, *pt. s.* dreaded, 132.
- Dumtes, *sb. pl.* dints, blows, 598. See *Dint*, Will. of P.
- Duppes, *pr. s.* dips, dives, drops, 534.
- Eft, *adv.* again, 359.
- Eir, *sb.* heir, 19.
- Eiȝer, each (of them), 286.
- Eiȝen, *sb. pl.* eyes, 362.
- Eke, *adv.* also, 22, 160.
- Elles, *adv.* otherwise, in another way, 119, 256.
- Enes, *adv.* once, 25; at enes = at once, 181, 517.
- Enkes, *sb. pl.* inks, colours, 194. Fr. *encre*. See Wycliffite Glossary.
- Er, *conj.* ere, before, 524. See *Ar*.
- Eodest, *pt. s.* wentest, 4, 641; *pt. pl.* eoden, 326.
- Eornen, *pr. pl.* they run, flow; eornen of blod = they drip with blood, 275. A.S. *ȝrnan*, to run. Cf. *Renne*.
- Er, *adv.* formerly, once, at first, 242. See *Ar* and *Erest*.
- Erest, *adv.* erst, first, 56. A.S. *ċerst*, from *ċr*. See *Ar*.
- Est, *sb.* the east, 91.
- Euel, *sb.* disease, 644.
- Euel, *adj.* hard, difficult, 667.
- Falle, *v.* to happen, befall, 190; hit falles not = it is not possible, 598. Will. of P.
- Fallen, *v. tr.* to fell, 558; *pt. s.* fel, struck, 569; *pt. pl.* fullen to = felled upon, struck violent blows on, 539.
- Fare, *v.* to go, 63; fare to hem = go to meet them, i.e. the enemy;—faren, 506; *pt. s.* ferde, fared, went, 28, 557; *pl.* ferden, 53, 368; contrived to do (with little), 626; aȝeyn ferden, returned, 558; *pt. s.* ferede, should prove to be, 413. A.S. *faran*. Will. of P.
- Faste, *adv.* close, 522, 635. So in *Will. of Palerne*, 3.
- Fastenen, *v.* to fasten, 249; *pp.* fastned, 626.
- Faus, *sb. either* (1) haste (the modern *fuss*), or (2) falseness, defect, deceit, 208. The alliteration renders it probable that the latter is right, and that it merely repeats *faute* under another form. Roquefort gives *faucer*, to deceive, *faus*, false, and the mod. Fr. *faux* is a *sb.* as well as an *adj.*
- Faute, *sb.* fault, defect (in the wall), 208.
- Fayn, *adv.* gladly, 179. Will. of P.
- Faynede, *pt. pl.* gladdened, flattered, 243. A.S. *fægenian*, to rejoice.
- Feire, *adv.* fairly, suitably, 564.
- Fel. See *Fallen*.
- Fel, *pt. s.* fell, 582.
- Felauschipe, *sb.* intercourse, 84;—felaushupe, a company, set of companions, 165.
- Felde, *pt. s.* fell, 203. Hence possibly, in l. 2698 of *Havelok*, we may read *ne felden*, did not *fall*, instead of "did not *fell*."

- Felle, *v.* to fell, 368. Hav.
 Feol, *adj.* fell, fierce (?), 665. An unusual spelling.
 Feole, *adj. pl.* many, 18, 90, 100, 147.
 Feor, *adv.* far, very much, greatly, 552; bi fer = by far, 592.
 Ferd, *sb.* fear, 188. See Fert.
 Ferd, *pp.* afraid, 189.
 Ferde, *sb.* a host, army, company, 12. A.S. *ferd*, *fyrð*.
 Ferde, Ferden. See Fare.
 Ferede, *pt. s. subj.* fared, i. e. should turn out to be, 413. See Fare.
 Feres, prob. an error for *beres* = bears, 189; for this seems to suit the alliteration better. Yet *feres* may be from the A.S. *fērian*, to convey, carry; whence our *ferry*. See *fērien* in Stratmann.
 Ferli, *adv.* wonderfully, 154.
 Ferli, *sb.* wonder, marvel, 210. Will. of P.
 Ferly, *adj.* wonderful, 568.
 Fert, *sb.* fear, 18;—ferd, 188.
 Fette, *v.* to fetch; lette fette = caused to be fetched, 167; *pt. s.* fette, 12, 147. Ch.
 Feye, *adj.* dead, 558;—feize, 569; *pl.* feye, 368. A.S. *fēige*, Icel. *feigr*.
 Fleih, *pt. s.* flew, fled, 98;—fley3, 385; *pl.* flowen (fled), 18; (flew), 362.
 Flote, *sb.* a troop, company, 28. O.Fr. *fle*, a troop; Low Lat. *flota*, a fleet of ships; from *fluctus*.
 Flowen. See Fleih.
 Fluigt, *sb.* flight, 506.
 Folewede, *pt. pl.* followed, 28; *imp. pl.* folewep, 245; *pres. part.* folewynde, 551; *pp.* folewed, 569.
 Folfulle, *v.* to fulfil, 68.
 Folfulsned, *pp.* fully accom-
 plished, 618. From *fol* = full, and *fulsen* = *fulsten*, A.S. *fylstan*, to aid, support, the stem of which agrees with the O.H.G. *follest* or *rolleist*, completion; from the root of *full*. It is thus a strengthened form of *to fulfil*.
 Folwed, Folewede, Folewen. See Fulwed.
 Fond, *pt. s.* found, 242, 462.
 Fondes, Fondet. See Founde.
 Fonge, *v.* to apprehend, attain to, 371;—fongen, to receive, 622; *pr. s.* fonges, takes, 52; draws, 568; *pt. s.* fongede, took, 143. All. P.
 Fontston, *sb.* a font-stone, a font, 7. See Hampole, *Pr. of Consc.* 3311. Ch.
 Foorme, *sb.* form, 561.
 Foote, *sb. pl.* fect (in measurement), as we now sometimes say "a hundred foot," 14.
 For, *conj.* because, 428, 438.
 For, *prep.* as regards; for him = as regards thy child, 85.
 Fore, *adv.* forth, 110. Fore telle = tell forth, declare; cf. Life of Becket, ed. W. H. Black, 31. Fore seiden = said beforehand or declared, 208.
 For-fourȝten, *pp.* exhausted with fighting, 577. Will. of P.
 For-let, *pp.* either abandoned, forsaken; so that for-let of heore oune = forsaken by their own people; or else deprived, i. e. of their own land. The latter makes the better sense, but lacks authority. *For-lete* (= forsaken) occurs in Alexander, l. 679 (printed in the appendix to William of Palerne), and in the Wycliffite Glossary.
 Forme, *adj.* first, 685. Mæso-Goth. *fruma*, first.
 Forsake, *v.* to deny; *pp.* forsaken, refused, 64. See P. Plowman, B. v. 431.

- For-set, *pp.* set aside, snubbed, 487. Cf. A.S. *forsittan*, to neglect.
- Forsoþe, *written for* for soþe, i. e. for the truth, in truth, 3, 86, 99; cf. l. 523.
- Forte, *put for* for to, 15, 40, 116, 199, 703.
- Forþ wiþ, right against, over against, 267.
- Forþi, *conj.* on that account, 439, 465. *But in* l. 603 *it seems to mean* on what account, wherefore, why.
- Forþinkes, *pr. s. impers.* it repents me, 487. Will. of P.
- Forward, *adv.* forward, 53. Will. of P.
- For-ziue, 1 *p. s. pr.* I forgive, 250; 2 *p. s. pt.* for-zaþ, didst forgive, 223.
- Founde, *v.* to go towards, approach (*with dat.*), 367;—founden, to go, 506; *pr. s.* fondes, goes, 537; *pt. s.* fondet, came, 12; *pt. pl.* foundeden, went forward, advanced, 596. In a slightly different sense, *pt. s.* fondede, tried, proved, 505. See *Fonden*, Will. of P.
- Foundeor, *sb.* founder, Maker, Creator, 68, 673. O.F. *fondeur*, a creator.
- Frusschede, *pt. pl.* bruised, dashed in pieces, 505. Fr. *froisser*.
- Fuir, *sb.* fire, 260.
- Fullen, *pt. s.* fell; fullen to = fell upon, 539. The spelling *fullen* occurs in the Castle of Love, ed. Weymouth.
- Fullouzt, *sb.* baptism, 682;—fullouht, 693. A.S. *fulluht*.
- Fulwede, *pt. s.* baptized, 683;—folwed, 691;—folewede, 10;—folwede, 694; *pp.* fulwed, 699; *pr. pl.* folewen, 8. A.S. *fulwian*.
- Gete, *v.* to beget, 230; to get, obtain, 23; *pp.* geten, *in phr.* geten on hem = approached towards them, i. e. they were within a glaive's length of them, 497; attained, reached, 523.
- Geyn, *adj.* suitable, 299. In N.E. *gain* is near, direct, handy, convenient; O.Swed. *gen*, direct; Icel. *gegn*, direct, ready, from Icel. prep. *gegn*, over against, cf. G. *gegen*, against; Sw. *gen*, near.
- Geynliche, *adv.* suitably, conveniently, 298.
- Gleyue, *sb.* a glaive, falchion, curved sword, 497. W. *glais*, a crooked sword.
- God, *adj.* good, 66. See Greipe.
- Gome, *sb.* a man, 531. Will. of P.
- Gon, *v.* to go, 24, 82; *pr. pl.* gon, 702; *imp. pl.* gos, 373.
- Gost, *sb.* spirit, 49, 315. Ch.
- Gostliche, *adv.* spiritually, 122, 135; *adj.* spiritual, 280.
- Grame, *sb.* anger, vexation, 539. Ch.
- Greipe, *v.* to array, 299. Icel. *greiða*. Will. of P.
- Greipe, *sb.* preparation, arrangement; god greipe = good arrangement, i. e. satisfactory, 66; hi god greype = satisfactorily, admittedly, 341. Icel. *greiði*.
- Greipli, *adj.* excellent, 88. Very rare as an adj.
- Gretnede, *pt. s.* became great (with child), 88.
- Gultus, *sb. pl.* guilts, sins, 249.
- Ha. See Haue.
- Hache, *sb.* axe, 503, 544, 587. Cf. Pol-hache.
- Hakken, *pr. pl.* hack, cut, 512.
- Halp, 1 *p. s. pt.* helped, 484; *pt. s.* 675.
- Halse, 1 *p. s. pr.* I entreat, conjure, 400. Ch.
- Halt, *pp.* held, esteemed, 122.

- Halue, *sb.* a helve, haft (of an axe), 503. A.S. *helf*, *hielf*.
 Halue, *sb.* side (lit. half), 549. Ch.
 Haly, *adj.* holy, 288, 314.
 Haspet, *pp.* fastened with a hasp, 205. A.S. *hæpsian*.
 Hauberkes, *sb. pl.* hauberks, 509. Ch.
 Haunsen, *v.* to enhance, exalt, increase, 225, 232. "Hawneyn, or heynyn, hawtyn, hawsyn or yn heynyn, hawten or heithyn vp, *Exalto, elevo, sublevo*." Prompt. Parv. Halliwell quotes *Hause*, to exalt, from the Coventry Mysteries. The French romance has the word *essauchier* thrice, in this passage; see *Hiȝen*.
 Haue, *v.* 63;—ha, 351, 578;—han, 524; 1 *p. s.* *pr.* haue, 141; 2 *p.* hast, 350; 3 *p.* has, 405; 2 *p.* *pl.* han, 247; 3 *p.* han, 61, 469; *pt. s.* hedde, 503; *pt. pl.* hedden, 244;—hadden, 474;—haden, 676; *imp. s.* haue (hou), 210, 589; *pt. s. subj.* hedde, would have, 153.
 He, *pron. fem.* she, 83;—heo, 87. A.S. *heo*.
 Hedde, Hedden. See *Haue*.
 Heiȝ, *adj.* high, 153; exalted, mysterious, 159;—heiȝe, 698; *superl.* hiȝeste, 254. Vpon heiȝ, on high, 503.
 Heiȝpe, *sb.* height, 192. Cf. *Heȝpe* in All. P.
 Hele, *sb.* health, prosperity, success, 617; recovery from sickness or disease, 372, 634, 637. All. P.
 Helede, *pt. s. intr.* healed, became whole, 681. Will. of P.
 Hem, them, 31; *dat. pl.* heom, 367.
 Henne, *adv.* hence, 215, 641. Ch.
 Hente, *pt. s.* caught hold of, seized, 382; hente vp, caught up, caught and lifted, 532. Ch.
 Heo, (1) she, 87, 461; (2) he, 97; (3) they, 283; *dat. pl.* heom, 130.
 Heold, *pt. s.* held, 134, 360, 591; heold fider, went thither, 113;—huld, 504; *pl.* heolden, considered, 430; *pp.* holden, considered as, 95, 254;—halt, 122; *imp. pl.* holdes ou, keep yourselves, 492. See *Huld*.
 Heom. See *Heo and Hem*.
 Heore, their (*lit.* of them), 18, 20, 101;—here, 30.
 Heowen, *pr. pl.* hew, 511.
 Herbarwe, *sb.* harbour, lodging, accommodation, 30;—herborwe, 32. Ch.
 Here, *v.* to hear, 45;—heere, 109; *pt. s.* herde, 31; *pt. pl.* herden, 2.
 Herre, *adj. comp.* higher, 430. A.S. *hyrra*.
 Hete, 1 *p. s. pr.* I promise, declare, 412, 669. Ch.
 Hettetou (*for* hettest þou), 2 *p. pr. s.* art thou called, 155. Ch.
 Heuier, *adj. or adv.* heavier, 592.
 Him, *in dative case*, to him, 21.
 Hise, *pl. possess. pr.* his, 24.
 Hit, *neut. pron.* it, 440.
 Hiȝe, *v.* to go quickly, *in plr.* he let water hiȝe, he caused water to go about quickly, 698. *Hiȝe* is sometimes used in the sense of "to cause to hasten," as in Will. of P. 1482, and this seems to be the construction here—"he caused water to fly about."
 Hiȝen, *v.* to exalt, 226; *pt. s.* 2 *p.* heiȝtest, didst exalt, 225. Here the idea of *exaltation* is thrice repeated in the words *heiȝtest*, *haunsen*, *hiȝen*. So also in the French—"pour ton non *essauchier* et *aler* . . . ear tu le dois *essauchier* et *aer*estre . . . ke ele [*l'eglise*] soit *essauchie* et *aerue*," &c. Seynt Graal, p. 64. *Hiȝen* should rather be spelt *Heȝen*.

- Hiztest, *pt. s. 2 p.* didst promise, 109. Cf. Hete; see Will. of P.
 Ho, *pron. inter.* who, 466, 674.
 Holden, *pp.* reckoned, held (to be), 95, 254; *imp. pl. 2 p.* holdes ou, hold yourselves, keep yourselves, 492. See Heold.
 Hole, *adj. pl.* whole; *preo hole* = whole three, 340;—*hol, sing.* 681. Will. of P.
 Holliche, *adv.* wholly, 51, 86, 134, 456.
 Holt, *sb.* hold, citadel, 410.
 Hom, *sb.* home, 602; *hom wende* = to go home, 609.
 Honden, *sb. pl.* hands, 272;—*hondes*, 300, 697.
 Hondred, hundred, 476.
 Honginge, *pres. part.* hanging, 205.
 Hor, *adj.* hoar, hoary, 648.
 Hors, *sb.* a horse, 563.
 Horses, *pr. s.* sets upon a horse, 570.
 Hoten, *pp.* called, named, 79, 82, 231;—*I-hoten*, 291.
 Houen, *pr. pl.* halt, hover about, 489, 511. All. P.
 Hudden hem, *pt. pl.* hid themselves, 13.
 Huirne, *sb.* corner, nook, 378; *pl.* huirnes, corners, nooks, hiding-places, 13. Cf. *Hirne* in Ch.
 Huld, *pt. s.* held, 504; *pt. pl.* hulden (hem), defended (themselves), 512, where the context would rather require the present tense. Cf. Heold. A.S. *healdan*; cf. *halla* in Ihre's Glossary.
 Huppe, *v.* to hop, leap, leap down, 14.
 Huttes, *pr. s.* hits, 532.
 I-ben, *pp.* been, 153;—*ben*, 153.
 I-blesset, *pp.* blessed, 240.
 I-boren, *pp.* born, 89;—*i-bore*, 119;—*boren*, 168, 430.
 I-bosket, *pp.* well arrayed, finely dressed, 153. See Boskes.
 I-braced, *pp.* tightly fastened, 265. See Brasct.
 I-called, *pp.* called, named, 78, 479;—*called*, 156.
 Icholde, *put for* ich wolde, I would, 67.
 Ichul, *put for* ich wol, I will, 253.
 I-cloped, *pp.* clothed, draped, 295.
 I-come, *pp.* come, 403.
 I-liht, *pp.* arrayed, 476.
 I-fet, *pp.* fetched, brought, 428.
 I-folwed, *pp.* baptized, 7. See Fulwede.
 I-graunted, *pp.* granted, 280.
 I-helet, *pp.* healed, 650.
 I-hoten, *pp.* named, called, 291.
 Ilke, *adj.* same, very; *þis Ilke*, 6, 279, 353; *þat Ilke*, 40, 282; *wip þat Ilke*, forthwith, 565, 573.
 In, *sb.* lodging, 163.
 Inne, *v.* to lodge, 166; *pr. s. act.* innnes, provides with lodgings, 174.
 Inne, *adv.* in, within, 221. Ch.
 Ioyned, *pp.* lit. enjoined; hence, reproved, 308. See Halliwell, and cf. *ioyned* = appointed in Allit. Poems, ed. Morris, B. 877.
 Ioynes, *pr. s.* approaches (lit. joins), 407.
 I-seo, *v.* to see, 498.
 I-seȝe, *pp.* seen, 349.
 I-slawe, *pp.* slain, 96.
 I-strauȝt, *pp.* stretched, 269.
 I-swowen, *pp.* thrown into a swoon, 203.
 I-tornd, *pp.* converted, 216.
 Iugget, *pp.* judged (to be), considered, 251.

- I-worpe, *pp.* cast, thrown, 221.
See Warpes.
- I-writen, *pp.* written, 317.
- Kenne, *v.* to make known, teach, 158;—kennen, to inform, 187 (where *him* must be understood);—kennes, *pr. s.* makes known, teaches, 198; instructs, bids, 446; *pp.* kenned, informed, told, 466. Will. of P.
- Keuered, *pp.* covered, 176; *pt. s.* keuerde, 263.
- Keueren, *pr. pl.* achieve; hence, keuren on = achieve their onward way, go forward, 27. *See* William of Paderne and Garwayne and the Grene Knyzt. Similarly, *keueres rpon* = advances, 406.
- Kuppe, *sb.* kingdom, country, 434. *See* Cupphe.
- Kuynde, *sb.* nature, 106, 131, 133; *pl.* kuyndes, 136. *þe* kuynde = those allied by nature, those that are akin by birth, 488.
- Lacche, *v.* to catch, get hold of, take prisoner, 356; *pt. s.* lauzte, took, received, 222. Will. of P.
- Ladden, *pt. pl.* led, 16. Will. of P.
- Laft, *pp.* (*of trans. vb.*) left, 540. *See* Leuen.
- Laftest, 2 *p. s. pt.* didst remain, 435; *pt. s.* lafte, remained, 518; *transitive*, lafte, left, 707. Will. of P.
- Lai, Leizen. *See* Liggest.
- Lat, *adj.* slow (lit. late), 695. Mordreyns is supposed to mean "slow of belief." All. P.
- Lauhwhen, *pr. pl.* laugh, 2.
- Lauzte, *pt. s.* took, received, 222. *See* Lacche.
- Lees, *pt. s.* lost, 125. Cf. P. Pl. B. vii. 158.
- Leeue, *v.* to believe, 105, 640;—leeuen, 219;—leue, 646; *pt. pl.* leeueden, 101; *imp. s.* leeue, 99.
- Lemed, *pt. s.* gleamed, glittered, 264;—leomede, 687. Ch. has the *sb.*
- Lenden, *v.* to arrive, come, 81; *pr. s.* lendes agein = arrives back again, i. e. retires, departs, 207; *pr. pl.* lenden of, go out of, depart from, 709. Cf. A.S. *lendian*, to land.
- Lenes, *pr. s.* lends, gives, imparts, 590; *pt. s.* lente me of = imparted to me some of, 5. Ch.
- Lenge, *v.* to remain, dwell, stay, 162, 603; *pr. s.* lenges, lingers, 207; 2 *p.* lengest, lingerest, 277; 2 *p. s. pt.* lengedest, 429; *pt. pl.* lengede, 16, 17; *pres. part.* lenginde, 20; *pp.* (wast) lenged, didst dwell, 425. Will. of P.
- Lengore, *adv.* longer, 137.
- Leodes, *sb. pl.* people, folks, men, 168, 585. *See* Lad, Will. of P.
- Leomede. *See* Lemed.
- Leones, *sb. pl.* lions, 222.
- Leoue, *adj. pl.* dear, 240.
- Leres, *pr. s.* teaches, 305. Will. of P.
- Lette, *pt. s.* caused, 94, 167, 173; *where* lette fette = caused to be fetched, lette lede = caused to be led;—let hiȝe (*see* Hiȝe), 698. *See* Leten, Will. of P.
- Leue, *v.* to believe, 646. *See* Leeue.
- Leuen, *pr. pl.* leave, 709; *pt. s.* lafte, left, 707; *pp.* laft, 540.
- Leyk, *sb.* play, game, 17. Sw. *lek*.
- Leyser, *sb.* leisure, 164. Ch.
- Lide, *sb.* lid, 41, 257. A.S. *hlid*.
- Liggest, 2 *p. s. pr.* liest, 278; *pt. s.* lai, 176;—lay, 266; *pl.* leizen, 418. Ch.
- Lilte, *v.* to alight, 81; *pr. s.* lihtes, 584; *pt. s.* lihte, alighted, 116, 145. A.S. *lihtan*.
- Lilhten, *pr. pl.* kindle, 191.
- Lilhtned, *pp.* relieved, 644.

- Liked, *pt. s. impers.* it pleased (with *hem* understood); luyte liked his leyk, his game pleased them little, 17. Will. of P.
- Limes, *sb. pl.* limbs, 151. Ch.
- Limpe, *v.* to happen, turn out, 213; *pr. s. subj.* lympe [MS. *lyme*], may happen, 370. A.S. *limpan*; see *Lympe*, All. P.
- Liuraunce, *sb.* free provision, 163. From Low Lat. *liberare*, to give, bestow.
- Liure, *v.* to deliver, 707. Halliwell.
- Lokynde, *pres. part.* looking, 278.
- Loueliche, *adv.* gladly, 281; kindly, 305. A.S. *lufelice*, lovingly, willingly, gladly; Bosworth.
- Louses, *pr. s.* looses, sets free, causes to flow (with a preceding *þat* understood), 273; *pt. s.* lousede, let go, 599; *imp. s.* louse, loose thou, open, 49.
- Lufte, *sb.* air, sky, 385. Lazamon.
- Lust, *pr. s. impers.* it pleases, 41.
- Lustnynge, *sb.* listening, attention, 164.
- Luttulde, *pt. s.* became small, diminished, lessened, 145.
- Luyte, *adv.* little, in a small degree, 17;—luite, 148;—much ne luyte, much nor little, 481.
- Luyte, *adj.* little, 554; *pl.* few, 506;—luytel, 39, 644.
- Lympe. See Limpe.
- Lynde, *sb.* the linden or lime tree, 585. A.S. *lind*, *linde*. Cf. Chaucer, Rom. Rose, 1385; Clerkes Tale, Lenvoye, 35; and P. Plowman, B. i. 154.
- Lyue, *sb.* life; on lyue = in life, alive, 707.
46. O.F. *manace*, Lat. *minatio*. See Melen.
- Maumetes, *sb. pl.* idols, 102, 373. Ch.
- Maystrie, *sb.* mastery, might, 398. Ch.
- Medlen, *v.* to mingle, 507; *stoures to medlen* means "battles to be engaged in." See Struien.
- Meeten, *pr. pl.* meet, 508.
- Melen, *pr. pl.* speak; melen of manas = speak in a threatening manner, 46; 2 *p. s.* melest, 106; *pt. pl.* meleden, 130. Will. of P.
- Mene, 2 *p. pl. pr.* ye say, speak, 379; *pr. s.* menes, speaks, 403. A.S. *mænan*. All. P.
- Mensked, *pp.* worshipped, honoured, 146. All. P. and Will. of P.
- Messenger, *sb.* messenger, 324, 403. Ch.
- Mette, *pt. s.* dreamed, 442. Ch.
- Mightful, *adj.* mighty, 508.
- Mooder, *sb.* mother, 98.
- Morwe, *sb.* morning, 26, 473. Ch.
- Moste, *adj. superl.* most, i. e. greatest, 375.
- Mot, *pr. s.* must, shall, 701; *pl.* mote, 166; moten, 603; 2 *p. s.* most, 230.
- Mowe, *pr. pl.* may, 602; *pt. pl.* mouzten, might, 23.
- Murili, *adv.* lit. merrily; hence, happily, joyfully, 255, 661.
- Myle, *sb. pl.* miles, 417, 418.
- Nare (*put for* ne are), are not, 338, 342.
- Nas (*for* ne was), was not, 126, 146, 593.
- Ne, *conj.* nor, 593.
- Nedde (*for* ne hedde), had not, 118; *pl.* nedden, 247. Cf. Hedde.
- Nede, *adv.* of necessity, 230. (We generally find the form *nedes*.)
- Mallen, *pr. pl.* beat, 508. Cf. Lat. *malleus*, E. *mallet*.
- Manas, *sb.* a threat, threatening,

- Neodes, *pr. s. impers.* is needful (for thee), 163.
- Newed, *pp.* renewed, 588.
- Nis, is not; nis not (= ne is not, a double negative), 66; nis (*singly*), 449.
- Nizt, (*used as a pl.*) nights, 6.
- Nome, *sb.* name, 10, 78, 156, 684, 694.
- Nomelich, *adv.* namely, 670.
- Nomen, *pp.* taken, 405. Ch.
- No-skunus (*for* nos kunus = nunes kunnes), of no kind; for nos-kunus þinge = for a thing of no kind, i. e. on no account, 219. See the note.
- Not (*for* ne wot), know not, 467. Cf. Nuste and Wite.
- Note, *v.* to use, make good use of, 588. A.S. *notian*. "Notun or vsyn. Utor." Prompt. Parv.
- Nouþer, *adv.* not where, not whither; nouþer þei nusten, (not) whither they knew not, 702.
- Nouwe, *adv.* now, 1;—nou, 29.
- Nouzt, *sb.* nothing, i. e. of no value, of no avail, 379.
- Nouzwhere, *adv.* nowhere, 328, 357.
- Nul (*for* ne wol), I will not, 249.
- Nuste (*for* ne wuste), *pt. pl.* knew not, 129, 199, 608;—nusten, 702. See Wuste.
- O, one, one and the same, 146, 182;—on, 200.
- Of, *prep.* away from, out of, 385; *with a partitive sense*, some of, 404; for, 561.
- Of-fouȝten, *pp.* wearied out with fighting, 552. Cf. For-fouȝten.
- Of-scuteder, *pp.* frightened out of one's wits, 71. Cf. E. *shudder*, G. *schaudern*; we have, in this poem, *fert* for *ferd*, *wyut* for *wynd*, and *bert* for *berd*; so here, *of-scuteder* seems to be for *of-schudered*. But there seems to be no other instance of the word.
- On, *adj.* one, 178; þat on = the one, 183, 261;—on = one and the same, 200;—on þe hizeste þing, a thing which is the most mysterious, 254.
- On, *prep.*; stremynge on = streaming with, 560.
- Onswere, *v.* to answer, 377; *pr. s.* onswers, 393, 467; *pt. s.* onswerde, 674.
- Or, your, 65. So in P. Pl. A.
- Oþer, *conj.* or, 201.
- Oþer, *adj.* second; þat oþer = the second, 262;—þe oþur, 271;—þat oþer = the other, 396.
- Ou. See Ow.
- Ouer-charged, *pp.* oppressed, 552.
- Oune, *adj.* own; on or oune = in our own (land), i. e. while it is still ours; or in our own (way); or perhaps, on behalf of our own, or alone, 495. The precise meaning seems uncertain.
- Oure, your, 245, 373, 493. So in P. Pl. A.
- Out, *sb.* aught, any whit, anything, 171, 369, 651; at all, in any way, 370;—ouȝt, 488.
- Ouþer, *adj.* either, 184.
- Out-wip, *adv.* without, on the outer side, outwardly, 186. Cf. Jamieson's Sc. Diet.
- Ouȝt, *sb.* aught, 488. See Out.
- Ouȝte, *pt. s.* possessed, 36, 425;—auȝte, 434; 2 *p.* euele ouȝtest, ill oughtest, i. e. oughtest not (to have done), 486. See Out, Will. of P.
- Ow, you, *acc. of* 3e, 67, 250; *dat.* ou, 73, 460; *acc.* ou, 461. So in P. Pl. A.
- Oygnemens, *sb. pl.* ointments, 303.

- Pallede, *pt. s.* he thrust down, knocked over, 499. P. Pl. B. xvi. 30, 51.
- Parti, *sb.* a part, 45. Ch.
- Payet, *pp.* pleased, satisfied, appeased, 350. Ch.
- Pertly, *adv.* openly, clearly, 141. Will. of P.
- Pleye him, *v. reflex.* to amuse himself, 458.
- Pol-hache, *sb.* pole-axe, 499. Cf. Hache.
- Pors, *sb.* lit. a purse; a bag in which offerings for the idols were kept, 387.
- Prest, *adv.* quickly, 459. Cf. *Prestly*, Will. of P.
- Prene, *v.* to prove, experience, 389; *pt. s.* preuede, proved, tested the strength of, 500. Ch.
- Prikynge, *pres. part.* pricking, spurring, 459. Will. of P.
- Proues, *imp. pl.* essay ye, test ye, 373. Cf. Preue.
- Put, *sb.* pit, underground prison, 4, 221. A.S. *pytt*.
- Rad, *adv.* quickly, 565;—radly, 629. Cf. *redeli* in l. 630. See *Redeli*, Will. of P.
- Radde, *pt. s.* read, 643.
- Red, *sb.* counsel, 63, 491. A.S. *radl*.
- Redi, *adj.* ready, convenient, 444.
- Renne, *v.* to run, flow, 274. Ch.
- Reowen, *pr. pl. subj.* they may rue, 491. Ch.
- Res, *sb.* attack, 491. A.S. *rese*, *res*, violence, attack.
- Reson, *sb.* story, relation, matter, 76; reason, 138.
- Rewes, *pr. s.* pities, 154; *pr. pl. subj.* reowen, may rue, 491.
- Riche, *sb.* kingdom, 307. Will. of P.
- Rihtes, *pr. s.* arrays, sets in right order, 451, 490.
- Rikenen, *v.* to rehearse, 76; 2 *p. s. pr.* rikenest, relatest, 138; *pt. s.* rikenede, rehearsed, said over (the Creed), 629.
- Rikenyng, *sb.* explanation, 444.
- Roche, *sb.* a rock, 522, 604. Ch.
- Roises, *pr. s.* raises, 234. (Probably miswritten for *reises*.)
- Ronkes, *sb. pl.* ranks, rows, 599.
- Roode, *sb.* the cross, 258, 269. Ch.
- Roume, *sb.* space, leisure (lit. room), 444. Ch.
- Roumede, *pt. s.* made roomy, made void, 597.
- Roungede, *pt. s.* champed, gnashed with his teeth, 361. Fr. *ronger*, to gnaw. "*Ronge*, to bite, gnaw. *West*." Halliwell.
- Sacren, *v.* to consecrate, 302; *pt. s.* sacrede, 300.
- Sadl, *adj.* settled, firmly fixed, 258. Will. of P.
- Same, *adv.* together, 120. Will. of P.
- Sarrest, *adj.* sorest, 620.
- Sauh. See Seo.
- Saur, *sb.* a savour, scent, 658.
- Sawes, *sb. pl.* sayings, predictions, 618. Ch.
- Say3. See Seo.
- Scapet, *pp.* scathed, injured, 61.
- Schaft, *sb.* shaft (of a weapon), 510.
- Schal, *pr. s.* (who) shall, 82; 2 *p. schaltou* (for schalt pou), 104; *pl. schul*, mu t they, 45; 1 *p. s. pt. scholde*, i. e. can, 83; *pt. s. scholde*, 107; = would, might, 637; = must, 463; 2 *p. scholdest*, 641.
- Schalkene, *gen. pl.* of men. of warriors, 510. A.S. *sealc*. All. P.

- Scharpe, *adj. pl. used as a sb.*, sharp things, i. e. swords or weapons, 513.
- Scheld, *sb.* shield, 445, 559, 680 ; *pl.* scheldes, 508, 516. Ch.
- Schendschupe, *sb.* disgrace, 496. Ch.
- Schene, *adj. or adv.* bright or brightly, 510.
- Schenz, *imp. s.* shew, 587.
- Schindringe, *sb.* a cutting, hacking, 513; schindringe of scharpe = the cutting of sharp (swords). Cf. G. *schinderei*, a flaying; G. and D. *schinden*, to flay.
- Schon, *sb. pl.* shoon, shoes, 423. Ch.
- Schon, *pt. s.* shone, gleamed, 510. Ch.
- Schone, *v.* to shun, draw aside, refuse battle, 496.
- Seche, *v.* to seek, 15; to go, make (his) way, 523; henne seche = depart hence, 655. Will. of P.
- Seemedede, *pt. s. (impers.)* was seemly, was fitting, 115;—seemed, suited, became, 564; (*pers.*) semede, appeared, 183.
- Sege, *sb.* a seat, 292. F. *siège*.
- Seih, Seiz, Seizen. See Seo.
- Seize, *v.* to say, 142, 631;—seyn, 70;—sei, 157;—seie, 161;—seye, 199;—sigge, 200; 1 *p. s. pr.* seize, 309; 2 *p.* seist, 120;—siggest, 352; 3 *p.* seis, 105;—seih, 419;—sigges, 209; *pr. pl.* seizen, 3;—sein, 318; *pt. s.* scide, 21; 2 *p.* seidest, 224, 435.
- Selk-werk, *sb.* silk-work, embroidery of silk, 427.
- Selli, *adv.* wonderfully, very, excessively, 94. A.S. *sellíce*. All. P.
- Selue, *adj. pl.* same, very, 303.
- Semblaunt, *sb.* semblance, appearance, 65. Ch.
- Semely, *adv.* in a fitting manner, soberly, 636.
- Sence, *sb.* incense, 290.
- Sencers, *sb. pl.* censers, 289.
- Sende, *pt. s.* sent, 77, 483; has sent, 460 (unless we should read *sendes*; but cf. 590).
- Seo, *v.* to see, 167, 192, 352;—1-seo, 498; 1 *p. s. pr.* seo, 138; *pr. s.* seos, 258; *pt. s.* seiz, 58, 112;—seih, 181;—say, 274;—say3, 152;—seze, 200;—sauh, 269; *pl.* seizen, 15, 90;—sezen, 282.
- Seruede, *pt. s.* deserved, 482; *pp.* serued, served, 526.
- Serwe, *sb.* sorrow, 705.
- Seten, *pt. pl.* sat, 432.
- Seue, seven, 95, 574;—seuene, 541.
- Seuepe, seventh, 577.
- Seyne, *sb.* sign, token, 197. A.S. *segen*, a sign; Dut. *sein*, a signal.
- Sigge, Siggest. See Seize.
- Signede, *pt. s.* signified, 185.
- Signefies, *pr. s.* means, 349;—signefyes, 627.
- Siker, *adj.* lit. sure; hence, safe and sound, 475; sure, secure, 605. Will. of P.
- Siker, *adv.* verily, 705;—syker, 664.
- Sikerli, *adv.* verily, assuredly, 541, 654;—sikerliche, 574.
- Sikernesne, *sb.* security, 623. Ch.
- Sipen, *adv.* since, 4; afterwards, 9, 12, 224, 568, 708.
- Sitte, *v.* to suit, agree, 120; to prosper, 224 (we now use *stand* in this sense).
- Skil, *sb.* reason, matter, 71. Ch.
- Slauht, *sb.* slaughter, death, 266. A.S. *slæge*, Mæso-Goth. *slauhts*.
- Sle, *v.* to slay, 94, 364; 2 *p. s.* *pt.* slou3, slewest, 433; *pt. pl.* slowen, slew, 605; *pp.* I-slawe, 96;—slayen, 541. In l. 517 *slen* = they slay; but it is not clear

- whether *scheldes* or *pei* (understood) is the nominative.
- Sonde, *sb.* message, 470; hence, appointment, ordinance, 323. Ch.
- Sonenday, *sb.* Sunday, 1.
- Sore, *sb.* trouble, 449. Will. of P.
- Sore, *adv.* sorely, 487, 542. Will. of P.
- Sope, *sb.* truth, 523. See Fer-sope.
- Soult, *pt. s.* sought; soult vp = rose up, sprang up, 181;—souzte, went, 634; 2 *p.* souztes, wentest, madest thy way, 431; 1 *p. pl.* souhten, we went, 636; 3 *pl.* souzten, made their way, advanced, 594. See Seche; and cf. Gloss. to Will. of Palerne.
- Sound[e], *sb.* preservation, assistance giving security, safety, 675. O. Fries. *sonde*, *sunde*, G. *gesundheit*, soundness, preservation.
- Souwe, *v.* to sew, 427.
- Space, *sb.* opportunity (lit. space), 580.
- Spedes hem, *pr. s.* avails them, 148; *pp.* sped, despatched, i. e. baptized, 9.
- Spedli, *adv.* speedily, 580. Will. of P.
- Spekes, *pr. s.* speaks, 38; 2 *p. s. pt.* speke, 218; *pt. s.* speek, 343, 346; *imp. s.* spek, 401.
- Spice, *sb.* species, kind, 193. Ch.
- Sporn, *sb.* lit. a spurning, kick; but used to mean a tumble, fall, 581. The French text shews that Scraphé's fall was "his own," because he swooned away, and by falling escaped the knife aimed at him. See note to l. 575.
- Spreynden, *pt. pl.* they sprinkled, 314. Ch.
- Sprong, *pt. s.* sprang, leapt about, grew excited, 343.
- Spute, *v.* to dispute, 148. Halliwell.
- Sputison, *sb.* disputation, 343.
- Stad, *pp.* placed, stationed, 397.
- Starf, *pt. s.* died; apparently, starf aftur þe deþ = afterwards died the death, 514. A.S. *steorfan*, G. *sterben*. Ch.
- Starte, *pt. s.* started, 544.
- Stiken, *pp.* stuck, pierced, 273.
- Stiward, *sb.* steward, 518, 601.
- Stoffes, *pr. s.* lit. stuffs; hence, draws together, rallies into a mass, 601.
- Stor, *sb.* store, 456.
- Stounde, *sb.* time, 644. Ch.
- Stour, *sb.* battle, conflict, 518, 548; *pl.* stoures, 507. Ch.
- Streizten, *pt. pl.* lit. stretched; awei streizten = went straight away or went away at full stretch, 456; *pp.* streiht, stretched, 519;—straucht, 560; *pt. s.* streizte to = stretched out (his hand) to, 544. Will. of P.
- Strok, *pt. s.* struck, 567; *pp.* striken, 519, 578, 679.
- Struien, *v.* to destroy, 507; to *struien* is the gerund, and means to be destroyed; cf. our phrase, "he is to blame," which follows the A.S. idiom. Ch.
- Stude, *sb.* place, 576; *pl.* studes, 634.
- Studefast, *adj.* steadfast, 220.
- Sturede, *pt. s.* stirred, 567.
- Sturten, *pt. pl.* started, 363. Cf. Starte.
- Summe, *pl. adj.* some (?), 30; to some, 349. In both passages, the construction is obscure.
- Sunnes, *sb. pl.* sins, 223.
- Suwen on him, *pr. pl.* follow him, 668. Ch.
- Swelten, *v.* to die, 377. Ch.
- Swengeden, *pt. pl.* swung, i. e. rushed, dashed, 529. A.S. *swingan*,

- to swing, dash. All. P. *See* Swyngede.
- Sweuene, *sb.* a dream, 441. Ch.
- Swipe, *adv.* quickly, soon, 27, 161, 451, 571; excessively, 235. Will. of P.
- Swoune, *sb.* swoon, 583; where we should perhaps read *a swoone* = in a swoon: at any rate, *a, in, or on* must be understood.
- Swounynge, *sb.* a swooning, swoon, 543.
- Swou3ninge, *pres. part.* swooning, 513.
- Swyngede, *pt. s.* dashed, rushed, 576. *See* Swengeden.
- Syker, *adv.* truly, verily, 664. *See* Sikerli.
- Teeme, *sb.* theme, 149. P. Pl. B. iii. 95.
- Teis, *sb. pl.* ties, fastenings, cords, 504. It seems to imply that there was some kind of cord or string bound round his hands so as to secure the axe from slipping. It is spelt *tezen* in *Lazamon*, ii. 457; "teien heom to-gadere mid guldene *tezen*," tie them together with golden ties.
- Teiz, *pt. s.* drew, i. e. went, 57; —tei, strained, tugged, exerted himself, 149; —townen, pulled, dragged, 374. A.S. *teón*, to pull, draw. We find in *Lazamon* the infin. *teon* (to go, come, approach, follow, descend, return, turn, draw) with *pt. s.* *teih*, and *pt. pl.* *tawen*. In the 2nd edition of All. P. *tawen* is rightly explained *drawn*. Cf. mod. Eng. *tow, tug*.
- pat, that which, 129, 190, 200, 210; —*pat pat*, that which, 138.
- þau3, *conj.* though, 46; —*þeiz*, 125.
- þen, *conj.* than, 592, 596.
- þenkes, *imp. pl.* 2 *p.* think ye; —*þenkes on* = think of, call to mind, 493. To *think on* = *remember* is a common expression, to my own knowledge, in Shropshire.
- þenne, *adv.* thence, away from that place, 25, 368; fro þenne, from thence, 418.
- þer, *adv.* where, 13, 58, 599; —þere, 20; þer as = there where, 17.
- þester, *adj.* dark, 160. In l. 235, þester bi-gon = it began to be dark; but it is uncertain whether þester is here an adj. or a vb. It occurs in *Lazamon* and the *Ormulum*.
- þhou3te, *pt. s.* it seemed (a wonder to them), 606; —þou3te, 677, 687; *pr. s.* þinkeþ, it seems (to me), 6.
- þinkeþ. *See* above.
- þise, *pl. pron.* these, 21, 337; —þis, 29, 419; —þis oþere, these others, 686.
- þo, those, they, 60.
- þonderde, *pt. s.* it thundered, 235.
- þonke, 1 *p. s. pr.* I thank, 5; *pr. pl.* þonken, 471.
- þorw3, *prep.* through, 97, 104.
- þou3te. *See* þhou3te.
- þou3tes, *sb. pl.* anxieties, 177. Cf. Mat. vi. 25 (A. V.).
- þreo, *num.* three, 6, 140, 150, 177, 194; —þreo maner, three kinds of, 194.
- þridde, *adj.* third, 180, 263. Ch.
- þroly, *adv.* eagerly, impetuously, 91. Will. of P. and P. Pl. A. ix. 107.
- þrowe, *sb.* time, period, 6. Ch.
- þurleden, *pt. pl.* thrilled through, pierced, 509. Ch.
- Tides, *pr. s.* betides, 372; —tydes, 617. *See* Tyden.
- Titli, *adv.* quickly, 575. Will. of P.
- To-barst, *pt. s.* burst asunder, was

- broken to pieces, 384; *pt. pl.* toborsten, *act.* brake in twain, 509.
- To-clouen, *pp.* cloven in twain, 516.
- To-hurles, *pr. s.* hurls or dashes in twain, 533.
- Toke, 2 *p. s. pt.* didst take, 438; *pt. pl.* token, 456.
- Tornen, *v. act.* to convert, turn (to the right faith), 23;—turne, 59;—torne, 229; 1 *p. s. pr.* turne, 215; *pt. s. neut.* tornede, became a convert, 179; *pt. pl.* torneden, 304;—tornede, turned round, 454; *pt. s. transit.* tornde, changed, 684; *pp.* I-tornd, converted, 216.
- Towen. See Teiz.
- Trayed, *pp.* betrayed, 102.
- Trayse, *v.* to betray, deceive, 624. Ch.
- Treos, *sb. pl.* trees, 191.
- Trouwe, *imp. s.* trow thou, believe, 184; 1 *p. s. pr.* trouwe, 216; 2 *p.* trouwest, believest, 372;—trouwestou (*for* trouwest þou), 617.
- Tulten, *pt. pl.* tilted over, fell, 100. See *Tylte*, All. P.
- Twayles, *sb. pl.* towels, napkins, 285. See *Traile* in Halliwell.
- Twei, two, 708. Cf. Tweyne.
- Tweyne, twain, two, 670. A.S. *twegen*.
- Twies, *adv.* twice, 136, 520.
- Tyden, *v.* to betide, happen, fall out, 392; *pr. s.* tides, befalls, 372;—tydes, 617.
- Tymely, *adv.* early, betimes, 415.
- Veche, *adj.* each, 256;—vche a, 613.
- Vehon, each one, 339.
- Verrei, *adj.* very, true, 341.
- Verreyliche, *adv.* verily, 351;—verreili, 443.
- Vestimens, *sb. pl.* vestments, 294, 301.
- Vigore, *sb.* figure, viz. the cross on the shield, 448. See note.
- Viole, *sb.* a vial, phial, 290.
- Vmbe, *adv.* about, all round, 394, 658. [Possibly *vmbe-mong* is one word, but I know of no instance of it elsewhere.] A.S. *ymbe*, around.
- Vn-castes, *pr. s.* casts or throws open, undoes, 477.
- Vnconpes, *sb. pl.* wonders, unfamiliar events, 187.
- Vndo, *v.* to explain, 141.
- Vn-housed, *pt. pl.* dismantled, 455.
- Vn-huled, *pp.* uncovered, 515. Cf. P. Pl. B. xiv. 252 (foot-note).
- Vn-keuered, *pt. s.* uncovered, 559.
- Vn-kuynde, *adj. pl.* unnatural, without natural love, 242.
- Vnnepe, *adv.* scarcely; vnnepe seucne = seven at most, 540. Ch.
- Vnsault, *pp.* unreconciled, unappeased, very angry, 64; at strife, 433. Lázamon.
- Vnsely, *adj.* unhappy, miserable, 704; cf. l. 705. Lázamon. Ch.
- Vp-haunset, *pp.* raised up, lifted up, 515. See Haunsen.
- Vr, our, 143;—vre, 32, 164, 245. So in P. Pl. A.
- Vsede, *pt. s.* used; vsede of = made use of, 660.
- Vuel, *sb.* evil, sore disease, 633;—euel, 644.
- War, *adj.* aware, 530. Ch.
- Warpes, *pr. s.* turns over, lifts up, 257. All. P.
- Was, *put for* who was, 19, 38.
- Wasscheles, *sb. pl.* pots for holy water, 288. See note.
- Wawes, *pr. s.* wags, moves, removes, 52. A.S. *wágian*.

- Wel, *adv.* well; so wel weore
pei = they were so fortunate, 33;
 —wel aboute = just about, 165;
 —wel a two hundred, i. e. about
 two hundred, 521; —wel of vr-self,
 pleased with ourselves, happy, 659.
- Welde, *pt. s.* wielded, managed,
 drove about, 600.
- Wem, *sb.* spot, stain, 86, 180.
 Ch.
- Wemmet, *pp.* injured, 542; —
 wemmed, 678. See Wem.
- Wende, *v.* to go; *pr. pl.* wenden,
 they wend, go, 29, 313; 2 *p. s. pr.*
 wendes, goest, 420; *pr. s.* wendes,
 53, 237; —wendes, 546; *pt. pl.* went-
 en, 191. In l. 211 *wende* may be *pt.*
s. = went, entered; or it may be
 an error for *wonede*, dwelt, as
 suggested by comparison with l.
 180; yet see *won* in l. 333. See
 Won.
- Weore, *pr. s. subj.* he were, 122,
 652; 2 *p. s. pr. indie.* (= wast), 428,
 430, 437; 2 *p. s. pr. subj.* were,
 428; *pr. pl.* weore, 25, 33.
- Wendes, *sb. pl.* destinies, fates,
 prophetic writings, 317. See
Wyrde in All. P. [But possibly
 it is a mere error for *wordes* =
 words.]
- Werret, *pp.* warred, 60.
- Whappede, *pt. s.* lapped, wrapped;
 whappede us vmbc = enclosed us
 round, 658. "Lappyn or whappyn
 yn elopys, happyn to-gedyr, wrap
 to-geder in clothes. *Involveo.*"
 Prompt, Parv.
- Whon, *adv.* when, 25, 31, 622.
- Whucche, *sb.* a hutch, ark, large
 wooden box, 39, 237; —wucche,
 267, 281. "Hutche or whyche . . .
Cista, archa." Prompt, Parv. See
 Way's note. A.S. *hucce*.
- Whucche, *rel. pron.* which, 270,
 608.
- Wiht, *sb.* wight, man, person,
 196, 197. See the note.
- Wihtli, *adv.* quickly, nimbly, 461.
- Wisse, *v.* to shew, point out,
 make known, 32. Will. of P.
- Wite, *v.* to know, 443; 2 *p. s.*
pr. wostou (wost pou), knowest
 thou, 420; *pr. s. subj.* may know,
 465; *imp. s.* wite, 86; *pt. s.* wuste,
 58, 677. Ch. See Wustest.
- Witered, *pp.* informed, 466. All.
 P.
- Witerli, *adv.* openly, plainly,
 confessedly, 154. Dan. *vitterlig*,
 publicly known. Ch.
- Wip-uten, *adv.* on the outside,
 316.
- Wip-saken, *pp.* withstood, con-
 tradicted, 178. See Lagamon, v.
 ii. p. 118.
- Wode-egge, *sb.* wood-edge, edge
 of a forest, 475.
- Wol, 1 *p. s. pr.* will, 621; —
 wole, 624; 1 *p. s. pt.* wolde, 640;
pt. s. he desired, 115; 2 *p. pl.* wolde
 3e, if ye would, 67.
- Woldestou (*for* woldest pou), if
 thou wouldst, 640.
- Woltou (*for* wolt thou), 646.
- Won, *pt. s.* (from infin. *winne*),
 went, entered, 333. Cf. the Scotch
 use of *to win*. See P. Pl. B. iv.
 67.
- Wonde, *v.* to hesitate from fear,
 hesitate to speak, 399. Will. of P.
- Wondet, *pp.* wounded, 542; —
 woundet, 555.
- Wonen, *v.* to dwell, 180; *pt. s.*
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 Ch.
- Wonges, *sb. pl.* cheeks, 647. A.S.
wang, wong, cheek, jaw.
- Wood, *adj.* mad, 367. Ch.
- Worche, *v.* to work, 49. See
 Wrougt.
- Worpe, *pr. s. subj.* may (he) be, 146.
- Wost, 2 *p. s. pr.* wottest, knowest,
 330.
- Wostou, (*for* wost pou), wottest
 thou, knowest thou, 420.

- Woxen, 2 *p. pl. pt.* did grow, became, 433; *pt. pl.* grew, 452.
- Wrouzt, *pp.* constructed, 204; worked, toiled, 554; *pt. pl.* wrouzten, wrought, did; his red wronzten = wrought his counsel, acted by his advice, 491. *See* Worche.
- Wustest, 2 *p. s. pt.* didst protect, 221 (see note); *pt. s.* wuste, knew, 58, 677. *See* Witen.
- Wynt, *sb.* a wind, breeze, 658.
- 3af, *pt. s.* gave, 439.
- 3e, yea (used where mere *assent* is implied), 170, 621.
- 3eme, *v.* to take care of, 309; 2 *p. s. pr.* 3emes, 310. Ch.
- 3ernloker, *adv.* more eagerly, 593. Both the positive *3eornliche* and the comp. *3eornelaker* occur in the *Ancren Riwele*, pp. 98, 234.
- 3if, *conj.* if, 329, 484.
- 3itte, *adv.* yet, 63; still, 334.
- 3ong, *adj.* young, 437, 479, 593.
- 3onge, *v.* to gang, to go, 34; *pr. pl.* 3ongen, 313, 394.
- 3or, your, 673.
- 3ore, *in phr.* of 3ore, formerly, 317. A.S. *geara*.
- 3usterday, yesterday, 330.

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GLOSSARY TO THE PROSE "LYFE OF JOSEPH,"

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[The reference 27/20 means p. 27, l. 20.]

- ADVOCATES, *sb. pl.* defenders, supporters, 27/20.
 Aferde, *adj.* afraid, 30/7.
 Affrayed, *pp.* frightened, afraid, 29/31.
 Agaynst, *prep.* in an opposite direction to; agaynst hym = to meet him, 29/19.
 Applied, *pt. pl. in phr.* applied vuto londe = landed, 31/22. The Latin text has *applicuerunt*.
 Assumpte, *pp.* taken up, 30/34.
 Become, *in phr.* was become = had gone to, 28/21.
 Cast, 2 *p. pl. pr.* consider, 28/1. *See* Kest.
 Closed, *pt. pl.* enclosed, 28/4.
 Comynalte, *sb.* community, 28/20.
 Condygne, *adj.* condign, 32/14.
 Consecrate, *pp.* consecrated, 31/11.
 Consequently, *adv.* afterwards, 31/5.
 Dure, *v.* to last, 31/21.
 Dydayned, *pt. s.* disdained, 29/34.
 Effecte, *sb.* meaning, 28/27; 29/11.
 For by cause, for the reason that, 30/11; 31/34.
 Fynably, *adv.* finally, 28/18.
 Gaderyd, *pt. pl.* gathered, 28/11.
 Heedes, *sb. pl.* chief men, 28/24.
 Hole, *adj.* whole, 30/24.
 Hystoryal, *adj.* history-writing, 27/7.
 In-fere, *adv.* together, 28/14.
 Inioyed, *pt. pl.* rejoiced, 28/20.
 Instruete, *pp.* instructed, 30/28.
 Interyd, *pt. s.* interred, 27/14; *pp.* 28/10.
 Kest, *pt. pl.* contrived, imagined, devised, 27/17. *See* Cast.
 Knowlege, 1 *p. pl. pr.* acknowledge, 28/32.
 Lettest bury = didst cause to be buried, 29/28; letest be buried, 30/11.
 Louers, *sb. pl.* friends, 27/19.
 Lyuynges, *sb.* victuals, 31/34.
 Overlooked, *pp.* read over, 29/11. Cf. *Ouer-se* in the Verse "Lyfe."

Parfyte, <i>adj.</i> perfect, 27/15.	Somdele, <i>adv.</i> in some measure, partly, 30/12.
Partyes, that = those parts, those regions, 32/1.	Sudarye, <i>sb.</i> napkin, 30/16. Lat. <i>sudarium</i> .
Perysshed, <i>pp.</i> pierced, 31/28. See Verse "Lyfe," l. 13, and the note.	Synguler, <i>adj.</i> special, 29/3.
Pretoryc, <i>sb.</i> pratorium, 27/3.	Thantyquytes, <i>put for</i> the antyquytes, 27/7.
Probate, <i>adj.</i> certified, certain, approved, 27/6.	Thonourable, <i>put for</i> the honourable, 27/8.
Promytte, <i>v.</i> to promise, 32/8.	Thynstaunce, <i>put for</i> the ynstaunce, i. e. the instance, 31/19.
Rehersall, <i>sb.</i> recital, 27/22.	Vngoodly, <i>adv.</i> badly, 28/8.
Resaluted, <i>pt. s.</i> saluted in return, 29/21.	Voyde, <i>v.</i> to go away, depart, 32/12.
Salued, <i>pt. pl.</i> saluted, 29/8.	

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GLOSSARIAL INDEX TO THE VERSE

“LYFE OF JOSEPH.”

AGAYNE, *prep.* against, 160.

Armony, *sb.* harmony, 403.

Assumpeyon, *sb.* Assumption (of the Virgin Mary into heaven), 208. This festival is observed by both the Romish and Greek churches on Aug. 15. The legend is found in Gregory of Tours, *De Glorin Martyrum*. The Virgin is said to have been taken up into heaven, Aug. 15, A.D. 45, in her seventy-fifth year. The festival was first instituted in the 7th century, and enjoined by the Council of Mentz, A.D. 813.

Balynger, *sb.* a sailing vessel, 425.

Ducange suggests the derivation *balæna*, a whale, on the supposition that it was a “whaler.” On the other hand, the Span. *ballenér* is said to mean a vessel *shaped like* a whale.

Becom, 2 *p. s. pr. subj.* mayst go to, 76.

Benome, *pp.* numbed, benumbed, 307. A.S. *niman*, to take away.

Blyfe, *adv.* quickly, soon, 191. Usually spelt *belire*; from A.S. *bi*, by, and *life*, dative case of *lif*, life.

Bore, *pp.* borne, carried, 333.

Burge, *v.* to burgeon, bud, 386. See *Burgeon* in Wedgwood.

Buryed, 2 *p. s. pr.* didst bury, 67.

Charged, *pp.* loaded, 425.

Chauntres, *sb.* chantress, 389.

Conuayed, *pt. s.* took (him) away, removed, 88.

Couerture, *sb.* covering, 72.

Cruettes, *sb. pl.* cruets, 32.

Darked, *pt. s.* grew dark, 108.

Dentyous, *adj.* dainty, choice, valuable, 427.

Deuer, *sb.* duty, best endeavour, 154. It occurs in *P. Plowman*.

Dregges, *sb. pl.* drugs, 443.

Done, *pp.* put, placed, 218.

Dowt, *v.* to fear, 190.

Earme (?) *sb.* arm, 419. [But surely *thyn earne* is Pynson's misprint for *thyne arme*.]

Eglantyne, *sb.* eglantine, 434.

Eneled, *pp.* anointed with holy oil, 275. O.Fr. *enhuyller*. See Prompt. Parv. s. v. *Anelyd*.

Eusence, *v.* instruct, inform, make to understand, 363. See *Inseuse* in Halliwell.

Entende, *v.* to intend, 351.

Entente, *sb.* intent, 37.

Fendes, *sb. pl.* fiends, 413.

- Floryssheth, *pr. s.* causes to flourish, 399.
- Fortuned, *pt. pl.* came by chance, 133.
- Fransy, *sb.* madness, 252 ;—
frenzy, 445.
- Habytakyll, *sb.* shrine, 243.
- Halowed, *pt. s.* consecrated, 371 ;
pp. 376.
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- Hele, *sb.* health, 294.
- Henge, *pt. s.* hung, 222. *See* Hyng.
- Holde, *inpr. s.* take hold of, 72.
- Hole, *adj.* whole, hale, 280.
- Hoseled, *pp.* supplied with the holy sacrament of the eucharist, 275. A.S. *húsel*, the eucharist.
- Hony-combe, *sb.* honey comb, i. e. our Saviour, 417.
- Hye me, *v.* make haste, 158.
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- laundes, *sb.* jaundice, 447.
- Infect, *pp.* infected, 330.
- Iubylacyon, *sb.* joy, 403.
- Iwys, *adv.* certainly, 39.
- Kay, *sb.* key, 53.
- Layd, 2 *p. s. pr.* didst lay, 421.
- Layes, *sb. pl.* beliefs (lit. laws), 197.
- Lepry, *sb.* leprosy, 46.
- Louers, *sb. pl.* friends, 95.
- Lyghtly, *adv.* readily, soon, 141.
- Lyued, *pt. s.* believed, 197.
Generally spelt *leue*, but the spelling *lyue* occurs in P. Plowman.
- Mene, *v.* move, 323.
- Megrymes, *sb. pl.* the megrims, 348. *See* *Megrim* in Wedgwood.
- Mo, *adj.* more, 196.
- Myddes, *in, in* the midst, 304.
- Ouerse, *v.* to read over, 93.
- Parde = Fr. *par Dieu*, 372.
- Parenteyle, *sb.* order, society (*or perhaps* the abode of a society), 402. Cf. Low Lat. *parentela*, a society, order; F. *parentele*, kindred.
- Perysshed, *pp.* pierced, 13. *See* p. 31, l. 28.
- Pockes, *sb. pl.* pocks, pox, 330. A.S. *poc*, a pustule.
- Pocyon, *sb.* potion, 443.
- Prest, *adj.* ready, 147. O.Fr. *prest*.
- Processe, *sb.* record, narrative, 366.
- Purpyls, *sb. pl.* purples, i. e. spots a livid red, which appear on the body in certain malignant diseases, 347.
- Pyght, *pp.* placed, put, 106.
- Pylles, *sb. pl.* pills, 443.
- Quycke, *adj.* living, 221.
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- Resplendence, *sb.* splendour, 422.
- Rode, *sb.* rood, i. e. crucifix, 217, 218.
- Rote, *in phr.* herte rote, root or bottom of the heart, 27.
- Rowt, *sb.* company, 192.
- Rychesse, *sb.* richness, 175.
- Ryme, *sb.* rime, 349. [Generally now misspelt *rhyme*.]
- Sakering, *sb.* consecration, 375.
- Sanctificate, *pp.* sanctified, 401.

Sease, *v.* to cease, 351.

Semetery, *sb.* cemetery, 379.

Sendony, *sb.* fine linen or cloth, 22, 31, 70. Gk. *σινδών*, a fine Indian cloth, muslin. The word is used in Mark xv. 46, "Joseph autem mercatus *sindonem*, et deponens eum involvit *sindone*," &c.

Sepulture, *sb.* sepulchre, 21, 67, 71, 421. [This is probably a wrong use of the word, as we find in the Prompt. Parv. "Sepulture, or berynge. *Sepultura*."]]

Short, *v.* to shorten, 351.

Shyt, *v.* shut, close up, 375.

Sought, *pt. s.* repaired, gone, 253.

Spere, *sb.* sphere, 428.

Stere, *v.* to stir, 309.

Styltes, *sb. pl.* stilts, crutches, 335.

Syth, *adv.* since, afterwards, 241.

Thaungell = the angel, 206.

Unclapsed, *pp.* unclasped, opened, 7.

Vykary, *sb.* vicar, 253.

Walnot tree (a miraculous one), 378.

Wende, *v.* to go, return, 73.

Werne, *v.* to oppose, 164. See Gl. to W. of Palerne.

Whether, *adv.* whither, 263.

Wo, *adj.* (?) sorrowful (?) 94. [I think it would be better grammar to read *theym was wo* = it was woe to them.]]

Wrestes, *pt. s.* screws, twists, forces, 388. The *wrest* is a turn-screw for tuning up instruments.

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The Times' Whistle.

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The Times' Whistle:

OR

A Newe Daunce of Seben Satires, and other Poems:

Compiled by R. C., Gent.

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM MS. Y. 8. 3. IN THE LIBRARY OF
CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL;

With Introduction, Notes, and Glossary,

BY

J. M. COWPER,

EDITOR OF 'ENGLAND IN THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH,' ETC.

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TO

Charles Edward Donne, M.A.,

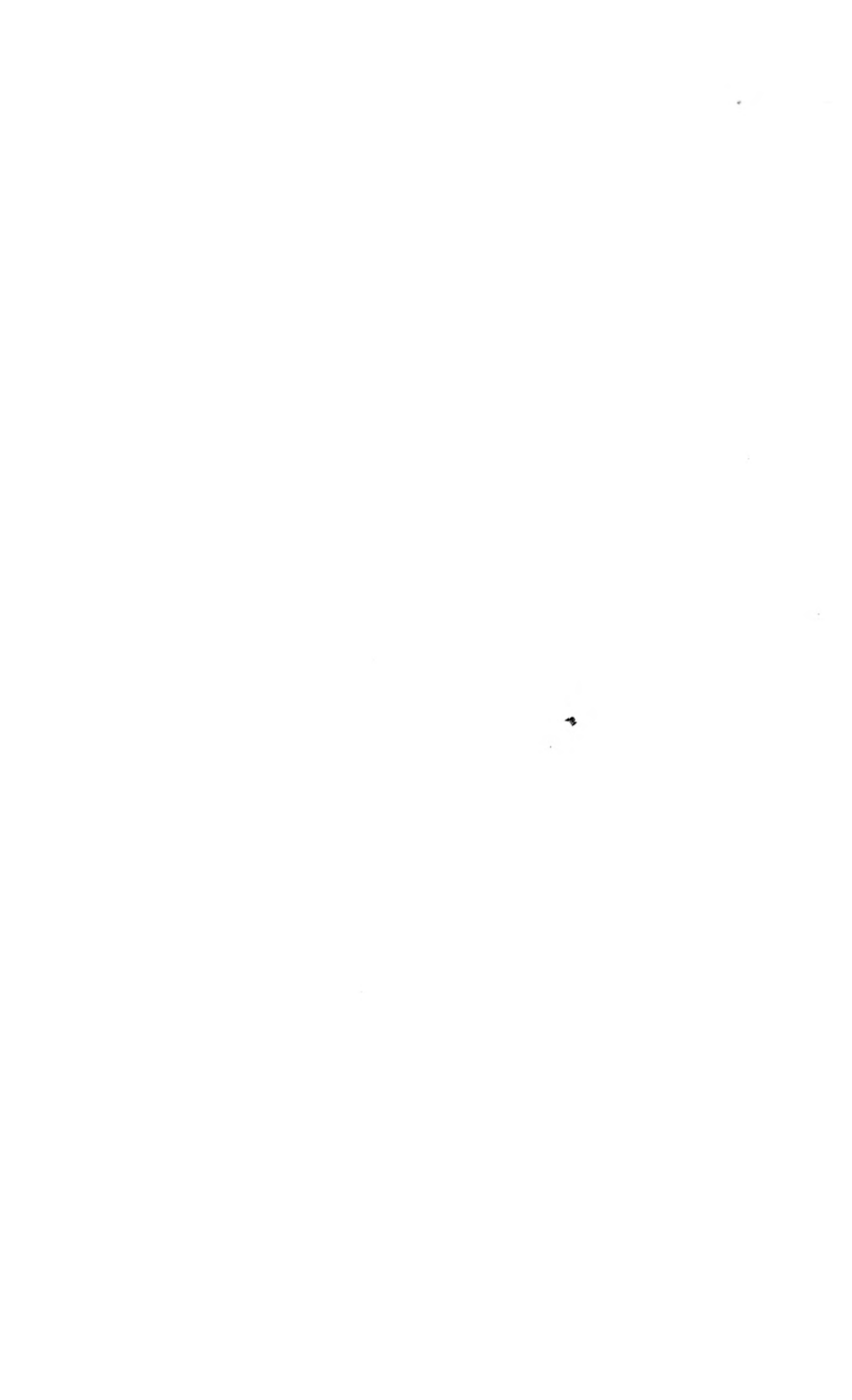
VICAR OF FAVERSHAM, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT SYDNEY, G.C.B.,

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

AS A TOKEN OF SINCERE ESTEEM

BY

J. M. COWPER.



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INTRODUCTION.

THE Prologue to Hall's Satires opens with these lines :—

“ I first adventure, with fool-hardy might
To tread the steps of perilous despite.
I first adventure, follow me who list,
And be the second English Satirist.”

But Hall was hardly correct in his assertion that he was the first to adventure in this perilous path, for Hake's *Newes out of Powles Churchyarde* had been given to the public eighteen years before, though without attracting the attention and obtaining the honour which befell Hall's “toothless satires.”¹ His challenge, “who'll be the second English Satirist,” was not, however, long unaccepted. In the following year (1598) appeared Marston's *Scourge of Villanie* and *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image*. Samuel Rowlands also (as well as others) now began to write, and continued to add during

¹ Thomas Timme's *Discoverie of Ten Lepers* appeared in 1592. The “Ten Lepers” are :—

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. The Schismaticke. | 6. The Glutton. |
| 2. The Church-robber. | 7. The Adulterer or Fornicator. |
| 3. The Simoniac. | 8. The Couctous Man. |
| 4. The Hypocrite. | 9. The Murtherer. |
| 5. The Proud Man. | 10. The Murmurer. |

The full title is :—

A plaine discoverie of ten English Lepers, verie noisome and hurtfull to the Church and common wealth : Setting before our eies the iniquitie of these latter dayes, and indusing vs to a due consideration of our selues. Published by Thomas Timme Minister. London, Printed by Peter Short, dwelling vpon Bredstreet hill, &c. 1592. 4to. A to M in fours. Dedicated to Sir William Brooke, Baron of Cobham (*Hazlitt*), Brit. Mus. 4103. c.

many years to the satiric literature of the time. It was in vain that the authorities endeavoured to wrest the "Rhamnusian whip" from the hands of these powerful writers; it was in vain to enjoin "that noe Satyres or Epigrams be printed hereafter." Whitgift and Bancroft might burn them, but they could not stay their re-appearance, and the Satirist found not only materials for books in abundance, but buyers also, and Satires continued to appear long after the death of the "Virgin Queen," whose ministers condemned Hall's *Satires* to the flames, but spared Harington's *Orlando Furioso*.¹

The date at which the *Times' Whistle* was written is easily ascertained. The Rev. H. J. Todd, who compiled the *Canterbury Catalogue*, though acquainted with the MS., was incorrect in fixing the date "near 1598." The internal evidence is satisfactory upon this point. The reference to Faux and Ravaillac² gives the first clue: the former died in 1605 and the latter in 1610. Other allusions more to the point are to Coryate's *Crudities*, p. 26, which appeared in 1611, and to Dr Carrier,³ p. 52. Now Carrier died

¹ See *Notes and Queries*, 3rd S. xii. 436, and Dyce's *Marlowe*, p. xxxviii. note.

² Ravaillac, a lay-Jesuit, had, it is said, watched a whole twelvemonth for an opportunity to murder the king, Henry IV., and at last stabbed him as he was on his way to the Bastile. The assassin was at once apprehended and carefully guarded from the fury of the populace. Many consultations were held how to punish him, some Italian physicians offering to prescribe a torment which should continue without intermission for three days. "But he escaped only with this, his body was pulled between four horses, that one might hear his bones crack, and after the dislocation, they were set again, and so he was carried in a cart standing half naked, with a torch in that hand which had committed the murder; and in the place where the act was done, it was cut off, and a gauntlet of hot oil was clapped upon the stump, to stanch the blood, whereat he gave a doleful shriek. Then was he brought upon a stage, where a new pair of boots was provided for him, half filled with boiling oil. Then his body was pincered, and hot oil poured into the holes; in all the extremity of this torture he scarce showed any sense of pain, but when the gauntlet was clapped upon his arms to stanch the flux, at which time he was reeking with blood, he gave a shriek only. He bore up against all these torments about three hours before he died."—Howel's *Familiar Letters*, ed. 1678, p. 25.

John Taylor, in his *Complaint of Christmas* (1646) mentions, among others, the following *Saints*: *Saint Raviliac*, *Saint Faux*, *Saint Garnet*.

³ Benjamin Carrier, or Carrier, D.D., was the son of Anthony Carrier, a learned and devout preacher, who caused his son to be strictly educated in the Protestant religion, and afterwards in academical literature at Cambridge, where he became a fellow of C. C. Coll., and a noted scholar and preacher. About

"before Midsummer 1614," probably in May or the early part of June in that year, and hence it is evident that the *Satires* cannot have an earlier date than the middle of 1614; most probably they were not finished before the end of this or the beginning of the following year.

The *Poems* will help us to fix the later date. In 1616 Ben Jonson's *Works*, containing his Epigrams, appeared, and to these there is a reference in the *Minor Poems*.¹ If "R. C." did not see these Epigrams of Jonson's until they appeared in the "*Works*," then 1616 may be safely taken as the later date, and we are able to fix the *Satires* and *Poems* as having been written between Midsummer 1614 and the end of 1616, sufficiently near to answer every purpose. But we know that it was the fashion then for authors to hand about their writings in manuscript.² There is abundant evidence that Jonson did so, and presumptive evidence that "R. C." had seen those Epigrams before they were given to the world.

A reference to Jonson will show this. His Eighteenth Epigram, addressed "To my mere English Censurer," answers objections which had been made to his new style of epigrams, and their being unlike those of Weever and Davis. Epigram xlix. is addressed

"TO PLAYWRIGHT.

Playwright me reades, and still my verses damnes;
He sayes, I want the tongue of epigrammes;
I have no salt; no bawdrie he doth meane,
For wittie, in his language, is obscene.

the time when James I. came to the throne of England, Carrier published one or more sermons, was made a Royal Chaplain, and one of the first Fellows of Chelsea College, founded by Dr Matthew Sutcliff. Becoming very unsettled in his religious opinions, he abandoned the Church of England for the Church of Rome, and removed to Liege, where he wrote his *Missive* to the king, containing the motives which led him to renounce Protestantism. This appeared in October, 1614. He also published a Letter of the miserable Ends of such as impugn the Catholic Church, which appeared in 1615. He died, according to Anth. à Wood, before Midsummer-day, 1614, when he "concluded his last day, putting thereby a period to the great imaginations that men of learning had of him and his worth, and to the expectation of other books to be published." For further information the reader is referred to a valuable note in *Notes and Queries*, 4th S. vii. 130; Wood's *Fasti Oxon.*; and Bohn's *Louvdes*, but the fullest account of Carrier which I have seen is that in Masters's *History of C. C. C. Cambridge* (Camb. 1753).

¹ p. 132.

² Dyce's *Marlowe*, p. 65, note.

Playwright, I loath to have thy manners knowne
 In my chaste booke : professe them in thine owne."
Jonson's Works, folio, 1616.

This reads very much like an answer to that of "R. C." The latter says :—

"Peruse his booke, thou shalt not find a dram
 Of witt befitting a true Epigram";

and the retort is,

"He sayes I want the tongue of epigrammes;
 I have no salt; no bawdrie he doth meane,
 For wittie, in his language, is obscene."¹

One other point as to date. The poem *In Neandrem* refers, no doubt, to the visit of James I. to Cambridge. Now this visit took place in March, 1615, and gave rise to much good and ill-humoured banter. Francis (afterwards Sir Francis) Nethersole was Public Orator at the time, and, all are agreed, made something very much like a fool of himself. But it cannot be to him that the poem refers. Had he been "struck mute with fear" he would have been spared such taunts as

"Now come we to the wonderment
 Of Christendom, and eke of Kent,
 The Trinity; which to surpass,
 Doth deck her spokesman by a glass:
 Who, clad in gay and silken weeds,
 Thus opes his mouth, hark how he speeds.

"I wonder what your grace doth here,
 Who have expected been twelve year,

¹ I am indebted to Mr Furnivall for the following :—

In the Sale Catalogue of Lilly's books is a copy (No. 1557) of the first edition of Ben Jonson's *Workes*, 1616, and

On the fly-leaf are the following verses in a cotemporary handwriting :—

"Jonson that whilome brought the guilty age
 To suffer for her misdeeds on ye stage,
 Ruin'd by age now cannot hold out play,
 And must bee forc'd to throw his eards away:
 For since he so ill keeps what hee earst wonne,
 Since that his reputation's lost and gone,
 The age sweares she'll no longer hold him play
 With her attention; but without delay
 Will rise, if some fresh Gamester will not fitte,
 That 's furnished with a better stocke of witte."

Catalogue, p. 160.

And this your son, fair *Carolus*,
That is so *Jacobissimus* :
Here's none, of all, your grace refuses,
You are most welcome to our Muses”;

and more to the same purpose.¹

In *A New Quaint Ballad of Cambridge*, the author of which is unknown, we read—

“Oxford she a Christ-church had,
To entertain the king;
And Cambridge had a Trinity,
And scarce one wise therein.
‘Most Jacob’d Charles,’ did Cambridge cry,
‘Thou welcome art to us;’
An Oxford boy must have untruss’d,
If he had crièd thus.”²

In *News out of Cambridge*³ also the Trinity Oration is dwelt upon; but we learn in addition that Cambridge not only was guilty of nonsense there, but of absolute failure at St Mary’s, as we shall show further on. If, then, the poem *In Neandrem* refers to this event, we have another element in fixing the date, and the years 1614 to 1616 may be accepted as conclusive.

To the question, “Who was ‘R. C.’?” I am unable to give an answer. “There were,” says Mr Corser,⁴ “several poetical authors about this period who rejoiced in these initials, Robert Chamberlaine, Robert Chester, Roger Cocks, Robert Copland, Roger Cotton, Ralph Crane, Richard Crashaw, Robert Crowley, and Robert Croft,” and to these may be added Richard Carew, Robert Carliell, and Richard Corbet, successively Bishop of Oxford and Norwich. Several of these may be dismissed at once—they were dead, or wrote later than when these Satires were written; Carew, Carliell, Corbet, Crane, and others, were alive, but to few of these can this volume be attributed. One well-known scholar⁵ thinks Richard Carew was the author; another⁶ suggests Ralph Crane. But after an examination of some of their writings I am reluctantly compelled to say I do not think either Carew or Crane wrote the *Times’ Whistle*. If either

¹ *Corbet’s Poems*, ed. Gilchrist, 1807, pp. 17, 18.

² *Inedited Miscellanies*. Privately printed, 1870.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, p. 231.

⁵ J. Payne Collier, Esq.

⁶ W. Carew Hazlitt, Esq.

did, then it must be confessed that their known writings are far inferior to these Satires. A few lines in *Crane's New Year's Gift* are all that can bear comparison with any portion of this volume:—

——“His great Prouidence (neuer forsaking)
Did first excite thee to this vnder-taking:
He bids thee write: rely on him, and send
Thy prayers vp, and he will fairely end
This thy desire.”—*N. Y. Gift*, p. 2.

“Euery one
Moues by his power, liues by his permission,
And can do nothing if the prohibition
Of the Almighty doe oppugne; it lies
Only in him to end each enterprise.”—*T. Whistle*, p. 3.

——“All such labours in his nostrils stinke,
And therfore shall prove fruitlesse: men intend,
But God it is that consummates the end.”—*Ib.*, p. 17.

There is a writer, who, but for one difficulty, to be mentioned shortly, would meet all the requirements of the case, and that is Richard Corbet, who was at this time very active with his pen. He was born at Ewell, in Surrey, in 1582, received the rudiments of his education at Westminster School, and in 1598 was entered at Broadgate Hall, and in the following year was admitted a student of Christ-Church College, Oxford. In 1605 he graduated Master of Arts, and became celebrated as a wit and a poet.¹ A man who had the reputation of being a wit and a poet, and who was at one time found in a tavern with the jolly fellows of his day; who at another time, and after he was Doctor of Divinity, was seen putting off his Doctor's gown and putting on a leathern jacket, and singing ballads at Abingdon Cross, certainly would not be found among the ranks of the Puritans: and so we find him undisguisedly opposed to Abbott, at this time Archbishop of Canterbury, and siding with Laud, then rising into fame. In 1616 he was recommended by Convocation as a proper person to be elected to Chelsea College, of which, as we have already seen,² Benjamin Carrier had been a Fellow. Even when promoted to a bishopric, Corbet could not forget, and did not choose to abandon, some of his jovial habits, for it is said that he would sometimes take

¹ *The Poems of Richard Corbet*, edited by Octavius Gilchrist, 1807.

² p. x, note ³.

the key of the wine-cellar, and with his chaplain, Dr Lushington, would go and lock himself in and be merry. First of all the Bishop would lay down his hood, with "There lies the Doctor;" then he would put off his gown, with "There lies the Bishop;" and then it was "Here's to thee, Corbet," and, "Here's to thee, Lushington!" The man who could act thus would be the very man to write the lines

"Then straight into the cellar he'll them bring—
'Tis sweetest drinking at the very spring,"¹

and to record such a journey as that to Islington to eat cream,² described on page 83, and to be credited with writing the song in praise of good ale, which is sometimes attributed to him.³

Corbet was certainly no "precisian." But in spite of the want of an austerity befitting his sacred calling, and his hatred of the go-to-meeting portion of Englishmen, it is gratifying to find that the merry bishop died beloved and honoured. "In no record of his life is there the slightest trace of malevolence or tyranny. 'He was,' says Fuller, 'of a courteous carriage, and no destructive nature to any who offended him, counting himself plentifully repaired with a jest upon him.' Benevolent, generous, and spirited in his public character; sincere, amiable, and affectionate in private life; correct, eloquent, and ingenious as a poet;⁴ he appears to have deserved and enjoyed through life the patronage and friendship of the great, and the applause and estimation of the good."⁵

Such was the man; and his character seems perfectly consistent with the theory that he wrote these *Satires* and *Poems*. It now remains to present portions of Corbet's acknowledged writings, that the reader may compare them in style and sentiment with what we

¹ p. 60.

² Samuel Pepys visited Islington at various times. "My father," he says (ii. 111), "used to carry us to Islington, to the old man's, at the King's Head, to eat cakes and ale." "Back to Islington, and at the King's Head, where Pitts lived, we light, and eat and drunk for remembrance of the old house sake."—(*Ib.* 121.) "Thence to Islington, and there eate and drank at the house my father and we were wont of old to go."—(*Ib.* 183.) "Thence to Hackney. There light, and played at shuffle-board, eat cream and good cherries; and so with good refreshment home."—(ii. 133.) ³ See p. xxxvii.

⁴ J. Payne Collier, Esq., writes to me, "It is seldom one meets with such measure and such meaning" as are found in the *Times' Whistle*.

⁵ O. Gilchrist's *Corbet*, p. li.

have in this volume. King James visited Cambridge, as before stated, in 1615. Many Oxford men were present, and among them Corbet. Now, although Corbet declared "he had left his malice and judgment at home, and came there only to commend," the opportunity to exercise his wit at the expense of Cambridge was too strong for him to resist, and on his return to Oxford he composed a ballad "To the Tune of Bonny Nell." This ballad, and others which appeared at the same time, make reference to the failure of one or more who were appointed to dispute before the king, but broke down. Corbet, in the ballad, says,—

"Now pass we to the civil law,
And eke the doctors of the spaw,
Who all performed their parts so well,
Sir Edward Ratchliffe *bore the bell*,
Who was, by the king's own appointment,
To speak of spells, and magick oymtent."

Corbet's Poems, p. 20.

With this compare the following :—

"IN NEANDREM.

Neander, held a great cevillian¹
(Let me not say a Machiavillian)
Appointed to dispute before the king,
Struck mute with fear, could not say anything
Save twas ill luck ; for if he had done well
As we expected, he would *bear the bell*
From the whole Academie for the test,
Tis certaine he had been a knight at lest,
And made his wife (what she hath lookt for long)
A Madame. Fortune, thou hast done her wrong
To hinder his once dubbing of his wife
Which hath dubde him soe often in his life."

T. Whistle, p. 134.

These extracts are given that the reader may have an opportunity of comparing the known R. Corbet with the unknown "R. C." It is probable that the poem *In Neandrem*, and the following lines from *News from Cambridge*,² refer to Dr Richardson.³

¹ Cevillian, one versed in civil law.

² Inedited Miscellanies. Privately printed, 1870.

³ The following extract is from Nichol's *Progresses, &c., of Jas. I.*, vol. iii. p. 57 (4to, Lond. 1828). "An extraordinary Act in Divinity was kept at Cambridge before King James, wherein Doctor John Davenant was Answerer,

“One morn they went unto St Mary’s,
 Where one amongst the rest miscarries,
 For, thinking well for to dispute,
 Propounds the question and falls mute.
 Nor did he blush nor want excuse :
 He follow’d but the Cambridge use.”

To quote all from Corbet’s Poems which might fairly be quoted would be to occupy more space than can be spared ; a few examples must suffice. See how he treats the Puritans :—

“I needs must say ’tis a spirituall thing
 To raile against a bishopp, or the king ;
 Nor are they meane adventures wee have bin in,
 About the wearing of the churches linnen.”

Corbet’s Poems, ed. 1807, p. 106.

“Routes and wilde pleasures doe invite temptation,
 And this is dangerous for our damnation ;
 Wee must not move our selves, but if w’are mov’d
 Man is but man ; and therefore those that lov’d
 Still to seeme good, would evermore dispence
 With their own faults, so they give no offence.
 If the times sweete enticing, and the blood
 That now begins to boyle, have thought it good
 To challenge Liberty and Recreation,
 Let it be done in holy contemplation :
 Brothers and Sisters in the fields may walke,
 Beginning of the Holy Word to talke,
 Of David, and Uriahs lovely wife,
 Of Thamar, and her lustfull brothers strife ;
 Then, underneath the hedge that woos them next,
 They may sitt doune, and there act out the text.
 Nor doe wee want, how ere we live austere,
 In winter Sabbath-nights our lusty cheere ;

and Dr. Richardson amongst others the Opposers. The question was maintained in the negative concerning the Excommunicating of Kings. Dr. Richardson vigorously pressed the practice of St. Ambrose excommunicating the Emperor Theodosius ; insomuch that the King in some passion returned : ‘*Prefecto fuit hoc Ambrosio insolentissime factum !*’ To whom Dr. Richardson rejoyned : ‘*Responsum verè Regium, et Alexandro dignum ! Hoc non est argumenta dissolvere, sed dissecare ;*’ and so, sitting down, desisted from any further dispute.”

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr Dennis Hall, of the Cambridge Union Library, for this note, and also for pointing out the similarity of expression used by Corbet in reference to Sir E. Ratcliffe and by the writer of *In Neandrem*. Mr Hall, without knowing that the same question had presented itself to me, asks, “Can the R. C. in question be Richard Corbet, Bp. of Norwich ?”

And though the pastors grace, which oft doth hold
 Halfe an howre long, make the provision cold,
 Wee can be merry ; thinking 't nere the worse
 To mend the matter at the second course.
 Chapters are read, and hymnes are sweetly sung,
 Joyntly commanded by the nose and tongue ;
 Then on the Worde wee diversly dilate,
 Wrangling indeed for heat of zeale, not hate :
 When at the length an unappeased doubt
 Feircely comes in, and then the light goes out ;
 Darkness thus workes our peace, and wee containe
 Our fyery spiritts till we see againe.
 Till then, no voice is heard, no tongue doth goe,
 Except—" &c., &c.—*Ib.*, pp. 108—110.

Another quotation from Corbet may be given here.

"Have I renoune't my faith, or basely sold
 Salvation, and my loyalty, for gold ?
 Have I some forreigne practice undertooke
 By poyson, shott, sharp-knife, or sharper booke
 To kill my king ? have I betrayd the state
 To fire and fury, or some newer fate,
 Which learned murderers, those grand destinies,
 The Jesuites, have nure'd ? if of all these
 I guilty am, proceed ; I am content."—*Ib.* p. 47.

These quotations, and other passages to be found in Corbet's writings, have the ring and the swing which characterize the whole of the *Times' Whistle*. No other Satires which I have read, by any one "rejoicing in these initials," allow of scarcely any comparison being made ; but with the Bishop the case is altogether different. The same smooth measure, the same frequent references to history, the same intense scorn of Puritans and Puritanism, are found in Corbet's poetry and in that of "R. C." I am aware of the difficulty—there is, I think, but one—which besets this theory. "R. C., *Gent.*," is not the same as the "Rev. R. C.," or "R. C., Clerk." But it must be remembered that Corbet published none of his Poems during his lifetime, and that it was not till some twelve years after his death that any of them were given to the public. The *Times' Whistle* and the *Poems* were evidently written for publication ; but why the intention was not earried out there is no hint to show. If Corbet wrote them, his elevation to high positions in the Church may have led him to abandon the publication alto-

gether, judging that some of the scenes in which the writer took a part would but ill correspond with his ecclesiastical character.¹

Our Poet, whoever he was, was well read in and made good use of the literature of his time, as well as of ancient classic authors. Shakespeare, Marston, Marlowe, Jonson, Hall, and others, appear to have been consulted to some purpose, but not to an extent to render the author liable to any grave charge of plagiarism. Only a few of these allusions to his contemporaries can be given; the reader will readily supply omissions. And first as to Shakespeare:

Gloucester. Suspicion always haunts the guilty mind;
The thief doth fear each bush an officer.

K. Henry. The bird that hath been limed in a bush,
With trembling wings misdoubteth every bush.—3 *K. Hen.* VI. v. 6.

¹ The MS. is not in the handwriting of Bp Corbet. I have compared it with an autograph letter of the Bishop's in the British Museum.

Another "R. C." appears in W. Bosworth's *The Chast and Lost Lovers*. Mr Furnivall referred to the book for me, and forwarded me the following, which seems worthy of attention:—

"The Chast and Lost Lovers, Lively shadowed in the persons of *Arcadius* and *Sepha*, and illustrated with the severall stories of *Hamon* and *Antigone*, *Eramio* and *Amissa*, *Phaon* and *Sappho*, *Delithason* and *Verista*: Being a description of severall Lovers smiling with delight, and with hopes fresh as their youth, and fair as their beauties in the beginning of their Affections, and covered with Blood and Horror in the conclusion. To this is added the Contestation betwixt *Bacchus* and *Diana*, and certain Sonnets of the Author to *AVRORA*. Digested into three Poems, by *Will. Bosworth*, Gent.

————— *Me quoque*
Impune volare, & sereno
Calliope dedit ire celo.

London, Printed by F. L. for *Laurence Blaiklock*, and are to be sold at his shop at *Temple-Bar*, 1651."

Svo. A in 8 unpagéd; B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, 127 pages, and last page blank (Brit. Mus. press-mark E. $\frac{1236}{2}$).

The prose Epistle Dedicatory 'To the true Lover of all good Learning, the Honourable *John Finch*, Esq.' is signed R. C., and says that the Poems are 'the work of a young Gentleman of 19 years of Age, who, had he lived, might have been as well the Wonder as the Delight of the Arts, and been advanced by them amongst the highest in the Temple of Fame.'

The prose address 'To the Reader' is also signed R. C., and contains a hit at Ben Jonson, which may identify its writer with the author of *Times' Whistle*, and the Satire against Jonson. Speaking of Bosworth and his work, R. C. says:

"The strength of his fancy, and the shadowing of it in words, he taketh from Mr Marlow in his *Hero* and *Leander*, whose mighty lines Mr *Benjamin Johnson* (a man sensible enough of his own abilities) was often heard to say, that they were Examples fitter for admiration than for parallel, you shall find our Author every where in this imitation."

With this compare

"He, though he had the murderous hand to spill
Another's blood, himself yet durst not kill,
And was afraid of others. Whatever stirs
He judgeth to be men and officers
Come to attach him, and, his sight unstable,
Takes every bush to be a constable."—*T. Whistle*, p. 108.

The same idea occurs on p. 94:—

"Each bush doth fright him, and each flying bird,
Yea, his own shadow, maketh him afeard."

Marston's *Scourge of Villanie* was also familiar to our author:—

"Infectious blood, ye gouty humours, quake,
Whilst my sharp razor doth incision make."
Marston's Works, iii. 274, ed. J. O. Halliwell.

"Let ulcer'd limbs and gouty humours quake
Whilst with my pen I do incision make."—*T. W.* 2/19, 20.

Marston has

"Camphire and lettuce chaste
Are clean cashier'd, now sophi ringoes eat,
Candi'd potatoes are Athenians meat.
Hence, holy thistle, come sweet marrow pie,
Inflame our backs to itchin luxury.
A crab's bak'd guts, a lobster's butter'd thigh,
I hear them swear is blood of venery."—*Works*, iii. 257.¹

Compare with the above,

"Provocatives to stir up appetite
To brutish lust and sensual delight
Must not be wanting; lobsters' butter'd thighs,
Artichoke, marrow-bone, potato-pies,
Anchovies, lambs' artificially drest stones,
Fine jellies of decocted sparrows' bones.
Or if these fail, th' apothecary's trade
Must furnish them with rarest marmalade,
Candi'd eringoos and rich marchpane stuff.
.
.
.
With allegant, the blood of venery
Which strengthens much the back's infirmity."—*T. W.* p. 87.

¹ "Virginus vow'd to keep his maiden-head,
And eats chaste lettuce, and drinks poppyseed,
And smells on camphor fasting."—Hall's *Satires*, iv. 4.

"Letuce seede being often vsed to be eaten a long space, drieth vp the natural seede, and putteth away the desire to Lecherie."—Lyte's *Dodocens*, f. 573 (1578).

² Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, ii. 1, has "Diving into the

Marlowe was charged with holding atheistical opinions, and it would almost seem that "R. C." had him in view in the opening of the first Satire. The lines

"Which by religion dost not set a straw,

Devis'd, thou think'st, but to keep fools in awe" (*T. W.* p. 5) seem to be another form of one of the opinions "of one Christofer Marlye," namely, "That the first beginning of religion was only to keep men in awe."¹ Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* was published, in quarto, in 1604, and again in 1616. The *Times' Whistle*² contains a reference to the story of this Play, although it may be said the story was common enough for "R. C." to have got it elsewhere. The whole scene in which Faust cuts his arm, and writes the agreement with his blood, is too long for insertion here, an extract must suffice:—

"*Faust.* Lo, Mephistophilis, for love of thee,
I cut mine arm, and with my proper blood
Assure my soul to be great Lucifer's,
Chief lord and regent of perpetual night!
View here the blood that trickles from mine arm,
And let it be propitious for my wish.

Meph. But, Faustus, thou must
Write it in a manner of a deed of gift.

Faust. Ay, so I will. [*Writes.*] But, Mephistophilis,
My blood congeals, and I can write no more."

The mention of Tamburlaine³ will at once call the reader's mind to Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great*.

fat capons, drinking your rich wines, feeding on larks, sparrows, potato-pies, and such good unctuous meats."

Howel, writing from Alicant, says: "I have bin here now these three months, and most of my food have bin grapes and bread, with other roots, which have made me so fat, that I think if you saw me you would hardly know me, such nourriture these deep sanguin Alicant grapes give."—*Fam. Let.* p. 35, ed. 1678.

And John Taylor, *Works*, folio, 1630 (Spenser Society's Reprint): "The Taste plays the Bawd with both Art and Nature, and searcheth through the Earth, Seas, and Skies for variety of temptation; poore and innocent Lambstones, Potatoes, Eringoes, Crabs, Scallops, Lobsters, Wilkes, Cockles, Oysters, Anehoues and Caucaire [*Qr. Caucaire*], Cock-sparrowes, Coxcome-pyes, . . . doe waite upon the Taste."—f. 259.

"[He] eates more Lobsters, Artichokes, and Crabs,
Blew roasted Egges, Potatoes, Maskadine,
Oysters, and pith that growes i' th' Oxes Chine."—*Ib.* f. 509.

See also Howel's *Familiar Letters*, p. 215.

¹ See Dyce's *Marlowe*, p. 389.

² p. 53.

³ p. 25.

The Prologue to Hall's Satires has been partly quoted already, another portion of it may fitly come in here :—

“ Envy waits on my back, Truth on my side ;
 Envy will be my page, and Truth my guide.
 Envy the margent holds, and Truth the line :
 Truth doth approve, but Envy doth repine.
 For in this smoothing age who durst indite
 Hath made his pen an hired parasite,
 To claw the back of him that beastly lives,
 And pranck base men in proud superlatives.
 Whence damned Vice is shrouded quite from shame,
 And crown'd with Virtue's meed, immortal name !
 Infamy dispossess'd of native due,
 Ordain'd of old on looser life to sue :
 The world's eye-bleared with those shameless lies,
 Mask'd in the show of meal-mouth'd poesies.
 Go, daring Muse, on with thy thankless task,
 And do the ugly face of Vice unmask :
 And if thou canst not thine high flight remit,
 So as it might a lowly satire fit,
 Let lowly satires rise aloft to thee :
 Truth be thy speed, and Truth thy patron be.”

That a similar spirit to this animated “ R. C.” may be seen by reading his introductory lines on the second page of this volume.

The references to Jonson's writings are numerous. Compare the Sordido in *Every Man out of his Humour*, with R. C.'s Sordido,¹ and especially Misotochus,² and the effect of fine clothes in the same Play,³ with the character of Moros⁴ and the closing lines of our author's second Satire,⁵ and it will be seen at once how closely they coincide. Carlo in this Play⁶ says, “ Love no man ; trust no man ; speak ill of no man to his face ; nor well of any man behind his back. Salute fairly on the front, and wish them hanged upon turn. Spread yourself upon his bosom publicly, whose heart you would eat in private. These be principles, think on them.”

And R. C.,

“ Another's mind by hate distempered is,
 Malicing whom in show he seems to kiss.
 This bare affection causeth dismal strife,
 Despoileth honour and destroyeth life.

¹ pp. 26, 27.

² p. 99.

³ Act ii. 1 ; iii. 3.

⁴ p. 28.

⁵ p. 30.

⁶ *Every Man*, &c., iii. 1.

Yet in these days 'tis counted policy
 To use dissimulation ; villany
 Masked under friendship's title (worst of hate)
 Makes a man live secure and fortunate.

These mankind haters, bloody-minded slaves,
 Which all the world with horrid murders fill,
 Laughing on those whom they intend to kill."¹

There is evidence too that *The Puritan* had been seen by the author, but it is only necessary to mention the fact.

I do not think any apology will be required for putting these *Satires* before the few scholars who are interested in the literature of the Shakesperean age. Some casual readers there may be, who will fail to see any advantage in having such books within reach—"precisians," they are unwilling to have their senses polluted with the rough language and the pictures, drawn by contemporary hands, of the vices of their countrymen. For such these *Satires* are not published—they can pass by on the other side, and leave this book to its fate. It is too much the fashion now-a-days to shut our eyes to vice and crime and oppression ; to turn our faces from the dark and squalid portions of our cities, towns, and villages ; to endeavour to hide all the wickedness and misery under which so many groan, to drive them from the garish light of day, and, compelling them to lie in secret and avoid offending our eyes, to turn with self-righteous complacency to the world, and say, 'See how bright and holy all things are ! Vice and misery are not seen in our streets, they do not exist. We manage things better now. A man may walk on the village green, in the beautiful country lanes, in the great streets of our great cities, and see nothing to offend the eye, hear nothing to grate upon the ear. Our writers tell us of nothing but what is pleasant,—of our advances in education, of the improvements which are made on every side.' Yes, it is quite true. We don't like to see vice and misery, we prefer to walk blindfold, and to be ignorant of such things ; but is not the difference between the vices of men two hundred and fifty years ago and the vices of men now, simply a difference of dress ? Then vices were clothed in

¹ p. 94.

fustian, and were not always hidden from the light; now, we clothe them in broadcloths and silks, and indulge in them secretly.

I do not apprehend that any one reading these Satires will be the worse for the reading. They need no apology from me. If they do, then must all who have spent their talent on the Playwrights and Satirists of the time of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. have erred more deeply than I can have done. The whole Literature is tainted with a certain coarseness, and to condemn one writer is to condemn all. But let no man despise it and think it poor or bad because it is unlike our own. "It is refreshing to look out of ourselves sometimes, not always to be holding the glass to our own peerless perfections; and as there is a dead wall which always intercepts the prospect of the future from our view (all that we can see beyond it is the heavens), it is as well to direct our eyes now and then without scorn to the page of history, and repulsed in our attempts to penetrate the secrets of the next six thousand years, not to turn our backs on auld lang syne!"¹ I do not apologize for adding to this literature. The reader must judge whether I have done well or ill, and by his judgment willingly I abide.

In this volume there is much that is interesting historically, such as the drinking scenes, the tobacco-smoking customs, the ale-house haunting on Sundays, the manner in which the Puritan was spoken of by the orthodox Churchman. These, and the hints illustrative of the atheism, infidelity, and apostasy which were common then (as well as now), give a value to the book which each reader will estimate for himself. Of the moral and religious tone which runs through the whole of it I cannot speak too highly. In our Dramatists and others this is too often overlaid, or lost altogether. Not so here. Is there a sin, a vice, a crime described? the denunciation of its certain punishment is sure to follow, and that in terms so plain that they who run may read.

The preface to the minor poems in this volume is curious. What occurred to prevent the Satires "and this piece of poetry alsoe soe sodainlie thrust into the presse" from being given to the world, at present is a mystery, and will probably remain one

¹ W. Hazlitt; Lectures, &c.

for some time to come. Whether the "subsequent endeavours" spoken of ever came to anything is also unknown. The "judicious Catoes" and barking Momists of the time had had their fling at R. C.,¹ and had planted a thorn in his side. His retort calls to mind Ben Jonson's lines :—

"Perhaps, upon the rumour of their speeches,
Some grieved friend will whisper to me ; Crites,
Men speak ill of thee. So they be ill men,
If they spake worse, 'twere better : for of such
To be dispraised, is the most perfect praise.
What can his censure hurt me, whom the world
Hath censured vile before me ?" ²

These poems display the fancies and beliefs which were common at the time they were written. Few of them are without interest of some kind, the best probably being that commencing on page 137.

Of the poetical merits of "R. C." nothing need be said. The book is in the reader's hands. Let it speak for its author. One extract must suffice here :—

"Latro did act a damnèd villainy,
Adding black murder to his robbery,
Yet cause 'twas closely done he might conceal it,
For save himself none living could reveal it.
But see the just revenge for this offence ;—
After the deed, his guilty conscience
Torturing his soul, enforce'd him still to think
The act disclosed, and he in danger's brink.
He thought the birds still in their language said it ;
He thought the whistling of the wind bewrayed it ;
He called to mind that murder was forbidden,
And though a while it could not long be hidden.
Distract in mind, and fearfull in his place,
Having no power to call to God for grace,
The devil doth suborne him to despair,
Tells him 'tis pity he should breath this air
Which hath been such a villain ; thrusts him on
To work his own death and confusion.
He, though he had the murderous hand to spill
Another's blood, himself yet durst not kill,
And was afraid of others. What e'er stirs
He judgeth to be men, and officers

¹ See also the poem *In Momum*, p. 152.

² Cynthia's Revels, iii. 2.

Come to attach him, and his sight unstable
 Takes every bush to be a constable.
 Thus plagued and tortured with despair and fear,
 Out must the fact, he can no more forbear ;
 For which, according to the course of law,
 Death's heavy sentence on him he doth draw,
 And being brought unto the place of death,
 There in despair yields up his latest breath.

Thus each affection like a tyrant reigns
 Over man's soul, which letteth loose the reins
 Unto selfe will, in which so slavish state,
 Man's sense captived, his reason subjugate,
 Makes the soul clogg'd, a massy lump of sin,
 Which following his creation should have been,
 Like his Creator, pure."—*T. W.* p. 108.

I have taken no liberties with my MS. other than those explained in the footnotes. For the punctuation and the use of the hyphen in some of the compound words, as well as the use of Capital letters, I am answerable. I hope it will be found that I have avoided mistakes as much as it is possible to do, and I believe the reader may rest assured that every reading, and every word, which bears a peculiar look is as it stands in my original. I should have preferred to modernize the spelling throughout, but the laws of the E. E. T. S. allow of no such tampering with texts, and it is right they should not. Once begin, and the reader is never sure that his author's *ipsissima verba* are before him.

I have added to this brief introduction a few notes illustrative of the text, and at the end of the volume a glossary of words and phrases, which is intended not only to assist the general reader, but to save any future Lexicographer the trouble of wading through the volume for an example of the use of any word, phrase, or proverb. Of the use of proverbs and phrases these Satires contain many examples.

The most pleasing of my duties remains to be done. To thank the Dean¹ (too late, alas ! for him to hear) and Chapter of Canterbury for so generously placing the MS. in my hands to copy and use at my own home. And to express the many obligations under which I rest to the Rev. Canon Robertson, Librarian of the Canterbury

¹ Dr Alford.

Cathedral Library, to J. Payne Collier, J. O. Halliwell, W. Bodham Donne, F. J. Furnivall, W. Carew Hazlitt, and Dennis Hall, Esqrs., and my brother, B. Harris Cowper, who have been kind enough to read my proofs, and to afford me many valuable hints and suggestions, as well as to express their satisfaction that I had undertaken to see these Satires through the press.

JOSEPH M. COWPER.

Darlington Hill, Faversham,
March 21, 1871.

NOTES.

Puritans and Puritanism. Page 4. At this day it is scarcely possible to conceive the amount of obloquy which was heaped upon these men. No vice was deemed too horrible for them to commit—they were in all things considered the very incarnation of hypocrisy. In spite of the oppressions under which they bowed they became, as our author says, so numerous that they encumbered the Church, and stuck as a disease within her bowels (p. 10). It is unnecessary to reproduce the taunts and abuses which are scattered up and down the literature of this period. The reader curious in such matters will find enough in the works of Taylor the Water-Poet, Bp Corbet's *Poems*, *The Puritan*, and elsewhere.

As to their numbers we may quote Taylor: "*Item*, he told that there were a great many Puritans in England, and that they did now so disturb the quietness of the Commonwealth that it was now almost turned topsy-turvy."—*The Liar*, 1641, p. 5.

Brownism. p. 4. Robert Brown, the founder of the Sect of Brownists, was born in 1549. He was educated at Cambridge, and, while a young man, obtained the mastership of the Free-School of St Olave's, Southwark, and became chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. In 1571 he was cited to appear before Parker to answer for his opinions. The influence of Norfolk saved him for this time. Subsequently Brown abandoned the views of the Puritans for those of the Separatists. For preaching against bishops and church ceremonies he asserted that he was committed to thirty-two prisons. Soon after 1580 he found it prudent to go to Holland, but in 1584 he was stirring up strife in Scotland. He returned to the Church of England, but not much to his or her credit, as the remainder of his life seems to have been spent at Achurch, near Oundle (the living of which he accepted as the price of his conformity), in idleness, occasionally varied by beating his wife, not "as his wife, but as a curst old woman." For an almost contemporary account of him see Taylor's *Cluster of Coxcombes*, 1642.

Anabaptists. p. 9. (See Glossary.) The following is from Taylor's

account of *Anabaptists of these latter times* (pub. 1642): On the 29th April in the 32nd Henry VIII. one Mandeville and one Collins (both Anabaptists) were examined in St Margaret's Church at the Hill in Southwark, and there they were condemned and judged to be burnt as heretics, which was executed on them accordingly in the highway between Southwark and Newington.

In 1574 one man and ten women were judged to be burnt for being Anabaptists, but after much suit made, one woman recanted, and all the rest were banished. In the same year four carried faggots and did penance at Paul's Cross, and recanted, but two Dutchmen were burnt in Smithfield for being Anabaptists. "And in these our days the said Anabaptistical sect is exceeding rife, for they do swarm here and there without fear of either God or man, Law or order."—*A Cluster of Coxcombes* (1642), p. 4.

Howel "could be content to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back."—*Fam. Letters*, ed. 1678, p. 255a.

The Family of Love. p. 9. This sect, often called *Familists*, had its rise in Holland about the year 1550. Thirty years later the Familists appeared in England. They pretended to a more than ordinary sanctity. They asserted that none were of the number of the elect but such as were admitted into their family, and that all the rest were reprobate. They held that it was lawful for them to swear to an untruth before a magistrate or before any other person who was not of their society, for their own convenience. The originator of this sect was Henry Nicholas of Leyden, who made certain blasphemous pretensions that he partook of the Divinity of God. Their numerous books were ordered by Elizabeth to be burnt.¹

The Familists are often referred to in language far from complimentary.

Those who care to know in what estimation they were held by the orthodox may refer to Taylor's *A Bawd*, *The Vertue of a Jayle*, etc., and his *Apology for Private Preaching*.

In 1574, five Englishmen of the sweet sect called The Family of Love did penance at Paul's Cross, and there confessed and detested their wicked and damnable heresies.—*A Cluster of Coxcombes* (1642), p. 4.

Amsterdam. p. 11. No place seems to have been held in such vile repute as Amsterdam. Of course the gossiping Howel has something to say about it. Writing from Amsterdam, in 1617, he says: "The ground here, which is all for the most part twist marsh and moorish, lies not only level but to the apparent sight of the eye far lower than the sea, which made the Duke of Alva say that the inhabitants of this country were the nearest to hell (the great Abyss) of any people on Earth. . . . One of the chiefest parts of his [the native's] Litany is From the Sea, the Spaniard, and the Devil, the Lord deliver me."—*Fam. Letters*, ed. 1678, p. 8.

Two years later he writes, "I am lodged in a Frenchman's house

¹ See Hook's *Ch. Diet.*

(at Amsterdam) who is one of the deacons of our English Brownists here; 'tis not far from the Synagogue of the Jews, who have free and open exercise of their religion here. I believe in this street where I lodge there be well near as many religions as there be houses; for one neighbour knows not, nor cares not much, what religion the other is of, so that the number of conventicles exceeds the number of churches here. The dog and rag Market is hard by, where every Sunday morning there is a kind of public mart for those commodities, notwithstanding their precise observance of the Sabbath."—*Ib.* p. 10.

"The pure reformed Amsterdammers,
Those faithful Friday feasting capon crammers."
Taylor, Works, folio, 1630, f. 402 (Spenser Society's Rep.).

In his *Brood of Cormorants*, speaking of "A Separatist," he writes:

"If in lesser room they may be cramm'd,
And live and die at *Amster* and be dam'd."—*Works*, f. 485.

"Let Amsterdam send forth her brats,
Her fugitives and runagates;
Let Bedlam, Newgate and the Clink
Disgorge themselves into this sink."

A Poem on New England, *Ined. Misc.*, privately printed, 1870.

Sleeping in Church. p. 15.

"Men sleep in church, sure their brains are addle,
Sly Satan lulls them, and doth rock the cradle:
When men thus do no ill, 'tis understood,
The devil hinders them from doing good."—*Taylor, Works*, f. 351.

See also *News from Hell, Hull, and Hullifax, etc.*, p. 46, and Howel's *Fam. Let.*, p. 255.

Sabbath customs. pp. 16, 19. See Crowley's Epigram of Alehouses (1550).

"**N**Edes must we haue places for vitayls to be solde,
for such as be sycke, pore, feble, and olde.
But, Lorde, to howe greate abuse they be growne!
In eche lyttle hamlet, vyllage, and towne,
They are become places of waste and excesse,
And herbour for such men as lync in idlenes.
And lyghtly in the contrey they be placed so,
That they stande in mens waye when they shoulde to church go.
And then such as lone not to hear theyr fautes tolde,
By the minister that readeth the newe Testament and olde,
do turne into the alehouse, and let the church go;
Yea, and men accounted wyse and honeste do so.
But London (God be prayesd) all men maye commende,
Whych doeth nowe this greate enormitie emende,
For in seruice tyme no dore standeth vp,
Where such men are wonte to fyll can and cuppe.

Wolde God in the countrey they woulde do the same,
 Either for Gods feare, or for worldly shame!
 How hallow they the Saboth, that do the tyme spende
 In drynkinge and idlenes tyll the daye be at an ende?
 Not so well as he doeth, that goeth to the plowe,
 Or pitcheth vp the sheues from the carte to the mowe.
 But he doeth make holye the Sabothe in dede,
 That heareth Goddes worde, and helpeth suche as nede."

And *News out of Powles Churchyarde* (1577), Satyr 5 :—

"Search Tanernes through, and typling bowres
 eche Saboth day at morne :
 And you shall thinke this geare to be
 ene too too much forborne.

· · · · ·
 What else but gaine and Money gote
 maintaines each Saboth day
 The bayting of the Beare and Bull?
 What brings this brutish play?
 What is the cause that it is born,
 and not controlled ought,
 Although the same of custome be
 on holy Saboth wrought?"

Stubs (*Anatomic of Abuses*, p. 157, ed. 1836) thus writes of Sunday labour :—

"If he were stoned for gathering a fewe stickes vppon the Sabbaoth daie, which in some cases might be lawful for necessities sake, and yet did it but once, what shal they be who all the Sabbaoth dayes of their life giue themselves to nothing els but to wallowe in all kinde of wickednesse and sinne, to the great contempt bothe of the Lord and his Sabbaoth? And though thei haue played the lazie lurdens all the weeke before, yet that daie, of set purpose, they will toyle and labour, in contempt of the Lord and his Sabaoth."

The Mausolean Monument. p. 22. See *Taylor, Works*, f. 553 :—

"The Tomb of Mausoll, King of Carea,
 Built by his Queen (kind Artemisia)
 So wondrous made by art and workmanship,
 That skill of man could never it outstrip :
 'Twas long in building, and it doth appear
 The charges of it full two millions were." (!)

Fertile Kent. p. 26.

"When as the pliant Muse, straight turning her about,
 And coming to the land as Medway goeth out,
 Saluting the dear soil, O famous Kent, quoth she,
 What country hath this isle that can compare with thee!
 Which hast within thy self as much as thou canst wish,
 Thy conies, venison, fruit, thy sorts of fowl and fish,

And what with strength comports, thy hay, thy corn, thy wood :
Nor any thing doth want that any where is good."

Drayton's *Polyolbion*, 1613.

"Kent

Is termed the civilest place of all this isle ;
Sweet is the country, because full of riches ;
The people liberal, valiant, active, wealthy."

2 *K. Hen.* VI. iv. 7.

Milk, a cosmetic. p. 36.

"Some I have heard of that have been so fine
To wash and bathe themselves in milk or wine,
Or else with whites of eggs their faces garnish,
Which makes them look like visors or new varnish."

Taylor, Works, f. 44.

Avarice. p. 41.

"The Earth is rip'd and bowel'd, rent and torn,
For gold and silver which by man is worn :
And sea and land are rak'd and search't and sought,
For jewels too far fetcht, and too dear bought."—*Ib.* f. 43.

Simony. pp. 43, 45. On this subject see Hall's *Satires*, ii. 5 :—

"Saw'st thou ever SI-QUIS patch'd on Paul's church door,
To seek some vacant vicarage before ?
Who wants a churchman, that can service say,
Read fast and fair his monthly homily ?
And wed and bury and make christen-souls ?
Come to the left-side alley of Saint Pauls.
Thou servile fool, why could'st thou not repair
To buy a benefice at Steeple-fair ?
There moghtest thou, for but a slender price,
Advowson thee with some fat benefice :
.
A thousand patrons thither ready bring
Their new-fall'n churches to the chaffering ;
Stake three years' stipend ; no man asketh more :
Go take possession of the church-porch door,
And ring thy bells."

Bribery—Lawyers. pp. 42, 45—49.

"One here bewayles his wofull case
and wisheth him vnborne,
Another cryes with wringing handes,
alas, I am forlorne.
My sute thus long depended hath :
The Lawe is on my syde,
And yet in harde delayes I lye
true Indgement to abyde.

Another thus be friended is,
 The Iudge doth loue him well
 And me (as poore and needie) they
 doo dayly thus depell
 Two hundreth myles and more I come :
 My Wife at home (alas)
 Lyes with my Children halfe forepynde :
 (O lamentable case.)
 My goods are spent, which labor brought,
 through long and carefull toyle :
 The Lawe hath lyckt vp all my wealth
 for which I dyd turmoyle."

News out of Powles, Sat. 2.

The whole Satire might be quoted. Hall (ii. 3) satirizes lawyers thus :—

"The crouching client, with low-bended knee,
 And many worships, and fair flattery,
 Tells on his tale as smoothly as him list,
 But still the lawyers eye squints on his fist ;
 If that seem lined with a larger fee,
 Doubt not the suit, the law is plain for thee."

Well-drest fools, p. 43. "It is a scurvy fashion of your devising that wise men in russet must reverence and stand bare to silken fools."—*News from Hell, Hull, and Hallifax*, p. 51.

"Why, assure you, signior, rich apparel has strange virtues: it makes him that hath it without means, esteemed for an excellent wit: he that enjoys it with means, puts the world in remembrance of his means: it helps the deformities of nature, and gives lustre to her beauties."—*Every Man out of his Hu.* ii. 1.

"Here, in the court, be a man ne'er so vile,
 In wit, in judgment, manners, or what else ;
 If he can purchase but a silken cover,
 He shall not only pass, but pass regarded :
 Whereas, let him be poor, and meanly clad,
 Though ne'er so richly parted, you shall have
 A fellow that knows nothing but his beef,
 Or how to rinse his clammy guts in beer
 Will take him by the shoulders, or the throat
 And kick him down the stairs. Such is the state
 Of virtue in bad clothes ! ha, ha, ha, ha !
 That raiment should be in such high request."—*Ib.* iii. 3.

Fairies, p. 53.

"*Gert.* Good Lord, that there are no fairies now-a-days. *Syn.*

Syn. Why, Madam ?

Gert. To do miracles and bring ladies money."

1605. *Eastward Hoe*, v. i.

“Wash your pails and cleanse your dairies,
 Sluts are loathsome to the Fairies :
 Sweep your house, who doth not so
 Mab will pinch her by the toe.”—Herrick's *Hesperides*.

“Grant that the sweet Fairies may nightly put money in your shoes,
 and sweep your house clean.”—Holiday's *Marriages of the Arts*.

“Farewell rewards and Faeries,
 Good houswives now may say,
 For now foule sluttis in daries
 Doe fare as well as they.
 And though they sweepe theyr hearthis no less
 Then maydes were wont to doe,
 Yet who of late for cleaneliness,
 Finds sixe-pence in her shoe ?”—Corbet's *Poems*, p. 213.

For more information on the subject of Fairies the reader is referred
 to Brand's *Pop. Antiq.*, edited by W. C. Hazlitt, 1870.

Gluttony. p. 55.

“This day, my Lorde his speciall friende
 must dyne with him (no naye)
 His Partners, Friendes and Aldermen :
 Wherefore he must purveye
 Both Capon, Swan, and Hernshoe good,
 fat Bitture, Lareke and Quayle :
 Right Plouer, Snype, and Woodcock fine
 with Curlew, Wype and Rayle :
 Stonetiucts, Teale, and Pecteaes good,
 with Busterd fat and plum,
 Fat Pheasaunt Powt, and Plouer base
 for them that after come.
 Stent, Stockard, Stampine, Tãterueale,
 and Wigcon of the best :
 Puyt, Partrich, Blackebirde and
 fat Shoueler with the rest.
 Two Warrants eke he must prouide
 To haue some Venson fat,
 And meanes hẽele make for red Dẽere too,
 (there is no nay to that.)
 And nẽedefully he must prouide
 (although we speake not ont)
 Both Peacock, Crane, and Turkicock,
 and (as such men are wont)
 He must foresee that he ne lacke
 colde bakemeates in the ende ;
 With Custards, Tarts, and Florentines,
 the banquet to amende.

And (to be short and knit it vp)
 he must not wanting sée
 Strange kindes of fysh at second course
 to come in their degré.
 As Porpesse, Scale and Salmond good,
 with Sturgeon of the best
 And Turbot, Lobster, with the lyke
 to furnish out the feast.
 All this theyle haue, and else much more,
 sydes Marchpane and gréene chéese,
 Stewde wardens, Prunes, & sweete conserues
 with spiced Wine like Léés :
 Gréeneginger, Sucket, Suger Plate,
 and Marmaladie fine :
 Blaumcht Almonds, Peares and Ginger bread.
 But Peares should we assigne
 And place before (as meete it is)
 at great mens boordes : for why,
 Raw fruites are first in seruice styll,
 Else Seruing men doo lye."

News out of Powles, Sat. 4.

To the above add the following :—"And nowadays if the table be not covered from the one end to the other, as thiek as one dish can stand by another, with delicate meat of sundry sorts, one clean different from another, and to every dish a several sauce appropriate to his kind, it is thought there unworthy the name of a dinner. . . . And these many shall you have at the first course, as many at the second ; and, peradventure, more at the third ; besides other sweet condiments, and delicate confections of spiceries, and I cannot tell what. And to these dainties, all kinds of wines are not wanting, you may be sure."—*Anat. of Abuses*, p. 107.

Drunkenness. p. 57. Drunkenness "is a horrible vice and too too much used in Ailgna (Anglia) ; every county, city, town, village, and other places, hath abundance of ale-houses, taverns, and inns, which are so fraught with maltworms, night and day, that you would wonder to see them. You shall have them there sitting at the wine and good-ale all the day long, yea, all the night long too, peradventure a whole week together, so long as any money is left, swilling, gulling and carousing from one to another, till never a one can speak a ready word."—*Anat. of Abuses*, pp. 113, 114.

King Harries Gold. p. 61. The gold coins issued by Henry VIII. were sovereigns, half sovereigns, rose nobles, and George nobles, angels, crowns, and half-crowns. See Humphrey's *Coin Collector's Manual*, p. 451, ed. 1853.

Tobacco. pp. 70—72. Tobacco seems to have been a common road to ruin :

"Tobacco robs some men, if so it list,
It steals their coin (as thieves do) in a mist."

Taylor, Works, f. 279.

"Too many there are that pass the bounds of liberality, and spend most prodigally . . . on (the devil of India) Tobacco."—*Ib.* f. 336.

"Mischief or mischances seldom come alone : and it is a doubtfull question, whether the devil brought *Tobacco* into England in a *Coach*, or else brought a coach in a fog or mist of Tobacco."—*Ib.* f. 378.

Every thing that can possibly be said against Tobacco may be seen in *A Proclamation* (*Taylor*, ff. 251—253). It is too long for insertion here. The phrase *to drink* (inhale) tobacco was common. "He *drank* colt's-foot among his tobacco." *Taylor*, f. 358. Is this a practice now? I remember my father was in the habit of mixing colt's-foot with his tobacco thirty years ago. In Davies's *Epigrams* which appeared about 1598, one (xxxvi.) is in *praise* of tobacco.

Pickt-hatch, the Spittle and Turnbull street. p. 80.

"Old Bembus . . . of Pickt-hatch,

That plunging through the Sea of Turnbull Street,

He safely did arrive at Smithfield Bars."—*Taylor, Works*, f. 164.

"Sometimes [she] is in the full at Pickt-hatch and sometimes in the wane at Bridewell."—*Ib.* f. 257.

"Turnbull street poor bawds."—*Ib.* f. 253.

"Did ever any man ere heare him talke

But of Pick-hatch, or of some Shoreditch baulke?"

Scourge of Villanie, iii. 305.

The *Spittle*, St Bartholomew's.

Dancing. p. 85. Stubbs, in his *Anatomic of Abuses*, on 'The Horrible Vice of Pestiferous Dauncing used in Ailgna,' says : "Dauncing, as it is vsed (or rather abused) in these daies, is an introduction to whordome, a preparatiue to wantonnesse, a pronocatiue to vncleannesse, and an introite to all kinde of lewdnesse, rather then a pleasant exercise to the minde, or a wholesome practise for the bodie (as some list to calle it) : . . . say they, it induceth loue : so say I also ; but what loue ? truly a lustfull loue, a venerous loue, a concupiscencious, bawdie, and beastiall loue, such as proceedeth from the stinking pump and lothsome sinck of carnall affection and fleshly appetite" (pp. 179, 182, ed. 1585, reprint of 1836).

Bread made of Peas. p. 99. "Do we not see the poor man that eateth brown bread (whereof some is made of rye, barley, peason, beans, oats, and such other gross grains) and drinketh small drink, yea, sometimes water, [and] feedeth upon milk, butter, and cheese."—*Anat. of Abuses*, p. 112.

"My house and I can feed on peas and barley."

Every M. out of his Hu. i. 1.

Wapping. p. 118. Pirates were commonly executed at Wapping.

"I haue seene many of these Prowling fisher-men end their liues like Swans (in a manner singing) and sometimes making their wills at Wapping, or looking through a hempen window at St. Thomas Waterings."—*Taylor, Works*, f. 87.

"By Wapping, where as hang'd drown'd Pirats dye."—*Ib.* f. 181.

"Thus much I mildly write in hope 'twill mend thee ;

If not, the Thames or Wapping shore will end thee."—*Ib.* f. 316.

In Henry the VIII.'s time a place called "the Willows" was used for this purpose :—"And this yere was hongyd at the Wyllow by the Temse syde Woolfe and hys wyffe, for kyllunge of two Lumberttes in a bote on the Temse."—*Grey Friars Chron.* p. 37.

Corbet's Song. p. xv. I know not how this song came to be attributed to Corbet. It occurs in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, Act ii., and may be found in Hawkins's *Origin of the English Drama*, vol. i. 1773 ; in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, vol. ii. 1825 ; and in Hazlitt's *Lectures on the English Drama*, p. 197, ed. 1840. The Comedy of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* has been attributed to John Still, who died Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1607 ; and to Nicholas Udal, who died in 1557. It is not likely that Corbet wrote the song, but I give it here notwithstanding.

Back and syde go bare, go bare,
booth foote and hande go colde :
But belley, God sende thee Good ale ynoughe,
whether it be newe or olde.

I Can not eate, but lytle meat,
my stomacke is not good ;
But sure I thinke, that I can drynk
with him that weares a hood.
Thoughe I go bare, take ye no care,
I am nothinge a colde ;
I stuffe my skyn so full within,
of joly good ale and olde.
Back and syde go bare, go bare,
booth foote and hand go colde :
But belly, God send the good ale inoughe,
whether it be new or olde.

I love no rost, but a nut-brown toste,
and a crab layde in the fyre,
A lytle bread shall do me stead,
much breade I not desyre.
No froste nor snow, no winde, I trow,
can hurte mee, if I wolde,
I am so wrapt, and throwly lapt
of joly good ale and olde.
Back and side go bare, &c.

And Tyb my wyfe, that as her life
loveth well good ale to seeke,
Full ofte drinkes shee, tyll ye may see
the teares run down her cheekes ;
Then dooth she trowle to mee the bowle,
even as a mault worne shuld ;
And sayth, sweet hart, I tooke my part
of this joly good ale and olde.
Back and side go bare, &c.

Now let them drynke, tyll they nod and winke,
even as good felowes shoulde do,
They shall not mysse to have the blisse
good ale doth bringe men to :
And all poor soules that have scowred boules,
or have them lustely trolde,
God save the lyves of them and their wyves
whether they be yonge or olde.
Back and side go bare, &c.

¹Epigrammi Satiron.

Septem compacta cicutis
Fistula.²

The Times Whistle ; or a newe Daunce³
of seven Satires : whervnto are annexed
divers other Poems comprising Things
naturall, morall, & theologicall. Compiled
by [R. C.] Gent.

Parturit, assiduo si non renovetur aratro,
Non nisi cum spinis, gramina mundus ager.

Ad Lectorem.

Reader, if thou expect to find in this booke either
affectation of poetick stile, or roughnesse of unheuen
invention, which amongst many is of moste estimation,
being

[*Remainder cut off.*]

¹ leaf 1.

² Virg. Ecl. 2. 36.

³ Cf. "The Letting of Hymovrs Blood in the Head-Vaine.
With a new Morisco, daunced by seauen Satyres," etc.
London, 1600.

[leaf 1, back]

Epigrammisatiron.

I am sent from
Nemesis to
punish the sins

and expose the
vices of this age,

which is very
corrupt, and
needs severe
remedies.

From *the* Rhamnusian goddesse am I sent,
On sinne t' inflict deserved punishment
All-seeing sunne, lend me thy searching eye,
That I may finde and scourge impietie, 4
And pull from vice, *which* hath beguiled sence,
Disguisd' like vertue, brasse faed' impudence.
For now this age, this worse then iron age,
This sincke of synne, this map of hell, this stage 8
Of all vncleannesse, whose disease is ease,
Wallowing in worlds of pleasure, swallowing seas
Of sensuall delightes, is whollie growne
A huge impostume of corruption, 12
Whose swelling tumor (well I am assur'de)
Must needs be launed', or ne'er will be recurde :
To the *which* act¹ my genius prompteth me,
Though it passe Æsculapian surgerie. 16
Be stout my heart, my hand be firm and steady,
Strike, and strike home, the vaine worlds veine is ready ;
Let vlcerd limbes and gowtie humours quake,
Whilst with my pen I doe incision make.² 20

[leaf 2]

Ad Rithmum.

Fear not, my
verse, the
punishments
which are pre-
pared for truth,

or the spics

March forth, and boldly march, my tel troth rimes,
Disclose the lewdnesse of these looser times ;
Fear not the frowne of grim authority,
Or stab of truth-aborring villanie ; 24
Fear not the olde accustomed reward,
A loathsome prison still for truth preparte ;
Though many hundred (Argus hundred) eyes,
View, and review, each line, each word, as spies, 28

¹ *art* crossed out, and *act* written over.

² A line is drawn here : the lower half of the leaf is cut off.

Your meaning to entrap ¹ by wrong construction,		which will mis-
Vndaunted speake the truth ; let not detraction		construe your
Apall your courage ; spite of iniuries,		meaning.
Tell to the world her base enormities.	32	

A Ioue principium Musæ.²

When first I did intend to write 'gainst sinne,		At first I knew
My Muse was in suspence how to beginne ;		not on what
What crime to put i' th' forefront of my booke,		subject to
Not through defect (let me not be mistooke)	36	commence,
Of number, for the world abounds in vice,		
But 'cause 'twas somewhat hard to breake the ice		
To any ; but at last methought 'twas fitt		
First to inveigh 'gainst those that doe committ	40	
The greatst offences ; whom I tooke to be		but I thought I
Our Ath[e]ists, which striue to roote vp the tree		would begin with
Of true religion : by these reasons movd :—		atheists who
First, that this sinne might be from vs remov'd ;	44	commit the worst
Without the which, it were in vaine to taxe		offences.
Other offences, of what note or sexe		
Soever ; next, because this kinde of men		
Doth most dishoner God ; and lastly, when	48	
All that we are is his, from whom alone		
We doe all good deriue, when every one		
Moues by his power, lives by his permission,		
And can doe nothing if the prohibition	52	
Of the Almighty doe oppugne ; it lies		
Only in him to end each enterprise.		
These things concurring, I my selfe did fitt		God only can
To vse the inchoation of my witte	56	bring my enter-
First in his cause, by whose direction		prise to per-
I hope to bring the rest vnto perfection.		fection.

¹ rap not clear in MS.

² Virg. Ecl. 3. 60.

[leaf 2, back]

Satira 1.

[AGAINST THE ATHEISTS, SABBATH-BREAKERS, ETC.]

ARGUMENTUM.

Regnat in humanis diuina potentia rebus,
 Non ex naturæ vi generatur homo.
 Quid deus, et cui fini animal ratione creatum
 Est pietas, est in religione scelus.

The atheist will
 one day find a
 God who can
 punish sin.

Atheos ! forbear to speake such blasphemie !

“There is noe God,” O, damnd impiety !

Yes, wicked villaine, thou shalt one day finde,

With horror of a selfe-tormenting minde,

4

A God, though long it be ere he begin,

That can and will severely chastice sinne.

Thou execrable monster, hatchd in hell,

The atheist was
 brought into the
 world by the
 devil.

Brought by a crew of devills heer to dwell

8

A plague one earth, why hast thou thus bewitcht

With thy contagion mindes that are enricht

With gifts of nature aboue common ranke ?

Who with *the* poyson *that* from thee they dranke

12

Envenom'd, wound themselves, and others harme

With strange opinions, *which* in heapes doe swarme

From their ill-iudging thoughts ; for heresie,

Schism, Puritan-
 ism, Brownism,
 and Papistry,
 take their rise
 from atheism.

Scisme, Puritanisme, Brownisme, pa[pi]stric,

16

And such like hydra-headed errors, all

Proceed from thee, thou art the principall ;

Thou *which* wilt never graunt a Diety,
 Vnlesse it be in poynt of pollicie, 20 The atheist
thinks religion
was devised to
frighten children,
 Which by religion dost not set a strawe,
 Devisde, thou thinkst, but to keep fooles in awe ;
 Which makest a moneking-stock of hell and devill,
 Not in contempt of them, that they are evill, 24
 But 'cause thou vainly dost thyselfe perswade,
 Such toyes as these, such bugbears, were first made
 On purpose to fright children. Instantlie
 The soule thou thinkst doth with the bodie dye. 28 and that the soul
dies with the
body.
 Nature cannot immortalize a man,
 'Tis true indeed, but heavenly powers can.
 "That ther are no such things" (saist thou) "this age,
 This vicious age, confirmes ; what need I wage 32
 Other contentious arguments, when I
 By this alone can proue noe Dietie ?
 Were there a God, sinne would not flourish thus,
 Neither would vertue (as it is) by vs 36 He says if there
were a God sin
would not
flourish as it
[leaf 3]
does,
 Be trodden vnder foote. For ought I see
 The lewdest persons thriue best, and are free
 From punnishment for sinne ; besides all this,
 They that doe worship God doe often misse 40
 The blessings of the world & suffer grieve ;
 Yet ther is none can giue to them relief.
 They often fall in danger & mischance,
 Yet never finde a full deliverance. 44 while the good
suffer many
things without
help from Him.
 Were there a God, sure then he would defend
 His children still, *which* wholly doe depend
 Vppon his mercy, & vpon them spread
 His blessings in abundance : on the head 48
 Of the vngodly, there alon should fall
 His curses, crosses, punnishments ; but all
 The righteous should escape." Peace, impious elfe !
 All thou hast saide is clean against thy selfe. 52 But these things
tell against the
atheist,
 High Ioue permits the sunne to cast his beames,
 And the moyst cloudes to dropdowne plenteous streames,

	Alike vpon the just & reprobate, Yet are not both subjected by one fate?	56
while in eternity they will be a cause of honour to the good.	The sunnes kinde heat, heavens fruitfull distillation, Shall be a cause of greater condemnation To the vngodlie ; but vnto <i>the</i> just, (As gracious blessings <i>which</i> he doth entrust Vnto his children) they well vsd' shall be A cause of honour in eternity.	60
The wicked may flourish now, but they will go to hell in the end.	Well may the wicked flourish in this world, But there will come a time they shall be hurld From top of all their pleasures eminence, And hell shalbe their place of residence. Then shall the righteous shine like glorious starres W'thin the sphear of heaven ; oppressions, warres, Afflictions, <i>persecutions</i> , iniuries, Hatred, contempt, & all calamities Shall be a crowne of honour to invest Their then triuphant browes ; eternall rest, Perpetuall joy, subject to no mischance, Shalbe their portion & inheritance.	64
The righteous will shine as the stars and enjoy perpetual rest in heaven.	But against him that makes negation Of principles in art, no disputation Is to be held : deny God, & his Word Can smale impression make ; it is the sword Of iustice <i>which</i> must bring thee to confesse The powerfull Godhead ; yet I'le somewhat presse Thy irreligeous minde. Of thy creation Take but a true consideration ; For 'tis not Nature, as thou dost surmise, That begets man in soule & qualities. For thou must know, two parts must first conioyne Before we can a perfect man define ; The soule, an essence intellectuall, The body, a substance corporeall ; The first we immediatly receiue From Ioue ; the other God to man doth leaue	68
[leaf 3, back]		72
God's Word must bring men to confess Him.		76
		80
		84
Two parts con- join to make a perfect man— soul and body.		88

(As a subordinat instrument)

To generat ; 'tis onlie incident 92

To man, to cause the bodies procreation ;
The soule's infusde by heavenly operation.

Looke on this wth an intellectuall eye, Look at the earth
And it will teach thee ther's a Diety. 96 which, each year
View but the earth, *which* doth each year renew renewing its
Her drouping beauty, & clean change her hiew beauty, shows a
Vpon the Springs approch ; doth it not shew supreme Power.

A supream Power, that governs things belowe ? 100

Looke on the heavens (*which* thou shalt ne're ascend,
Vnlesse it be wth horroure to attend

This sentence of damnation ;) looke, I say, Look to the
Doth not their goodly opifice display 104 heavens, and
A power 'bove Nature ? Dull conceited foole, they declare a
Ne'er trained vp but in dame Natures schoole, Being who is
Looke in thy selfe, when thou commitst a sinne, above nature.

Doth not thy conscience prick thy soule within ? 108 Look on yourself;
If that ther be no God, what dost thou fear ? if there is no God
Why doth remorse of conscience, or dispaire, why does con-
Afflict thee thus ? This is enough to prove science make
(Were there no more) an Elohim, a Iove. 108 you fear ?

How canst thou then thus impiously deny This is enough to
The sacred essence of the Diety ? prove there is a
Recant this error, least, to all mens wonder, God.

Revengefull Iove doe strike thee dead wth thunder. 112

Being once granted (this *our* true position) 117

Ther is a God ; let's now make inquisition Consider what
What this God is ; *which* must be by relation God is.

Vnto his workes, or else by meer negation 120

Of what he is not, we may make collection
Of what he is. It is the times infection
[To b]¹e to curious in the mistery
Of searching his essentialitie, 124 It is the fashion
Which simple, as too glorious for the eye now to be over
[leaf 4] the Divine Being.

¹ MS. worn off.

	Of mortall vnderstanding to deserie, We cannot comprehend ; let 's therefore know him In that sort onlie that the Scriptures shew him. 128
God is an intellectual Essence, omnipotent, omniscient, and always true.	God is an Essence intellectuall, A perfect Substance incorporeall ; A Spirit whose being ne're begining knew, Omnipotent, omniscient, ever true ; 132 Or rather, in the abstract :—Majestie, Truth, mercy, wisdom, power, iustice, glorie ; Which out of nothing this great world did frame, And into nothing will rechange the same ; 136 Which made that glorious eye of heaven, <i>the sunne</i> To rule the day, and for darke night <i>the moone</i> ; Which joynes in friendly league each element, And keeps the sea within his continent ; 140 Which of the dust mans body did create, Into the <i>which</i> a soule he did translate, Like his owne image pure ; vntill mans fall, Left to his owne free-will, polluted all 144 That goodly microcosme ; for the <i>which</i> deed, Had not the issue of the promise seed, The valiant Lion of stout Iudahs tribe, The gentle Lambe vngentlie crucified, 148 Redeemd his life, borne his iniquity, And conquerd Satan & his tyrannie, He should haue been severely punished And everlastingly haue perished. 152
He created man out of the dust and left him to his own free will.	But now by him, all that make oblation Of a true faith, assure their soules salvation ; What the first Adam did by sinne destroy, The Second hath restorde with duple ioye. 156
Christ redeemed man from everlasting punishment, and restored what Adam lost.	But leaving this moste heavenly meditation, Let 's shew for what effect was mans creation : It was, it is, to serve this God alone, With honour, loue, & true devotion. 160 The manner how were somewhat long to write,
Man was created to serve, honour, and love his Maker.	

- The Scripture all his precepts doth recite.
Which, cause we cannot in all parts fulfill,
 In lieu of power he doth except *our* will. 164
 But man, vngratefull man, this God withstandes,
 And, like Briareus with his hundred handes,
 Strives, as it were, to pull him from his throne
Which gave him being, & through whom alone 168
 He his well-being has. O, impious deed,
Which to recount my very heart doth bleed !
 That wee (like to those giants, *which* made warre
 Against the heavens) with such presumption dare 172
 Lift vp *our* selues against *our* Maker by
 So many kinde¹ of damnd impietie,
 So many hellish sinnes, whose hideous cry
 Percing the clowdes, mounting aboue the skie, 176
 Affront Gods power, & doe deserve to finde
 Another Deluge to destroy mankinde.
 But God, this gracious God, with mercie strives
 To bring vs to him & to saue *our* lives ; 180
 And therefore hath chalkd out a ready way,
 (That we no more might goe so farre astray)
 His Gospell ; *which* path (if not trod amisse)
 Will safelie bring vs to celestiall blisse. 184
 This profferd grace some see not, some despise,
 Although herein alone their safetie lies.
 Omitting Iewish superstition
 With soule-profaning Turkish Aleheron, 188
 And Infidels, *which* noe religion vse,
 Whose ignorance cannot their sinne excuse :
 We that doe boast of Christianity,
 And knowledge in Gods holie misterie, 192
 With sects & scismes our religion
 Have made a chaos of confusion.
 Our Anabaptists I will set aside,
 With Families of Love, whose aimes are wide 196

Man strives
 against God and
 tries to pull Him
 from His throne.
 [leaf 4, back]

Like the fabled
 giants, we lift up
 ourselves against
 our Maker.

By our sins we
 affront Him and
 deserve a second
 deluge to destroy
 us.

He sent the
 Gospel to guide
 us to blisse,
 but while some
 see it not
 others despise it.

We who boast of
 our Christianity
 have made a
 chaos of our
 religion by our
 sects.

¹ MS. tinde

- From the true faith. There is a trinall kinde
Of seeming good religion, yet I finde
But one to be embrac'd, *which* must be drawne
From Papist, Protestant, or Puritane. 200
- I will speak first
of the Puritans
who have become
very numerous,
And first to speake of that pure seeming sect,
Which now of late beginneth to infect
The body of *our* land :—This kinde of men
Is strangelië (for I know not how nor when) 204
Become so populous, that with the number,
But more with new devises, it doth cumber
Our Catholique Church, & sticks as a disease
Within her bowels ; whilst it seems to please 208
With faind habite of true holinesse
Which is indeed the worst of wickednesse.
- [leaf 5]
The thought of this hath set my Muse one fire,
And I must rage e're I can swage mine ire. 212
You hypocriticall precisians,
By vulgar phrase entitled Puritanes,
Which make of superficiall sanititie
A cloke, to hide *your* inbred villanie ; 216
You soules-seducers vnto worst of evils,
You seeming saints & yet incarnat devils,
How dare ye slander *our* religion,
And make a scoffe at *our* devotion ? 220
How dare you with opprobrious wordes revile,
Or with unhallowed actions thus defile
The sacred orders *which* *our* Church doth hold,
And sanctimonious eustomes, *which* of olde 224
Haue by grave counsels, to a godlie end,
Not superstition, as you doe pretend,
Been instituted ? Cease *your* open wrongs !
Cannot *our* Bishops scape *your* slanderous tongues ?
No : you maligne their great authoritie, 229
Because they doe search out *your* villanie.
You must haue private meetings ! To what end ?
In bellie-cheer and lust *your* time to spend. 232
- and cumber the
Church, sticking
as a disease
within her
bowels.
- Of their apparent
sanctity they
make a cloak to
hide their
villany.
- They revile the
sacred orders of
the Church ;
- even the bishops
cannot escape
their slanderous
tongues.

- O rare devotion & strange holinesse,
Which endes in soule polluting beastlinesse !
Well may you blinde the eyes of common sence,
And passe for men of zeale & confidence 236
'Mongst simple worldlings, which by outward shew
Doth iudge the inward man ; but God doth know
All your intents, & with severity
Will castigate your damnd hypoerisie. 240
In the mean time may you be forced to dwell
At Amsterdam, or else sent quicke to hell.
For now my Muse doth hear another motion ;—
“ Ignorance is the mother of devotion ! ” 244
Erroneous papist, hast soe litle grace ?
Thou knowst 'tis false, then how, or with what face
Canst thou maintaine against thy conscience
So manyfest an error without sence ? 248
For how can he be good that knowes no cause
Whie he is good, but like a milhorse drawes,
Blindfolded, in a circle ? Yet you teach
(For to the learnèd I addresse my speech) 252
Religion in an vnknowne tongue to those
Whom we call common people ; I suppose,
Nay trulie may averre, you doe conceale
Your misteries, not daring them reveale, 256
Lest that the people, knowing them for lies,
Should contemne you & hate your heresies :
You that are worse then cannibals by odles,
For they devoure but men, you eat the gods ! 260
From whom doe you assume authoritie
To pardon capitall iniquity ?
Why, not from God, the Pope 's sufficient
To pardon sinne & divert punnishment. 264
Who taught you soe, you wilfully blinde fooles ?
Sure Satan read this lecture in his schooles.
Wher did you learne ? (was 't in the Devils booke ?
For from Gods word I 'me sure you never tooke 268

They pass for
men of zeal
amongst the
simple, but God
knows all, and
He will punish
their hypoerisy.

Till then may
they go to
Amsterdam,
or hell.

Ignorance is not
the mother of
devotion, as the
papists say,

who teach
religion in an
unknown tongue,
not daring to
reveal their
mysteries.

[leaf 5, back]

They are worse
than cannibals,
who only eat
men, while the
papists eat the
gods.

Where did they
learn that it is
lawful to murder
princes ?

	Such damnable positions) that to murder A prince, <i>which</i> doth not your religion funder, Is a moste lawfull act, yea commendable, For <i>which</i> you will at any time enable	272
The man who attempts the murder of a prince	That man <i>with</i> your best benediction, And all his sinnes free absolution, And warrantize him heaven & happie day : (“A warrant seald with butter!” as we say). All this, & more then this, you will performe, Be’t to the meanest abject, basest worme, That dares attempt soe horrible a deed. And though his enterprise doe not succeed, (As God forbid it should) but he doe die For his lewd treason, he shall instantlie	276
is canonized, as was Ravaiillac for the murder of Henry IV. of France, May 14, 1610,	Be canonizd a Saint. Ravilliacke Doth neither <i>Saints</i> nor Martires title lacke. But you had reason : his vnhappy hand Destroyde a kinge, ¹ & almost brought a land To vtter ruin ; for being thus defilde With her owne princes blood, a tender childe Was to succeed, & we know Scriptures say, “Woe to those landes whose scepters children sway.”	280
and Fawkes for his attempt on our King and Parliament in 1605.	But Faux & his confederats ² are enrolde For blessed <i>Saints</i> among you.—Who will holde Your piety authentically, <i>which</i> makes Such hell-houndes <i>Saints</i> ? What godly heart not quakes To hear such mischief, to record such evill, As they would haue committed? The grand Devill Was their instructor sure, else could they not Haue once devisde soe damnable a plott, As by one blast <i>our</i> king to ruinat, And our whole kingdome to depopulate,	284
The devil only could have put such a plot into a man’s head.		288
		292
		297
		300

¹ MS. kinde.² Garnet and Oldcorn are set down as “martyrs” in an “Apologia” published at Cologne in 1610, written by A. E. Ioannes Cydonius, who justifies the killing of heretic kings. Others at that time did the same.

Of superstitionſly polluted Rome,
 cannot ſave men's ſoules. Can ſave *your* ſoules in that great day of doome.
 Between the ſchiſmatic and the Romanist is the Church of England,
 Between theſe ſects, as in a golden meane,
 Stands the religion whervnto we leane ; 340
 Vndoubted truth it is that we doe holde,
 Yet is *our* zeale ſo frozen & ſo colde,
 So choekt with thornes of covetous deſire,
 So hoggiſhlie polluted with the mire 344
 Of carnall luſts, that *our* beſt ſanctity
 Is but a kinde of baſtard piety.
 And yet the times as now did ne're afford
 Such plenty of diſpencers of Gods word ; 348
 [leaf 6, back] For now the Goſpell, like the midday ſunne,
 Yet the goſpel diſplays its light over all our land.
 Diſplaies his beames over all Albion.
 But we, as if by too much light ſtrucke blinde,
 Neglect this meanes of grace, *which* is assignd 352
 For *our* ſoules health. Some out of pride contemne it,
 Others, bent vnto greedy gaine, condemne it,
 Becauſe it ſpeakes againſt the ſlavish vice
 Of ſoule-bewitching, ſordid avarice. 356
 Others, that follow Epicureus faſhion,
 Cannot abide to hear of reformation,
 And therefore hate the Goſpell, *which* doth cry
 Againſt their brutiſh ſenſuality. 360
 Many there are *which* live like libertines,
 And the holy C[h]urch & good devines
 Doe hold ridiculous ;—their homely homes
 Will ſerve them well enough to pray, when 't comes
 Into their fancies ; they cannot abide 365
 Vnto Church orders ſtrictlie to be tide.
 Others, forſooth, will haue a congregation,
 But that muſt be after another faſhion 368
 Then *our* Church doth allow,—no church at all,—
 For that they ſay is too papitiſtical ;
 Like¹ their profeſſion, they themſelves will ſever

¹ MS. Likes.

From stone walles;—tut, their church shall last for ever;
 Theire soules shalbe their tabernacles still, 373
 That kinde of church doth only please their will.

Iove separat me from these Separists,
 Which think they hold heavens kingdome in their fists,
 And yet their life, if we into it prie, 377
 Is full of sinne & damnd impiety.

Some, more for fear of the lawes punishment
 Then zeale vnto devotion, doe frequent 380
 Gods holy temple, where they doe imploy
 Themselves as ill as if they staide away;

On[e] part in sleeping, in discourse another;
 A third doth seeme to marke, but doth discover 384
 Slilie some object that withdrawes his eye
 From what he should attend; the yoonger frie
 Come only to be seen & see: of all

Which doe repaire to church, the fruit is smale 388
 That is collected by them. I surmise
 That wickednesse by this doth rather rise
 To greater height, then anywise decaie;
 For pride & lust it is the ready way 392

I'me sure. Of every new framd fashion,
 This is the place to make moste ostentation,
 To shew the bravery of our gay attire

Hether to come on purpose; our desire 396
 Is to be seen of all, whilst we observe

The like in others. Though our soules doe sterve
 For want of knowledge, we doe litle care;

From gazing vp and downe we cannot spare 400
 A iot of time to hearken to Gods word,
 When all's to litle that we doe afforde

To our owne fancies; thus the time we spend,
 Which devine service soone brings to an end; 404

And then againe we homeward doe advaunce,
 Fuller of pride, as full of ignorance.

Is there a wench whose beauty is of note?
 If there's a pretty wench,

Jove, deliver me
 from such men!

Some go to
 church because
 they fear the
 law.

Some sleep,
 some talk;

others come to
 see and be seen.

[leaf 7]

Not a moment
 can be spared
 from gazing
 about.

the gallants come to observe her perfections.	Hether <i>your</i> gallants come, only to cote Her rare <i>perfections</i> ; yea, this sacred place Serves them to make (they have soe litle grace) Compacts for lust. Thus by these hellish evils The howse of God is made a den of devils.	408 . 412
I do not wish to hinder people from going to church ;	I speake not this to hinder the concourse Of well affected mindes vnto that source, That fountaine, blessed fountaine, <i>which</i> doth flow With living waters, Gods word ; no, my bow	416
I only want to rectify abuses.	Aimes at another marke ; I onlie strive To rectifie abuses <i>which</i> deprive The Gospell of his propagation, And plentifull encrease. Our nation Rather needs spurres to quicken his slow pace Vnto religion & the house of grace.	420
Some are so greedy of gain that even the Sabbath cannot hinder them from following their occupations.	For some there are <i>which</i> gape soe after gaine, That on the Lords day they will not refraine, So 't to their benefit tend, to exercise Themselves in some laborious enterprise. In towne & cuntrie this vngodlie sinne To grow vnto a custome doth beginne ;	424 428
The country man does so, and so does the tradesman.	Your country swaines will moste familiarlie Worke one this day & labour impiouslie. But 'mongst <i>our</i> tradesmen specially, this vse, <i>Which</i> I may iustlie call a damnd abuse, Is most familiar. Six dayes in the weeke Are not sufficient, but the seventh must reeke With sweat of their vngodly labour, when They should repaire to church with other men,	432 436
They labour when they ought to be at church.	To give vnto the Lord, the only Giver Of blessings, & the gracious Forgiver Of hell deserving sinnes, all praiers & praise. What though the word of God expresly sayes, “ This is the day <i>which</i> thou must dedicate Vnto my service, this day at no rate Shalt thou performe thy worke, least thou doe draw	440

My heavy wrath vpon thee?" Though the law	444	They despise the laws of God and [leaf 7, back] man which forbid this sin.
Of man forbid the same, and doe inflict A punnishment on those it doth convict Of this offence; yet fearlesse of all danger, From the man borne i' th' land vnto the stranger,	448	
If they can cast a mist before the eye Of sinne-correcting, strict authority, Moste of our tradesmen will enact this crime ; It stands not with their profit to loose time ;	452	Most of our tradesmen are guilty of it, thinking once a month often enough to pray.
They'l take their best advantage while they may ; It is sufficient once a month to pray. Vngracious villaines, how can you expect A blessing to your labour, which neglect	456	
The only meanes, Gods service, which alone Can bring your workes vnto perfection ? The manna gathered in the wildernesse By the Iewes vnbeelieving wickednesse	460	The manna collected on the Jewish sabbath putrified.
Vpon their Sabbath, by the Lord forbidden, Both putrifie & stuncke. Nothing is hidden Which shall not be reueald ; though you may blinde The eyes of man, there is a God will finde	464	
And punnish this lewd sinne. I' th' meantime think That all such labours in his nostrils stinke, And therefore shall prove fruitlesse : men intend But God it is that consummates the end.	468	All Sunday labour is in vain.
I cannot 'scape the blest Communion, Which doth with God effect our vnion, It is soe much abusd by sinfull man,— To passe the papist & the Lutheran,	472	The Holy Communion is much abused.
Their trans & consubstantiation, Of both these errors to make no relation,— We that doe holde the verity indeed, That this same bred, wheron our soules doe feed,	476	
This wine we drink, is reall bred and wine, Although the mistery be moste devine ; Even we, I say, though we doe represent		Passing by the Papist and the Lutheran, we

ourselves err in our opinion of this Sacrament.	The true opinion of the Sacrament,	480
	Yet in the vse doe erre, may rather sinne, Which applide rightly is the meanes to winne Eternall life. Some men, which are vnable	
Some go to the Holy Table to please their sense;	To iudge the worth, come to this Holy Table	484
	Only to please their sence; others there are Which for so smale a pittaunce doe not care;— “What is a bitte of bread, a sip of wine?”— But that the law doth straightly them enioyne,	488
	To be partakers of this holy meat	
some think it is not worth the trouble, but go because the law compels them.	And sacred drink. By farre they'd rather eat At their owne howses, wher their carnall sence May be suffic'd; their soules intelligence	492
[leaf 8]	May sterve for want of this spirituall food, And they regard it not. That's only good In their grosse braines, whose visibility And appetituall sensibility	496
Others esteeme themselves un- worthy, and refuse to go on that account,	Lies open to their sence. Others ther be, Which doe indeed esteeme more reverendlie Of the Lords Supper; & because they knowe The danger great, that to their soules may grow	500
	By their vnworthy eating, quite refuse To be partakers of it; still they vse Some let or other to detaine them back;	
	Either they doe due preparation lacke,	504
or because they are not in charity with all men.	Or else they are not in true charity With other men. Ther must noe malice be In a communicant: 'tis true.—What then?	
	Doe you surmise, O shallow-pated men,	508
	That this excuse is all sufficient To satisfie for such a foule intent?	
But remember, the king made his feast, and that you were bidden.	No, simple worlcllings; the king made his feast, And you were bidden to it 'mongst the rest;	512
	But 'cause you would not come, you shall not tast His sacred supper, but you shalbe cast Into that pitt, with the ungodlie rout,	

Where the worme dies not, the fire ne're goes out. 516

And soe shall likewise he that boldlie came

Without his wedding roabe ; I mean the same

Which comes vnto the Table of the Lord

As to some common, ordinarie bord, 520

And never seekes to make true preparation,

But even eats & drinckes his owne damnation.

It is a lamentable thing to see

The ignorance & strange stupidity 524

Of men now living in the clearest light

Of the resplendant Gospell, as if night

Of darkest errorr still eclipst their eyes ;

They are so rude in the true misteries 528

Of their salvation, scarce one man 'mong ten

Can giue a true account of 's faith ; nor, when

He comes to due examination,

How he hath made his preparation 532

For the Lords Table, iustlie tell the number

Of Sacraments ; this only thing doth cumber

The wits of many & confounds their sence,

As I haue seen by plaine experience. 536

How far then are they from the perfect knowing

Of their true vse ! yet these men will be shewing

Themselues moste forward to receive ; but what

They know not, nor they care not much for that ; 540

But for the world, to purchase earthly gaine,

They follow that with dayly sweat and paine.

It is a custome, lewd enough I 'me sure,

(And I doe wonder that our lawes endure 544

Such profane vses) after the reccate

Of that coelestiall sacramentall meat,

For olde & young i' th' country frequently

Vpon that day to vse most luxurie. 548

Each on[e] must then vnto an alehouse run,

Drink drunk, act any sinne vnder the sunne.

Why? this same day 's a day of iubile ;

You and he who
came without his
wedding garment
will alike be cast
into hell.

It is lamentable
to see the ignor-
ance and
stupidity of men

in that which
concerns their
own salvation.

Some cannot
even tell the
number of the
Sacraments,

or their true use.

[leaf 8, back]

After receiving
the Holy Sacra-
ment,

it is common for
old and young to
go to the alehouse.

It has been the
custom; and
they would
rather lose their
souls than their
privileges.

It hath been an accustomd liberty 552
To spend this day in mirth, and th[e]y will choose
Rather their soules then priviledges loose.

Such men are
like him who
swept his house,
after which seven
evil spirits came
to dwell with
him.

And soe (I fear) not few among them will;
For they, *which* on this day doe drink & swill 556
In such lewd fashion, may be likened well
To him that swept the howse wher he did dwell,
And made it clean, & garnisht it full faire;
After *which* act ther did to him repaire 560

Satan stands
ready to enter
into them as he
did into Judas.

Seven evill fiends worse then the former were;
More ougly sinnes did enter & dwell there,
And by his falling to more wicked sinning,
He made his end far worse then his begining. 564
So is 't with them that in this sort doe sinne,
Satan stands close ready to enter in,
Even as he did in Judas, *which* had eat
Vnworthily the sacramentall meat. 568

So man, whose
life is but a
bubblie, is blown
from Christi-
anity.

And yet fond man regardeth not one whit,
Till he have made himselfe the devils bit,
Who at two bits, for so his name imports,
Devours both soule & body, mans two parts. 572

If the joys of
heaven have not
softened his heart,

Thus is man blowne, by every puffle of vanity,
From the true scope of Christianity,
His soules salvation. Wretched, wicked man,
Returne, repent! Thy life is but a spanne, 576
A breath, a bubble; think that thou must die
To live in joyes or endlesse miserie.
And if the comfort of celestiall blisse,

let the fear of
hell do so.

Whose joy beyond imagination is, 580
Haue not sufficient power to mollifie
Thy heart, heart hardned in iniquity,
Yet let the horreur of damnation,
Of whose strange paines no tongue can make relation,
Enforce repentance with a true contrition, 585
And that produce a forward disposition

To a new course of life ; refuse not grace

While it is offerèd ; while ther 's time & space

Dally not with repentance, least iust Love

Convert to furie his condemnèd love ;

And in that ire, iustly conceivèd ire,

Confine thy soule to hells tormenting fire.

588 While he has time
let him not dally
[leaf 9]
with repentance !

592

Satira 2.

[AGAINST SHAMS.]

ARGUMENTUM.

Fronti nulla fides, ludunt spectacula mentem ;
 Non facies verum symptoma cordis habet.
 Decipimur specie recti, sub imagine veri
 Falsa latent ; virtus dissimulata placet.

No poet has been
 able to describe
 the Mausoleum,

The brave erect Mausolian monument,
 That famous vrne, the worlds seventh wonderment,
 Whose sumptuous cost & curious workemanship
 Noe poet, though in Helicon he dip 596
 His pen, by verse is able to dilate,

which, for all its
 outward beauty,
 is full of
 corruption.

Being made for wonder, not to imitate ;
 For all his glorious outside, without staine,
 Filth¹ & corruption doth within containe. 600

The sun looks no
 bigger than a
 cart-wheel.

The sunne, whose spacious orbe in magnitude
 Doth far exceed the earth, seemes to the rude,
 Ignorant of the astronomicke art,
 Noe bigger then the wheel of Hobnols cart. 604
 Counterfet gold, if we doe trust our eye,
 Will passe for purest mettall currantlie.

The crocodile
 sheds tears before
 he devours his
 prey.

The dredfull beast, yclepèd crocodile,
 Whose dwelling is about Ægyptian Nile, 608
 Before he doth devoure his wishèd prey,
 Pity in outward semblance doth display ;

¹ MS. Fill.

For brinish teares from his false eyes distill,
 When he is ready to destroy & kill. 612
 Full dear seafaring passengers abie
 The Syrens sweet enchaunting melodie,
 Which by their singing evermore presage
 Death thretning danger by the furious rage 616
 Of an ensuing storme. Of Circes cup
 Who hath not heard, that who therof did sup
 Was changd (strange metamorphosis in nature)
 From humane forme into a brutish creature? 620
 And yet the cup [w]as goodly to beholde,
 Richly enchasde with pearle, composde of golde.
 Glorious in view appeard Medusaes head,
 Nathlesse it did strike the beholders dead. 624
 Serpents & poysnous toads, as in their bowers,
 Doe closely lurke vnder the sweetest flowers.
 But sencelesse things & sensuall beastes alone
 Mislead not mans to rash opinion ; 628
 Even rationall creatures doe *our* iudgements cheat,
 Man is to man a subject of deceite ;
 And that olde saying is vntrue, "the face
 Is index of the heart." False looking glasse 632
 To view the thoughts of man, when there doe raine
 Stormes of displeasure in mans vexèd braine ;
 When mists of sorrow reasons eyes doe blinde,
 When revenge thunders in his ragefull minde, 636
 His face can carry sunneshine of delight,
 Allthough his soule be blacke as ougly night.
 You erre, fond physiognomers, that hold
 The inward minde followes the outward molde. 640
 Philosophers, *your* axiome is vnure,
 The soule is as the bodies temperature ;
 Complexion noe certaine ground doth shew
 The disposition of a man to know ; 644
 Els why should Nisus, that same¹ pretty youth,

The Syrens by
their melody
entice sailors to
their destruction.

Circe's cup,
though beautiful,
changed him who
drank from it into
a brute.

Serpents and
toads lurk under
sweet flowers.

[leaf 9, back]

Man is to man a
subject of deceit ;

his face is not
the index to his
heart ;

and his com-
plexion does not
always show his
disposition.

¹ MS. some. Cf. Sat. 3. 1101 : 4. 1397.

- Be of soe lewd behaviour? when, in truth,
 His bodies crasis is angelicall,
 And his soules actions diabolicall. 648
- If men were
 as they seem,
 detraction would
 not profess him-
 self my friend.
 Things are not as they seeme; for were they soe,
 Detraction would professe himselfe my foe,
 Shewing his rancors hate before my face,
 And not behinde my baeke worke my disgrace, 652
 When in my presence he doth seem to be
 As Damon to his Pithias, friend to me.
- The tradesman
 seems civil and
 honest, but he'll
 cheat you.
 Mechanico, reputed by moste men
 An honest tradesman & grave citisen, 656
 When thou dost come into his shop to buy,
 Although it be the least commodity,
 With kind salutes & good wordes will receave thee;
 But trust him not, in 's deeds he will deceave thee. 660
- Madam's face is
 painted and her
 hair only a
 periwig.
 Madam Fucata seemeth wondrous faire,
 And yet her face is painted, & her haire,
 That seemes soe goodly, a false periwig.
 Thus all her beauty is not worth a fig, 664
 That doth appeare so glorious to *the* eye,
 And strikes my gallant in loves lethurgie,
 That soe doth boast of famous ancestry
 And from great Iove derives his pedigree, 668
 And speakes indeed, like Iove himselfe, in thunder;
 For othes, as if they would rend heaven in sunder,
 Shot out in vollies, like artillerie,
 Flie from his mouth, that piece of blasphemie. 672
 Like some great horse he paceth vp and downe,
 Gracing his lookes with a disdainefull frowne,
 And takes vpon him in each company,
 As if he held some petty monarchy. 676
 If any man by chance discourse of warre,
 He being present this discourse will marre
 By intermixing his high martiall deeds,
 Swearing his manhood all mens else exceeds; 680
 Vowing that his Herculean arme hath slaine
- and swears he
 has killed more

More men then populous London doth containe,
 Except the subvrbs. He hath made to flie
 The potent Turke, & got the victory 684
 By his owne valour. Charles the Fift of Spaine
 Was nothing to him, nor great Tamburlaine;
 Stout Scanderbeg a childe; he paralels
 Strong sinnewed Sampson, or, indeed, excels. 688
 What dares he not performe? Hee 'l vndertake
 To make the Spanniards vtterly forsake
 The Westernie Indies & their mines of gold,
 With some few chosen men; nay hee 'l vpholde 692
 His force sufficient to reconquer Fraunce,
 And with that kingdome once againe enhaunce
 The faire revennewes of the English crowne,
 Or lay their citties leuell with the ground. 696
 Hee 'l chase the Turke out of Hungaria,
 And force him leave his seat in Grecia;
 Europe hee 'l free from his vexation,
 And bring againe that scattered nation, 700
 The Iewes, together to their Palestine,
 Which he by force will conquer, & confine
 To his obeisaunce. These he dares be bolde,
 And more then these, even acts that would make colde
 The heartes of men only to hear recounted, 705
 His martiall force, which Mars his force surmounted,
 Shall vndertake. Thou vainly bragging foole,
 'Ne're trained vp in brave Bellonaes schoole, 708
 Doe not I know, for all thou lookest see big,
 Thou never yet durst see a sillie pig
 Stucke to the heart? A frog would make thee run!
 Thou kill a man? No, no! thy mothers sonne, 712
 Her only sonne, was a true coward bred.
 I 'le vndertake a sword shall strike thee dead,
 And never touch thee! As for thy discent,

men than London
contains.
He has put the
Turk to flight.

Samson and
Charles the Fifth
were nothing to
him.

He can drive the
Turk out of
Hungary and
Greece,

and restore the
Jews to Palestine,

He's a vain,
bragging fool.

His mother's
only son was a
coward.

¹ *descript: of coragious brag:* in margin of MS. by a later hand.

He was born in
fertile Kent,
and his father
was a clown.

Though thou maist boast the place was firrill Kent 716
That gave thee birth, yet was thy syre a clowne,
And kept his wife in a course homespun gowne ;
Who, seraping vp a litle wealth, began
To fashion thee an ill shapd gentleman. 720

But because he
has travelled
a litle

And now, because thou hast, like Coriate,¹
Traveld a litle ground, & canst relate
How many baudy houses thou hast seen
In the French country ; how the whores have been 724

and seen a litle
of French life,

Kinder there to thee then *our* English punckes ;²
How many nunnes thou hast heard sing, & monckes
Say mattens ; thou thyselfe dost now repute
³The wort[h]iest wort[h]y of the race of Brute ; 728

he thinks he
exceles all men in
bravery and
learning.

The rarest linguist England doth afford,
The bravest soldier that e're wore a sworde.
Vain vpstart braggadochio ! heartlesse cow !
Leave Mars his drumme, goe holde thy fathers plow !

The Puritan's
wife lives in sin,

Fine *Mis*tris Simula, the Puritane, 733
Which as the plague shunnes all that are profane,
Ready to faint if she an oth but hear,
For all her outward holinesse doth blear 736

and is her coun-
try's shame.

The worldes dimme eyes, plaies but the hypocrite,
Living in sinne & sensuall delight.
For, would you think it ? she was tane in bed
With a young, tender, smoothfaed Ganimed, 740
Her husbands prentice. Out, lascivious whore !
Thy countries shame, thy husbands festered sore !

Do their meet-
ings lead to this,
while the world
thinks them so
good ?

Are these the fruits thy frequentation
Of learned sermons yeilds ? Is this the fashion 744
Of your pure seeming sect ? Your meetings tend
Surely vnto some such like holy ende.
And yet the world, blinde world, thinkes you to be
Men of most zeale & best integrity. 748

Metthinkes I see the rich chuffe, Sordido,

¹ Coryate's "Crudities" first appeared in 1611.

² See "Crudities," p. 26. ³ /I in margin of MS.

How basely in apparrell he doth goe ;
 Vpon his head a thrice turnd greasy felt,
 His hose & dublet a tuffe ramskin pelt ; 752
 His stockings of the coursest woole yspunne,
 Full of broad patches, with thicke hobnaild shoone ;
 His lockram bande sewde to his hempen shirt ;
 A lethern thong doth serve his wast to girt, 756
 At which a pouch full 20 winters olde
 Hangs for his codpiece to keep out the colde.
 How hunger-starvd he lookes ! With thin lank cheekes,
 With beard vnkemd, with face fit soile for leekes, 760
 I dare be sworne, who e'er should see the goat,
 Would iudge him to be scarcely worth a groat.
 And yet this boore, this miserable swine,
 Hath landes & lordships, with good store of coine. 764
 Slave to thy wealth, thus from thy selfe to rend
 What thy next heir will soone as rainly spend !
 Scotus, thou hast deceiud the world enough,
 Which takes thee, clothd in thy embrodered stuffe,
 To be some lord at least. Poore silly groome, 769
 Which tother day wouldst faine have had the roome
 Of some base trencher-scraper, so to put
 Seraps twice runne over, in thy half starvd gutt. 77
 And now, with often filling of the pot,
 An office vnder my lords man hast got,
 Being some bread-chipper or greasy cooke,
 For much observance & respect dost looke. 776
 Goe where thou wilt, thou gettest none of me.
 I know too well thy genealogie.
 Let ignorant asses bend their supple knees,
 And cry, "God blesse your worship," for some fees 780
 Of thy cast office ; I as much doe scorne,
 As they desire the plenty of thy horne.
 Proud meacocke,¹ make the world no more believe

The miser goes
 in a greasy hat,
 and coarse
 clothing, his
 linen collar
 stitched to his
 hempen shirt :

how hungry he
 looks !
 His checks are
 thin, his beard
 uncombed ;
 you would not
 iudge him to be
 worth a groat.

The world takes
 Scotus for a lord
 at least, but the
 other day he was
 [leaf 11]
 half starved ;

and now, having
 a post under
 somebody, he
 looks for respect.

The ignorant may
 salute him,

but I scorn him,

¹ The *m* has been crossed out and *p* written over by another hand.

- Gentility is pind vpon thy sleeve ; 784
 For if thou doe, with my satirick verse,
 Thy parentage & manners I 'le reherse,
 And make the world, for thy monstrous othes,
 To laugh & hisse thee out of thy fine clothes. 788
 He that sees Moros in his brave attire
 Would deem him to be some discreet esquire,
 He speakes soe seldome, soe demure doth looke.
 But see how much a man may be mistooke ;— 792
 A verier foole dame Nature never bred,
 That scarce knowes chalke from cheese, or blew from red ;
 Yet amongst many *which* haue purblinde eyes
 This foolish sot hath been thought wondrous wise. 796
 I know a fellow (I 'le conceale his name)
 Hath purchasd, & yet doth possess, the fame
 Of a rare scholler, that hath noe one part
 Of learning, not the smallest dramme of art. 800
 And will you know how he got his repute ?
 I 'le tell you, soe you 'l promise to be mute
 And make no wordes on 't. 'Tis his asses guise,
 As soone as he from 's morning bed doth rise, 804
 After some turne or two in Paules, to drop
 In the precinct of some knowne stationers shop,
 And there, like a learnd Sir, with a grave voice
 He doth demand to see some special choice 808
 Of famous authors, whose true names by heart
 The foole hath gotten, of what tongue or art
 It skills not much ; French, Latine, Hebrew, Greeke,
 All 's one, he vnderstandeth all alike : 812
 Montaignes *Essaies* in French,¹ the history
 Of Philip Ccmineus,² poesie
 Of Virgil, Horace, & such Latin writers,
 St. Austine, Bernard, or some new enditers 816
- and will make
the world laugh
at him and hiss
him.
- Moros, who is
a very fool,
speaks so seldom
and looks so
demure, that
many think him
wise.
- I know a man
who gained a
repute for
learning
- by attending
booksellers' shops
and asking to see
the writings of
famous authors—
- Montaigne, whose
Essays in French,
books 1 and 2, were
first published in
1580; books 1, 2,
and 3 in 1588.
- [leaf 11, back]
Virgil, Horace,
Augustine,
Bernard,

¹ English translation published in 1603, 2nd ed. in 1613.² Philip de Comines died in 1509. He wrote memoirs of his own time.

Of commentaries theologicall ;
 And sometimes he 's for philosophicall,
 And the best writers of astronomie,
 With phisick, logicke, & geometrie. 820
 Then Aristotle, Di[o]scorides, Aristotle, Dioscorides, Galen,
 Avicen, Galen, & Hypocrates ;
 The Hebrew Rabbins, Ptolomeus, Plato Ptolomy, and Plato,
 (Although the foole did never learne his Cato), 824
 Are in his mouth familiar. Some of these,
 Which to demaund his fancy best doth please,
 He for some hower or two will pore vpon, and poring over them for an hour or two.
 Which time is worth your observation ; 828
 For sometime smiling with a simpring grace,
 In turning over those same leaves apace,
 To shew his skill i' th' tongues, hee 'l nod his head, Nodding his head, smiling,
 As if the place which he doth seeme to read 832
 Mov'd him to laughter ; then with thumb hee 'l cote,
 As if that sentence were of speciall note,
 And straight cry "pish !" as if he dislikd that and crying "Pish !" sometimes,
 Which he as much knowes as his grandams cat. 836
 Well, having (as he thinkes) sufficiently
 Guld the opinion of the standers by
 To his desire, the booke he downe doth lay,
 Demaunds the price, dislikes it, goes his way. 840 he demands the price, and sometimes will buy a petty English Pamphlet to gull the by-standers.
 Sometime perhaps, to blinde dull iudgements eye,
 Some petty English pamphlet he will buie.
 Thus hath this gull, among the common sort,
 Which iudge by outward shewes, got the report 844
 Of a great scholler, when, God knowes, the foole
 Was never farther then the grammer schoole.
 Thus mans opinion doth him oft deceave,
 And of true iudgement doth his minde bereave. 848
 Iudging by outward shewes we iudge amisse,
 For vice in vertues habite clothed is.
 Hypocrisie seemes holinesse in looke,
 Fixing his eyes on heaven or in his booke. 852

	O, 'tis a most dissembling, harmfull devill, That 's good in shew & yet in heart is evill.	
hatred is often beneath salutation;	Backbiting slander, deep dissimulation, Are inside hate, yet outside salutation.	856
valour is only cowardice in disguise;	Vanting in wordes true valour oft doth seeme, Yet by his actions we him coward deem;	
flattery takes the form of good counsel;	Soothing vp ill, pernicious flattery, In outward shew good counsel seemes to be.	860
[leaf 12]	Deformity, daubde with a face of paint, With beaunties title doth herselfe a[c]quaint;	
avarice is accounted thrift;	Base avarice & sordid parsimony Is thrift ¹ accounted, & good husbandry;	864
prodigality,	Excessive spending, sensuall prodigality,	
liberality,	Is thought all one with liberality; Impudent boldnesse, rash temerity, Is held for vertuous audacity;	868
Ignorance passes for learning, while learning is held in no repute.	Ignorance in his scarlet robe yelad, Accounted learning, in respect is had, When vertuous ² art, clothed in poor array, Is held in no repute, till time bewray	872
Put no trust in seeming.	The seeming good that ignorance hath not, And the not seeming good that art hath got. Thus ther 's no trust to be reposde in seeming, Since virtue 's knowne by act, not by esteeming.	876

¹ MS. thrift.² Originally written *vertuous*, but altered apparently by another hand into *vertuous*.

Sat[ira] 3.

[AGAINST PRIDE, ETC.]

ARGUMENTUM.

Dum tendit superos ambire superbia cœlos,
 Decidit ad Stigium fulmine quassa lacum.
 Æterno verum sic indignata perisse,
 Cœcos mortales ad sua regna trahit.

After the fabricke of heaven, earth, & seas
 Were gloriously compose, it then did please
 High Iove (e're he began mans operation)
 To give vnto the Angels their creation.
 No earthy substance was in them at all,
 Their formes were heavenly & spirituall.
 Yet some of these, vpon the very day
 They were by God created (if I say
 Vntruth, I can alleadge mine author for it),
 Swelling with pride (oh, I to write abhor it)
 Because they were such glorious creatures, strove
 To take possession of the throne of Iove.
 But he, displeas'd with such ambition,
 Struck them with lightning downe to Acheron,
 And them confin'd perpetually to dwell
 In the darke horror of infernall hell.
 Thus were faire angels ougly devils made,
 And one dayes sinne an everlasting trade.

After the creation
 of the heavens
 and the earth,
 angels were
 called into being.

880

On the very day
 of their creation
 they attempted
 to dethrone the
 Almighty,

884

888

who drove them
 into hell.

892

After the fall of these, man was created and woman made to be his associate	After the fall of these was man compacted, And from him sleeping woman was extracted And made to be a kinde associat Vnto him. Now the devill shewes his hate	896
[leaf 12, back]	And swelling envie 'gainst God in his creature Formd to his image, man ; to make defeature Of his estate in blisse, he doth intend And fittest opportunity attend.	900
To work their fall Lucifer seeks an opportunity,	To worke this feat proud Lucifer's enioynd, And goe[s] about it swifter then the winde. " Shall I," quoth he, " fall from celestiall blisse Into the horror of hells blacke abysses, And man escape? Shall I in torment live, And man in pleasure? Shall I only grieve,	904
thinking to ease his own pain by making man co-partner in his grief.	And man goe scotfree? No, 'twill ease my paine If in my griefe I him copartner gaine ; And I will doe it : if my plots hit right, I'll bring his soule vnto perpetuall night."	908
	This saide, the serpents shape he takes & hies Vnto the tree in midst of Paradise. There findes the woman, after namèd Eve, The weakest vessell, easiest to deceave ;	912
Eve's mind he inspires with pride,	Whose minde with hellish pride he straight inspire That she [the] trees forbidden fruit desire ; The tree of which alone she might not eat, The tree forbidden by the Lord for meat.	916
causing her to eat of the tree of knowledge.	The tree of knowledge, knowledge of much evill, She gathers straight, seduced by the devill, Which greedilie, without advice, she tasted, And then to give her husband of it hasted.	920
Grown wise, Adam and Eve	Whom when she had allurde vnto her will, And both had tasted, then they knew their ill ; But all too late (first Phrygians ¹) they grew wise,	924

¹ This may refer to the Phrygian oracle which promised empire to him who untied the Gordian knot, cut by Alexander the Great. Or it may be an allusion to the low estimate in which Phrygian character was held by the ancients.

- Being both thrust forth Edens Paradise ; 928 lost Paradise,
 Which happy place man ever had possessed,
 If they had never in this sorte transgressed.
 Vnhappy three, first causers of our evill,
 Fond man, proude woman, & accursèd devill ! 932
 Since this hath pride increasd with Adams seed,
 And Lucifer companions shall not need ;
 Man with soe many kindes of pride doth swell
 As if he strove headlong to run to hell. 936
 Some shew their pride in raysing stately bowers,
 Which seem to threatne heaven like Babell towers ;
 Building so strong, erecting them so high,
 As if they ment to live eternally, 940
 In spite of Iove. Others bestow more cost
 In houses built for pleasure, *which* they boast
 Are but for shew, then would maintaine & cherish
 Thousands of poore soules *which* are like to *perish* : 944
 Confusion sure will light on their pretence
 Which wast their treasure in soe vaine expence.
 Others there be *which*, clad in gay attire,
 In stately gate & loftie lookes, aspire 948
 Above their ranke ; holding inferiors base,
 Scarsely *permitting* equalles come in place
 Of fellowship, vnlesse their peacock sutes
 Gaine them admittance in their proud reputes. 952
 O, these are men of admiration,
 Which follow each fantastique fashion,
 To be observd with reverence & respect ;
 When, if we could the inward man detect, 956
 God knowes that I am not deceavd a whit,
 Their gay apparrell covers litle witt.
 Most of our women are extreamly proud
 Of their faire lookes, & therefore doe enshroud 960
 Their beauties in a maske ; with greater care
 Their faces then their soules, to keepen faire.
 Some of this kinde when beauty gins decay,

which man
would ever have
possessed.

Since this, pride
has gone on
increasing in
Adam's seed.

Some show their
pride in stately
buildings,

and some in
houses built for
pleasure.

[leaf 13]

Others, in fine
clothing and
lofty looks,
aspire above
their rank.

These follow each
vain fashion,
but their gay
apparel covers
litle witt.

Most of our
women are
proud—they
paint their faces.

	By art restore what nature takes away,	964
	Painting their visage. Cursed Iesabell	
	That taught them this, will bring them all to hell.	
	This vice in woeman only doth not hide,	
The men curl their pates and wear love-locks ; others paint their faces.	Men alsoe are infected with this pride.	968
	Some curle their pates to make their lookes more fair, ¹	
	Others delight to wear a locke of haire,	
	A lovelocke, <i>which</i> being of the longest size	
	Doth the lewd wearer quite effeminize.	972
	Nay some with fucus will besmear their face,	
	It ads to their complexion better grace.	
I know one who is ever looking in his glass, setting his perfumed beard or combing his hair.	I knowe a snowt-faire, selfe-conceited asse,	
	<i>Which</i> is still prying in a looking glasse	976
	To see his fooles face, washt with ly o 'th' chamber,	
	And set his beard, <i>perfumde</i> with greece of amber,	
	Or kembe his civet lockes, soe far in love	
	With his owne beauty, that I fear hee'l proove	980
	Sicke with conceat ; for the <i>which</i> maladie	
	I can prescribe no better remedy	
	Then wish the glasse, wherin he views his face,	
The fate of Narcissus might cure him.	A river, him to take Narcissus place,	984
	So the next time he came on 's face to looke	
	He should be drenchèd in the liquid brooke.	
	But leaving him a courting in the glasse	
	His owne vaine shadowe, I this coxcome passe.	988
[leaf 13, back]	Others there be <i>which</i> , selfe-conceited wise,	
	Take a great pride in their owne vaine surmise,	
Some delight in hearing them- selves speak, and tire all men with their chatter.	That all men think them soe ; these take delight	
	To hear themselves speak ; if they can recite	992
	A thing scarce worth the hearing, they will prate	
	Till they tire all men with their idle chatt.	
Some, like Phaeton, aspire at honours far above what they deserve,	Others, ambitious like fond Phaeton,	
	Aspire to guide the chariot of the sunne,	996
	Aiming at honours far above their place,	
	Till by their pride they worke their owne disgrace.	

¹ Margin worn away : may have been *faire*.

- Presumptuous pride in others doth remaine,
 And these high Loves almighty power disdaine, 1000
 And (like those giants) fight against the gods,
 Till, Pharoah like, they scourgèd are with rods
 Of dire affliction, & their hardned hearts
 Vnto their guilty soule dispaire impartes. 1004
 But I too much insist in generall :—
 Pride in particular must be dealt withall.
 He that desires to breake a bunch of wandes,
 Must not take all at once into his handes, 1008
 But singlie, one by one ; and if he trie,
 He may then break them with facility.
 Reader, doe thou the application make,
 For I to other matters me betake. 1012
- Proud Romish prelat, triple crownèd Pope,
 Which vauntst of Peters heavenly keis, that ope
 The dore that leads vnto celestiall blisse ;
 Which makst great princes stoope thy foote to kisse,
 Emperours vpon thy stirrop to attend, 1017
 When as thou wilt thy stately horse ascend ;
 Damd Antichrist, proud Lucifers first sonne,
 Ambitious beast, great whore of Babilon ! 1020
 Thou false vsurper of Gods regal throne,
 How darst assume his honoar, *which*, alone
 Monarch of heaven & earth, disdaine[s] to see
 Corrivals in his sacred Emperie ? 1024
 How darst thou take vpon thee such authority
 Which doth belong to Gods high majesty,
 To forgive sinnes, to award heaven & hell
 At thine owne pleasure ? Wher didst learne to swell
 With such ambition ? Thinkst thou Peeters chaire
 Can sheild thee from Gods wrath ? Can once impaire
 And lessen thy deservèd punnishment ?
 Can free thee from eternall detriment ? 1032
 Thinkst thou that he presumption can abide,
 Which did not spare his angels for their pride ?

and are punished
for their pre-
sumption.

I have dealt long
enough with
generalities, I
come now to
particulars.

The Pope makes
princes kiss his
feet, and emperors
hold his stirrup,
as Frederick
Barbarossa did
that of Alexander
III. [*Coryate's*
Crudities, p. 201,
ed. 1611.]

He is a false
usurper of God's
honour.

Peter's chair can
not shield him
from God's
anger.

No. Thou shalt finde that he will vengeance take,
Sending thee headlong to the Stygian lake. 1036

[leaf 14]
Madam Poppæa
is so stately that
she can neither
sit nor walk
alone.

Maddam Poppæa is soe stately growne
That she can neither sit nor walke alone ;
Store of attendants still must wait vpon her,
And doe obsequious homage to her honour. 1040

Cloth of Arras
must be her
carpet, her horse
must be shod
with gold.

The ground she thinkes vnworthy is to bear
Her precious body ; when she doth vprear
Her selfe vpon her feet, there must be spread
Rich clothes of Arras wher she goes to tread. 1044

She bathes in
goats' milk.

If she doe ride, the horse that must vpholde
So rare a burden must be shod with golde.
When she intends to wash her selfe she hath
Of goats pure milck a sweet prepared bath. 1048

How can the
Fates permit her
to go on un-
punished ?

Musick beyond the musick of the spheares
Must still attend vpon her itching¹ eares.
Her food must be Ambrosian delicates,
Dissolvèd pearle her drink. Impartiall fates ! 1052

The Almighty,
who slew Herod
for his pride, will
punish her.

How can ye suffer this lascivious quean
Thus swell in pride, thus swim in pleasures streame,
And holde *your* thunder fast ? Proud, stately dame,
Which more respectst thy body then thy fame, 1056

Or thy soules health, know that all working Power
Which did confound (by wormes that did devour
His cursed body) Herods lofty pride,
Will, when thou thinkst thou art most diefied, 1060

Lucius spends
his all to maintain
his harlot in
luxury.

Sevearly punnish with confusion,
To thy soules horrow, this presumption.

Lucius spends his substance & his store,
To keep in gallant fashion his proud whore, 1064

Yet al 's to litle to maintaine her pride ;
She must be coatcht, forsooth, & bravely ride.
Lackies before her charriot must run,
And she in spangled gold, clothd like the sunne, 1068
Dazels the eyes of men, or she complaines

¹ MS. 'itching.

- He loves her not, & such a man maintaines
 His love in better fashion! Then his land
 Must flie, for soe his mistris doth command, 1072
 To bolster vp her pride. O foolish sot,
 Thus to procure thy reputations blot,
 Thy states vndooing, & thy soules perdition
 For on[e] soe base & of soe vile condition! 1076
- Drusus, that fashion-imitating ape,
 Delights to follow each fantastique shape;
 Every new habit of hell-hac[t]hed sinne,
 Though it vndooe him, hee'l be clothèd in; 1080
 And prodigally vpon every toy
 Lash out his substance; 'tis his only ioy
 To see himselfe not differing in a hair
 From the true stamp of a brave Cavaleer. 1084
- Vain Epainuutus, selfe-admiring gull,
 Doth speake orations, write whole volumes full
 Of his owne praises. Silly, simple sottie,
 Hast thou that auncient, true saide sawe forgot, 1088
 That "a mans praise in his owne mouth doth stinke"?
 Or dost (foole if thou dost) absurdly think
 This age such shallow pated men affords,
 That will give credit to thy boasting wordes? 1092
- Because in gay apparell thou art drest
 Some puppet-like thou dost aduance thy crest,
 And swell in big lookes like some turkie cocke,
 Ready to burst with pride, & even to choake 1096
 With selfe-conceit of thy perfection,
 Which is iust nowe, though the infection
 Of thy high leveld thoughts lets thee not see
 The ougly face of thy deformity. 1100
- Thou which thinkst Adon, that same lovely boy,
 Dame Natures darelind, Cithereas joy,
 A taunie Negro, or Barbarian Moore,
 Comparèd to thy selfe, & dost adore 1104
 Even thine owne beauty like some demigod,

His lands go to
minister to her
pride.

Drusus imitates
the fashions like
an ape, and will
dress like
cavalier.

[leaf 14, back]
Another writes
volumes of his
own praises,

and because he is
well-dressed is
bursting with
pride.

He thinks Adonis
a Negro compared
to himself,

and fancies his
good looks ravish
the eyes of all
who see him,

Which (for on purpose thou dost goe abroad
To shew thy selfe), thou vainely dost surmise
Doth even ravish the beholders eyes. 1108

and that one
kiss from him
would be endless
bliss.

Noe wench that sees thee, but straight fals in love
With thy rare feature, & doth wish to prove
The tast of thy Ambrosian lip ; one kisse
From thy mirre-breathing mouth were endless blisse ;
But gavst thou other joyes (*which* in thee lies) 1113
They would be thought 'bove ioyes of paradise.

But he is only
like a bladder
pufft up with
vanity.

Thou bladder full pufft vp with vanity,
Whom with my pen I prick, that ther migh[t] flie 1116
Out into open aire all windy pride,
All self-conceit ; then being repurifide,
Before the purchase of all earthly pelfe
Learn Solons saying, "Mortall, know thy selfe." 1120

Another is proud
of empty honours,

Neotimus, why art thou growne so proud,
Instead of Iuno to embrace a cloud
I' nothing worth? These honours heapd vpon thee
Are but as shadowes, & will soone flie from thee. 1124
Ther is an everlasting dignity

[leaf 15]
and forgets that
he might have
been as low as
those whom he
despises.

Of greater worth and more insignity,
To be sought out, *which* thou shalt ne're attaine,
If pride in thy aspiring thoughts doe reigne. 1128

Contemne not them because thy selfe art high,
Who, if the heavens had pleasd, might equally
Have rankd with thee, yet now are low in state ;
All men are not predestind to on[c] fate. 1132

Become more humble, & cast downe thy looke,
Least prides bait snare thee on the devils hooke,
And having caught thee, hale thee downe to hell,
With fiends in everlasting paines to dwell. 1136
For why shouldst thou be proud 'cause thou art high
In titles of renowned dignity?

Honour is a
flower, a vapour,
and is soon
blown away.

Honour 's a flower that will soon decay ;
Honour 's a vapour, quickly blowne away ; 1140
And 'tis a saying held for true of all,

“A sudden rising hath a sudden fall.”

Philarchus (<i>which</i> in his ambitious minde		Philarchus is
Devoures whole kingdomes) doth smale comfort finde		annoyed because
In his olde vnckles new-framde married ¹ life,	1145	his old uncle is
But lesse in the male issue of his wife.		married and has
The bastard brat (for soe he calles his cozen)		a son,
Defrauds his expectation of a dozen	1148	
Of goodly lordships, <i>which</i> (his hopes were faire)		
Should come to him, as the next lawfull heire.		
But now this boy, <i>which</i> stands as a crosse-barre		
Twixt him & home, doth all his fortunes marre.	1152	
But long he shall not see, if figs of Spaine,		who, if he lives,
Or pils of Italy ² their force retaine ;		will defraud him
If ther be meanes that his pretence will further,		of the property
If ther be hands that dare enact a murder,	1156	he expected,
Hee'l send his soule (wher himselfe ne're shall come)		
To Abrahams bosome (maus long lookd for home).		
Nor shall his aged vnckle 'scape this net,		
Least if he live he doe more sonnes beget ;	1160	
Least he more issue by this marriage have,		The child and his
He shalbe wedded shortly to his grave.		father must be
But then his vnckles wife surviues, purchance		got rid of, and so
Left quick with childe ; & then he may goe dance	1164	must the wife,
For a new living ; no, he likes not that,		
She shall be soone pact after too, that 's flat ;		
Besides, her ioynture, in his heart engravde		
With duble greatnesse, by her death is savde.	1168	
Ambitious slave ! wilt make a crimsen flood		
Of thy neare dearest kinsmens vitall blood,		He will bathe his
To wash thy murderous handes ? Think not at all		hands in his
Vpon a deed so much vnnaturall !	1172	kinsmen's blood
Shall hope of some vain titles move thy minde,		
To doe an act perpetually combine		
With horrore of a guilty conscience		[leaf 15, back]

¹ This word seems to have been originally written *marriag*.

² Referring to the practice of secret poisoning.

- (A most deservèd & due recompence) 1176
- to gain a little
land,
Wilt thou for purchase of a litle land,
With innocent blood distaine thy guilty hand?
Desist ; for murder 's an iniquity
- Their blood will
cry to heaven for
vengeance.
That for iust vengeance vnto heaven doth crie. 1180
And darst thou then insist in thy invention?
Is there noe hope to alter thine intention?
No ! Thou art flesht in sinne, & dost despise
My Christian counsell ; Satan blinde[s] thine eyes. 1184
Goe forward then in this lewd preparation,
But know thou headlong runst vnto damnation.
- Thus Lucifer
strives to increase
the inhabitants of
hell.
Thus Lucifer, *which* through ambition fell,
Strives dayly to bring company to hell 1188
Of each degree & sex, from every nation.
Mortals, become more wise ; make preparation
Of armes defensive to resist this devill
Which would procure your everlasting evill. 1192
But you, whose vnrelenting heartes persist
In fearfull pride, will then cry, "had I wist,"
Yet all too late, when each his sinne shall rue ;
You having your iust meed, & hell his due. 1196
Thoug[h] God awhile his punnishment delay,
A thing deferd 's not taken quite away.
But now enough of Luciferian pride,
Ther 's other vices in the world beside. 1200
- When it is too
late men will see
their error.

Sat[ira] 4.

[AGAINST AVARICE, BRIBERY, APOSTASY.]

ARGUMENTUM.

Effodiuntur opes ex imo viscere terræ,
 Quæ fiunt miseri causa, cibusque mali.
 Omnia sunt auro nostræ vænalia Romæ,
 Ius, pudor, & probitas, favor & ipse deus.

Insatiate Avarice then first began		Avarice soon
To raigne in the depravèd minde of man		took possession
After his fall; & then his mother Earth,		of man's mind,
That gave first being to his bodies birth,	1204	
Vngracious childe, he did begin to wound,		
And rend the bowels of the harmelesse ground;		
For precious metals & rare minerals ¹ ies		and induced him
Her veines, her sinnewes, & her arteries.	1208	to search the
Among these, Golde, Dame Tellus glittering sunne,		earth for
Was with his sister Sylver, earth[s] bright moone,		treasures,
Digd from the center of rich Aurimont,		
Sol & his sister Phebe to confront.	1212	
But for that silver golde in price doth follow,		for gold and
Because from him, as Cynthia from Apollo,		silver and rare
She takes her light, & other mettals all		minerals.
Are but his vassaile starres; they well may fall	1216	[leaf 16]

¹ The final *s* is 'smudged,' and the Author's comma is after *ies*—thus: *minerals ies*, . The sense is not very clear, but it seems to mean, Avarice, for precious metals and minerals, eyes (i. e. searches) her veins, &c.

- Vnder his title, therefore I 'le expresse
 Others in him, the great includes the lesse.
- He who first
 sought gold was
 the cause of
 'wronging right.'
- He that first searched the teeming earth for golde,
 Now as a demigod *perhaps* enrolde 1220
 In Fames eternal booke, was the chief cause
 Of wronging right & abrogating lawes.
 For since these mines bewi[t]chd the mindes of men,
 What mischiefs haue ensude my worthlesse pen 1224
 Cannot delineat, but we all can tell
 The number infinitely doth excell ;
 Omitting former ages & strange climes,
- The mischiefs
 which have
 ensued are
 numberless.
- The vices of *our* nation in these times, 1228
 So far excede in quality & number,
 That to recite them would whole volumes cumber.
- Iustice, opprest by golden bribery,
 Hath left the earth-stage of mortality 1232
 And fled to heaven for succour & defence,
 Wher she doth keep eternall residence ;
- Justice, oppressed
 by Bribery, has
 left the earth.
- And now *our* lawes for Mammons cursed golde
 Like as at open mart are bought & solde. 1236
 Our lawyers, like Demosthenes, are mute,
 And will not speak, though in a rightfull sute,
 Vnlesse a golden kei vnlocke their tongue ;
 Then how thei 'l sweat, be it for right or wrong, 1240
 And get their cause too, or it shall goe hard,
- Lawyers plead no
 man's cause
 unpaid.
- When the poore client, of his right debard,
 Cursing the law, first for mans good ordainde,
 Grieves at his losse, *which* ne're can be regainde. 1244
 Let some damnd villaine of all grace bereft
- Murder, sacrilege,
 theft, lust, are all
 purged by money.
- Commit a murder, sacriledge, or theft,
 And if he can procure but store of pence
 Our iustice then will with the law dispence, 1248
 And grant the hell-hound life, when, for lesse cause,
 Poore men abide the rigor of the lawes.
 Let lustfull Iove, that virgins would defloure,
 In Danaes lap rain but a golden shower, 1252

- Her chastety will soone be washt away,
 And she be ready for his amarus play.
 Let some rich cuffe, Thersites-like in shape,
 Of far worse qualeties then an olde ape, 1256 An old wretch
who can't speak
without slauering
 Which hath nought in him that may speake him man,
 But a good purse ; although he scarcely can
 Speake without slauering, goe without a crutch,
 Be rivall to a man that is not such 1260
 In wealth, though far above him in desertes,
 As good discent, rare features, vertuous partes ;
 Yet for all this, I ten to one will lay,
 The richer man carries the wench away. 1264 [leaf 16, back]
will gain a wife
where a poor man
of good parts
will fail.
- Honours & offices, *which* in times of olde
 Were given for desertes, are bought for golde.
 Sir Iohn Lacklattin, one that ne're did passe
 In any place, but for an ignorant asse, 1268
 If he can grease his patron in the fist,
 Shall for his gold be richly benefide ;
 When he that better doth deserve the place,
 If poore, shall be repulsed with disgrace. 1272 Honours and
offices are
bestowed upon
the ignorant
because they can
pay.
 Lode but a silly asse with store of golde
 And he will enter in the strongest holde.
 Let a foole passe by in a golden coate,
 He shalbe reckond for a man of note 1276
 By those that know him not, when on[e] that 's wise,
 Poore in arraie, seemes abiect in their eyes.
- Tradesmen make no account for golden gaine
 To sell their soules vnto eternall paine ; 1280 Tradesmen cheat,
and cozen and
forswear
themselves.
 Daily each one, in vttering of his wares,
 Cosens his chapmen & himselfe forswears.
 The vsurer hords golde vp in his chest,
 Making an idole of it. To be blest 1284 The usurer hoards
up gold
 Is to get store of golde, the wre[t]ch doth thinke ;
 When the fruition scarcely lets him winke,
 For sleep he cannot, till i' th' end his pelfe
 Shipwracks his soule vpon hels rocky shelve. 1288 and shipwrecks
his soul.

- Many for golde have turnd (like Iulian)
 Apostates to true religion,
 And have, with wicked Iudas, Iesus solde
 For the vaine purchase of a litle golde. 1292
- Some, Judas like,
 sell Iesus for
 gold.
- Thus doth the devill, full of slie deceits,
 Fish for the soules of men with golden baites ;
 And to inerease his kingdome, doth assay
 By this temptation to pervert our way. 1296
- The Lacedæmo-
 nians banished
 gold from their
 commonwealth.
- Well did the Lacedæmons banish golde
 Out of their common wealth ; well did they holde
 Community of all things necessary ;
 For by this meanes they were not accessary 1300
- Vnto the many kindes of wickednes,
 Which the vnsatiable greedinesse
 Of golde in this our iron age begets ;
- He who gains
 most is best off,
 for the world
 may be led in a
 golden string.
- Which to entrap, so many kinde of nets, 1304
- So many damnd plots are dayly laide ;
 He that gets moste thinks himselfe best apaide,
 And well he may, for in a golden string
 A man may lead the world to any thing. 1308
- [leaf 17]
- What in these days may not a man command,
 That seekes to purchase with a golden hand ?
- Fortunate Fatuo was late dubd a knight,
 Not for his wit, or for his martiall fight ; 1312
- For wit ne're blest him, valour never knewe him ;
 What may the cause be then that only drew him
 To this preferment ? Faith, his store of wealth,
 For honours now ar[e] purchasèd by stealth 1316
- One is dubbed a
 knight because
 by stealth he can
 buy the honour.
- Of vndermining bribes. Canst thou disburse
 Good store of coine from a well lined purse ?
 Thou shalt not want authority to grace thee,
 And in an office of repute to place thee, 1320
- Be thy life ne're so vilde. O evill times,
 And ill conditioned men, that act such crimes,
 Which great meanes then good meaning better deeme,
 And more of goods then goodnesse doe esteeme ! 1324
- Men now esteem
 great means
 more than great-
 ness, and goods
 more than
 goodness.

But bootelesse I exclaime on this same age,
 This vnrelenting age, whose furious rage
 Will not be mollified as it hath been,
 But is now hardned in vngodly sinne. 1328
 Yet, though the world nothing the better grow,
 I 'le rip vp all the villanies I know.

Though the
 world may be
 none the better,
 I'll expose all its
 villanies.

Flavia, because her meanes are somewhat scant,
 Doth sell her body to relieve her want, 1332
 Yet scornes to be reputed as a quean,
 Though with moste nations she have been vnclean.
 English, Scots, Dutch, French, Spannish, yea, black
 Moor[es],¹

Flavia, scorning
 to be called a
 quean, sells her
 body to all
 comers,

If they bring store of gold, her open dores 1336
 Conveigh to private lust; bee 't day or night,
 Golde vshers them to sensuall delight.

no matter of what
 nation they may
 be.

Thus often fighting vnder Cupids banner
 Perhaps she's sometimes taken in the manner, 1340

And being brought before authority,
 Which should correct her hell-bread villany,
 If golde speake for her in the present tense,
 The officer deputed for th' offence 1344
 Will winck at smale faultes & remit correction.

If she's brought
 before the
 magistrate the
 prosecutor can be
 bribed.

This foolish, knavish pittie's an infection
 Spread through our land, & hurtes our common wealth—
 Iustice restore her to her former health! 1348

For true's the saying (magistrates, beware!)
 "He harmes the good that doth the evill spare."

Midas is patron to a goodly living,
 And Stolido, that dunce, hath now been driving 1352
 A price for it. What, benefices solde?

Benefices are
 bought and sold:

This was not wont to be in times of olde,
 But Simonie is now soe common growne,
 That 'tis account noe sinne, if kept vnknowne. 1356
 Or² otherwise, lawes danger to prevent,
 The patron with the parson will indent

[leaf 17, back]
 Simonie is so
 common that
 men don't care
 to hide it.

¹ MS. worn away.

² MS. Or.

That he shall have the living in this wise,
 Suffering him yearly to reserve his tithes ; 1360
 When the whole parish knowes the better part
 Of all the living, those his tithes imparte.
 Thou wicked imp, thus to abuse the C[h]urch,
 And with such sacrilegious handes to lurch 1364
 Gods sacred duties, *which* he doth afford
 To the dispensers of his holy word !
 How dar'st thou with all-seeing Iove dissemble ?
 Me thinkes thou shouldst with great amazment tremble
 At that most fearfull yet just punishment 1369
 Powrd downe one Ananias, whose intent,
 Like thine, was in most damnd hypocrisie
 To moeke God with a shew of charity. 1372
 But for this sinne he & his cursèd wife
 Suddenly fell downe dead & lost his life.
 Take heed the like plague fall not on thy head,
 If thou *persist*, high Iove can strike thee dead ; 1376
 Though he awhile forbear to shew his ire,
 His mercy keeps back what thy sinnes require.
 Signior Necessity, that hath no law,
 Scarce ever read his Litleton,¹ a daw 1380
 To a solliciter, is now become
 Iustice of peace & coram ; takes his roome
 'Mongst grave & learned Iudges ; is still cald
 Right worshipfull, his wit & pate both bald. 1384
 And yet the foole expects th' ensuing year
 To be elect high sherif of all the sheire.
 I, & he hath great hopes, for the whole tribe
 Of voices that elect the sherif hee'l bribe ; 1388
 And after that he hopes to get consent
 By this meanes to be knight o' th' parliament.
 Base minded peasants, *which* for some few pence
 Give to [a] foole such place of eminence ! 1392
 Ignoble Crassus did in litle time

It is very wrong
 to deceive the
 Church and
 dissemble with
 God.

Men who do so
 should remember
 the fate of
 Ananias

The man who
 is ignorant of the
 law is made a
 Justice of the
 Peace,

and expects to be
 sheriff and M. P.
 He'll bribe the
 lot to gain his
 end.

¹ Littleton died in 1481.

Vnto the top of honours mountaine elime ;
 If you aske how he rose, let this suffice,
 His wealth was great, & therefore needs must rise. 1396 Men whose wealth
is great must
rise.
 Ruffino, that same roving boy of fame,
 By braules & wenches is diseasde & lame ;
 Yet hath some store of crownes left in his purse,
 Which he with all his heart would fain disburse, 1400
 And those that heapt him benefactours call,
 To get a place in the new hospitall. Even admission
to the hospital is
to be gained by
money.
[leaf 18]
 Fear not Ruffino, for it is decreed
 Those that have meanes to give shall only speed. 1404
 Loth am I to rip vp my nurces shame,
 Or to accuse for this those schooles of fame,
 The Academies : yet for reformation
 Of this abuse, I must reprove the fashion 1408 The Universities
are not free from
blame.
 Of divers seniors, which for private gaine
 Permit some ignorant asse, some dunce, attaine
 A schollers or a fellowes place among 'em. A dunce may
buy a fellowship.
 Some think perhaps of malice I doe wrong 'em, 1412
 But the poore students know it to be true,
 Which wanting meanes, as often want their due.
 Art was not thus rejected heertofore,
 But plenty now hath made a scholler poore. 1416
 Learning was wont to be the highest staire,
 Vpon whose top was fixd preferments chaire ; Learning used to
be the ladder to
preferment,
 In which the best deserver was instald,
 The worthiest man to highest honour cald. 1420
 But now the world's altdred, changèd is the molde,
 And learnings step is turnd to massie golde. but now the
ladder is made of
gold.
 To get preferment who doth now intend,
 He by a golden ladder must ascend. 1424
 Thus cursed golde doth bear soe great a sway
 That nurseries of learning doe decay ;
 For not the meanes of taking our degrees
 Are quite exempt from bribes ; for duple fees 1428 For double fees a
dunce may be a
doctor and walk
in scarlet.
 A dunce may turne a Doctour, & in state

Walke in his scarlet ! O, vnhappy fate !
 When paltry pelfe doth worthlesse ignorance
 Vnto the top of learnings mount aduance. 1432
 If a cook wants to Cocus, that faine would thrive, hath a[n] intent,
 dress meat in To curry favour, to dresse meat in Lent—
 Lent, How is 't to be obtainde ? hast store of golde ?
 And canst thou spare a litle ? then be bolde, 1436
 Persue thy project, & I 'le vndertake
 and can bribe the The overseers will a licence make,
 overseer, By *which* is granted leav to dresse for th' sicke,—
 Vnder the colour of *which* pretty tricke 1440
 Thou mayst make sale of it to whom thou list.
 Sayth master mony-taker, greasd i' th' fist,
 "And if tho[u] comst in danger, for a noble
 he is sure to I 'le stand thy friend, & healp thee out of trouble." 1444
 escape all trouble.
 But these are petty crimes *which* now I cote,
 This vicious age acts sinnes of greater note,
 And them by greater *persons*, in *which* sence
 Th' offenders greatnesse aggravates th' offence. 1448
 A ruffian com- Taurus, that ruffen, in his drunken fit
 mitted a murder An execrable murder did committe,
 and was appre- For the *which* fact he straight was apprehended,
 hended for it. And should, had right tooke place, have been con-
 [leaf 18, back] demnèd. 1452
 But marke th' event ; his mony stood his friend,
 And sav'd the caitife from a shamefull end.
 The Judge was For having the chief iudge sollicitèd
 bribed, and With bribes, from iustice him he quite misled ; 1456
 instead of Who when he should pronounce¹ his condemnation,
 condemning, Instead therof gave him his approbation,
 acquitted him Vowing there was good reason him to clear,
 because '40 'Cause 40 angels did to him appear, 1460
 angels' attested *Which* spake him guiltlesse. O,² rare vision,
 his innocence. And admirable golden apparition,

¹ MS. *of pronounce*, with *h*, and a partially-formed *a* crossed out, between the two words.

² MS. *ô*.

That had the power to make good such evill,
 And turne a demigod into a devill ! 1464

Turnus his enemy would faine supplant,
 Yet how to doe it iustly, cause doth want. If a man wants
to supplant his
enemy
 His Machiavillian¹ pate doth then devise
 To overthrow him by meer forgeries ; 1468
 Then saith he is a traiter to his² prince,
 And that he can of treason him convince.
 Divers seditious wordes are then invented,
 For *which* he is before the iudge convented ; 1472 he accuses him
of treason and
bribes his
 But there wants witsnesse to confirme this lie,—
 Tut, they are easily found ; his neighbours by
 Are knights o' th' post,³ and for a litle coine
 Will swear what ever he doth them enjo[i]ne. 1476 neighbours
to give witness
against him.
 Thus armed, he brings to passe his damnèd will,
 And like a villian guiltlesse blood doth spill.
 But he & 's knights o' th' post will post to hell,
 That thus their soules vnto damnation sell. 1480

Codrus to his poore cottage had some land,
 With *which*, & with *the* labour of his hand, The poor man
with six children
and a sickly
wife owns a
cottage and a bit
of land ;
 Six litle children & his sickly wife
 He did maintaine in such estate of life 1484
 As his best meanes could yeild, sufficient
 Because they therewithall did live content.
 But now Antilegon, his neighbour by,
 Because the ground did lye commodiously 1488 but his rich
neighbour
wants it for a
garden.
 For his owne vse to make a garden plot,
 Hath encroacht all & sure possession got,
 Which he maintaines by force. Poor Codrus is
 Constrained to sue *sub formâ pauperis*, 1492
 (As wanting friends & mony) to regaine
 What is his owne. T' other doth entertaine
 The best of counsell, & his golde 'gainst lawes
 O're throwes the poor man in his rightfull cause ; 1496 With the best of
counsel and gold
he gains his end,

¹ Machiavelli died 1527. ² *to his* repeated in MS.³ Professional perjurers, &c.

- and the poor man
is undone, Who with his family are quite vndone,
Through this vnjust & damnd oppression.
- [leaf 19] Thus Iustice eyes close vp in golden sleep,
The ravenous wolfe eats vp the harmlesse sheep. 1500
Thou wicked Ahab, *which* hast got possession
By such iniurious transgression,
Think that if God inflict damnation
On them that doe not take compassion 1504
Of their poore bretheren, & their wants relieve,
What will he doe to thee, *which* seekst to grieve
With an oppressours hand the innocent !
Being not only not to give content, 1508
But even to take away by cursed wrong
All that in right doth to the poore belong ?
Vnlesse thou doe due restitution make,
And to a better life thy selfe betake ; 1512
Vnlesse repentance purchase grace from Iove
And his iust iudgements from thee quite remooue,
Specially unjust
judges, Surely the Lord (*which* doth such sinne detest)
With horrid tormentes will thy soule invest. 1516
And yon, *which* should true equity dispense,
Yet bear a gold-corrupted conscience,
Looke for some plague vpon your heades to light,
That suffer rich wrong to oppresse poore right. 1520
All lawyers are
not guilty of this
sin, All lawyers I cannot heerof accuse,
For some there are that doe a conscience vse
In their profession. This our land containes
Some in whose heart devine Astraea raignes. 1524
To these, whose vertue keeps our land in peace,
I wish all good, all happines encrease.
and I wish all
prosperity to the
impartial, Go forward then, and with impartiall handes
Hold Iustice ballance in faire Albians landes. 1528
Olde greedy minded Pandarus hath a paire
Of daughters whom the world reputeth faire,
And faire indeed they are to outward eyes,
Which not discerne inward deformities ; 1532

These, for the purchase of a litle golde,
 By the olde miser vnto lust are solde.
 This slave will even vs her his disgrace,
 Bringing his daughters vnto any place 1536
 Which is appointed to commerce with sinne,
 And himselfe keep the dore, whilst that within
 The shamlesse strumpetes are with lust defilde,
 Having the gallants of their golde beguilde. 1540
 Impious villaine ! to defame the fruit
 Of thine owne loynes, & basely prostitute
 Thy childrens body to such luxurie,
 Whom with paternall care & industrie 1544
 Thou shouldst traine vp in vertuous education,
 For want whereof theire horrid imprecation
 Will light vpon thy soule, & which is worse,
 Gods fearfull plaagues¹ second thy childrens curse. 1548
 Me thinkes the hellish & mad lunacy²
 Of them that doe commit apostacie
 For gold, might well a Christian heart affright
 Only to hear another but recite 1552
 So damnd a sinne ; yet every day their fall
 In these relapses diabolicall
 Many, too many,—Christians shall I name them ?
 Ah, noe ! their actions otherwise defame them. 1556
 Some have tur[n]d Turkes for gaine, yet live despise
 After they once have been but circumcise.
 Base slaves, which Dagon 'bove the Arcke doe set,
 And for true Christ adore false Mahomet. 1560
 But Mahomet, as Dagon did, shall fall,
 And all those wicked priests that worship Baal.
 Others, that would to high preferment come,
 Leave vs, & flie vnto the Sea of Rome. 1564
 But how dost prosper with them being there ?

Pandarus sells
his two daughters
for gold,

and keeps the
door while their
gallants are
within.

[leaf 19, back]
In the end his
children will
curse him.

Those who
apostatize for
gold are many.

Shall I call them
Christians ?

Some join the
Church of Rome,

¹ This word twice written : *plages*; the letter over the *l* is uncertain. This is crossed through and *plaagues* written, but here the first *u* is blurred.

² MS. lunary. See Glossary.

- Contemptibly they live, & full of feare.
 an^d are employed to murder
 princes. Is ther some damned enterprise in hand,
 To murder princes, ruinate a land? 1568
 These be the men that must be actours in it,
 Who ever were the author to beginne it.
 If they refuse, 'tis death; if they proceed
 Death & damnation waites vpon their deed. 1572
 Thus chaine[d] in wre[t]ched servitude, doth live
 A runagate, & English fugitive;
 Like fools they submit their
 necks to the
 yoke of the
 Pope. And yet like fooles, they doe submit their necke
 Vnto the slavish yoke & proudest cheeke 1576
 Of Romes insulting tyrant, vpon hope
 That their demerits will win larger scope;
 Many which theither dayly floeke apace
 To worke their owne confusion & disgrace 1580
 Witnesse their fearfull endes & wre[t]ched lives:
 "Needs must
 when the devil
 drives," "But goe they must because the devill drives."
 Carrier of late would have made his career
 (Thinking perhaps to be esteemed dear 1584
 Of th' antichristian prelate) to the citty
 Of seven hilled Rome, "O, &," say some, "'twas pittie
 That his (how e're they grant it lewd) intent
 Met not a look't for prosperous event. 1588
 For he, because his learning¹ was not small,
 Might in short time have been a Cardinall."
 had succeeded in
 reaching Rome,
 he might have
 become a
 Cardinal. What the succeſſe had prov'd I dare not say,
 For he was cut of from his wish'd prey; 1592
 High Iove incens'd that thus he should backslide
 Stroke him, & in a neighbour land he died.
 Some think he was not Apostolicall,
 But alwaies in his heart papisticall; 1596
 [leaf 20] Certaine it is, how e're they can excuse him,
 The devill in this act did but abuse him.
 He was either an
 apostate or a
 hypocrite. And were he not apostate in his flight,
 In his stay heer he was an hypocrite. 1600

¹ MS. *learning*.

Pistor was falln into great poverty,
 How come he to grow rich thus sodenly?
 For¹ he of late hath matchd his daughter well
 Vnto a gentleman, as I hear tell, 1604
 Of faire demeanes, & great extent of ground,
 And made her portion worth five thousand pound.
 Why, once within these five year (as was thought)
 Ten poundes would all *the* wealth he had have bought,
 And now he 's in his thousandes! This quick change,
 This sodaine metamorphosis is strange.
 Belike he hath found out some mine of golde,
 Or else *the* Fairies bring him heapes vntolde 1612
 Because he sweeps his house cleane, sets a light,
 Faire water in a basen, every night,
 And other pretty toyes, to doe them pleasure;
 Or else some spirit shewes him hidden treasure. 1616
 O now you hitt it, 'twas indeed a spirit,
 To whom, for certaine tearme of yeares t' inherit
 His ease and pleasure with abundant wealth,
 He hath made sale of his soules dearest health. 1620
 And in a deed engrost, signd with his blood,
 Sould soule & body with all hope of good
 In heavenly ioyes to come, vnto the devill.
 O horrid act! O execrable evill! 1624
 Another Faustus, haplesse, hopelesse man,
 What wilt thou doe, when as that litle sand
 Of thy soone emptied houreglasse, is spent?
 When horroar of thy conscience keeps repent 1628
 From thy black spotted soule? O (but in vaine)
 Thou wilt then wish (& think it ease, not paine)
 "That I had that estate of grace I solde
 [For the] fruition of a litle golde. 1632
 Thoug[h] I liv'de ne're see miserable poore,
 And like an abject begd at every doore
 Millions of yeares, I could be well content
 He will be
 willing to be a
 beggar if he can

Pistor, who was
 poor, matches his
 daughter with a
 rich man.

Perhaps the
 Fairies bring
 him gold, perhaps
 a spirit.

He has signed a
 contract with the
 devil.

What will he do
 in the end?

He will be
 willing to be a
 beggar if he can

¹ Originally *Why*: *For* written over.

thereby escape
hell.

To 'scape the everlasting punnishment 1636
Of hells infernall lake, & purchase heaven,
Of *which* for ever I am now bereaven."

Then wilt thou curse thy selfe, thy wretched fate,
The wombe that bare thee, him that thee begat ; 1640
Wish thou hadst been a beast, a sencelesse stone,
To 'scape that horroure of confusion.

He will curse all
men, but in vain.

But wishes, vowes, & horrid execration
Cannot preserve thee from damnation. 1644

So every honour
is bought and
sold : let buyers
and sellers
beware.

Thus each thing of esteem is bought and solde
For mindes-corrupting, soules-confounding golde.
Sellers take heed, & byers have a care,
This is no common ordinary ware ! 1648

[leaf 20, back]

Looke to 't betimes, lest you to late repent
The poore mans curse, earths plague, hells punnishment !

Sat[ira] 5.

[AGAINST GLUTTONY, DRUNKENNESS, AND TOBACCO.]

ARGUMENTUM.

Nobiscum in terris Epicuri vivitur instar
Delitij: ventri mille placere modi.
Turpior ebrietas animam cum corpore foedat,
Et demum ad Stygias ducit utrumque domos.

From thirst of wealth & golden villany	
I now am come to brutish gluttonie,	I now come to brutish gluttony,
Of <i>which</i> my Muse doth almost loath to treat,	which is very common,
It is soe base a crime, yet growne soe great	1654
In customary action, that 'tis deemd	
If sinne, a smale one, not to be esteemd.	
This vice doth not alone it selfe extend	
T' excesse in meat, but eke doth comprehend	1658
That base vnmanly sinne of drunkennesse,	and drunkenness,
Whose worse then worst of brutish beastlinesse	which defiles body and soul.
Defiles both soule & body, & doth bring	
Both of them to eternall ruining.	1662
This age of men to <i>that</i> excesse is growne	The present age is worse than Sodom ever was.
That was I think in Sodome never knowne,	
Although it were <i>that</i> capitall offence,	
Which iustly did all-seeing Ioue incense	1666
Them & their citty vtterly to quell	
With fire <i>which</i> from heavens architecture fell.	

- How can we wretches in this sinfull time
 Expect lesse vengeance for as damnd a crime? 1670
 For to speake first of *our* excesse in meat,
 Though man should eat to live, not live to eate,
 Many there are *which* only vse their care
 In dainty banquetes and delitious fare. 1674
 What beast doth breed in *our* Britannieke soile
 That doth delight the tast, but we doe toile
 To take & kill? What bird doth cut the aire
 With her swift wing, but that we doe repaire 1678
 Therwith *our* tables? We doe fish all seas
 To catch *the* rarest dish, therby to please
 Our dainty palates : & yet fish, bests, birdes,
 Which in aboundance this *our* land affordes, 1682
 Are not sufficient ; we must have more cates
 From other nations at excessive rates
 To furnish out *our* table, *which* (like swine
 That eat the fruit, but ne're cast vp their eyen 1686
 To the faire tree) we dayly doe devour
 Without thankesgiving to that heavenly power,
 Whose gracious goodnesse doth such blessings give,
 And suffers vs so peaceably to live 1690
 In such a land of plenty that doth flow
 With milek & hony, *which* we doe bestow
 To pamper *our* selves & please *our* sence
 Like Epicures ; as if alone from thence 1694
 We had *our* being, & vnto that end,
 The cause of *our* creation, did intend.
 Thus are the guiftes,¹ wherwith God man doth blesse,
 Abus'd'e by vaine & riotus excesse. 1698
 Like the rich gluttons in the Gospell are
 The feastes we make, from *which* we doe debarre
 The poorer sort of men. Well may they lie
 Before *our* dores, & crave *our* charity ; 1702
 But with poore Lazarus they shall obtaine

Many care only
 for what they
 shall eat.

Every beast, bird,
 and fish is
 captured for
 their tables,

and yet they
 must have
 delicacies from
 other nations.

[leaf 21]
 We pamper
 ourselves, and
 live like epicures,

without regarding
 the poor who
 crave charity at
 our doors.

¹ MS. guiftes.

- Cold comfort, & small reliefe to sustaine
 Their hunger-starvèd bodies, while within
 The richer sort doe stand vp to the chin 1706 The rich over-
 In delicates, & euen with excesse, feed themselves,
 Are like to surfet ; while the wantonnesse
 Of their insatiate appetite, that feeds
 On such plurality of viands, breeds 1710
 Offensive humors. This I thinke the cause
 Which our rich men to such diseases drawes, and draw on
 Wherewith we dayly see they are tormented, themselves many
 When if with moderate fare they were contented 1714 from which they
 They might both keep their bodies in good health, suffer.
 And save the residue of all their wealth
 To feed the hungry soule, the naked cherrish,
 Which wanting succour still one heaps doe perish. 1718
 But now let me discourse of drunkenness, Drunkenness
 Which is a part of gluttony, whose excesse is common.
 Is likewise of the belly, & is made
 Even a common ordinary trade. 1722
 We count the nation of the German Dutch
 The greatest drunkard, but our land as much, We are worse
 Or rather more, is with this vice infected, than the
 Which doth deserue sharply to be corrected, 1726 Germans.
 And yet 'tis slackly punnishd ; but 'twere good
 That Dracoes [laws] for ours in vertue stood.
 This vice, I say, with vs as frequent is
 As with the Dutchmen, who, if I not misse 1730 The Dutch first
 Mine aime, were the first founders of this sinne began this vice,
 Within our country ; but we now beginne
 T' appropriate to our selves their noted vice,
 So apt we are to follow each devise 1734
 That tendes to wickednesse & villany ;
 After forbidden things we swiftly flie,
 When after that from which much good may growe,
 Although by force compeld, we slowly goe. 1738 but we quickly
 But man must follow the times fashion, imitated and now
 often excel them.

And shew himselfe an ape in imitation
Of every new found & hell-hatched sinne
Or else he is not counted worth a pinne. 1742

[leaf 21, back]
A man who
cannot sit and
drink all day
is made a jest.

He that cannot sit quaffing all the day,
Carousing healths till wit & wealth decay;
Which will not vpon every lewd request
Drink drunk in kindenesse, why, he 's made a jest 1746
To those companions, whose licentious veine

The drunkard
sits and makes
base speeches.

And drunken humours still doe entertaine
The basest speeches, & in their mad fit
Doe speake at randome without fear or wit. 1750

How far vnlike Lacedemonians,
Though they were hethen & we Christians,
Are men in this *our* age? To them this crime
Soe loathsome was, that they would finde a time 1754

The Lacedæmo-
nians used to
make their
slaves drunk as
a warning to
their children.

To make *the* Helottes drunk, *which* wer their slaves,
A sort of loutish, abject-minded knaves;
And being in the basest sort disguise,
Shew them their children, mock them as despise 1758
And debaush creatures, by their beastlynesse,
To teach their young to loath all drunkennesse.
But if others will not doe it for vs

Will¹ even fox *ourselves* till all abhorre vs. 1762

Well may it fit this *our* vntemperate age,
To shew a drunkard in his equipage.

I pass over the
man who had a
thousand dishes
at one feast,

I 'le passe Apitius, *which* spent all the year,
In brave carrousing, & fine belly-cheer; 1766

He that to please his sence had at one feast
His thousand severall dishes at the least,
Although he had noe other company
But his sole single selfe to satisfie; 1770

and by his
extravagance

For all *the* flesh that Noahs Arke contained,
The whole seas fish, if he had entertained
His friends, could not sufficient store afforde,
To furnish out thr' insatiate gluttons borde. 1774

¹ ? We'll.

- Thus he run one, till on[e] yeares gluttony
 Brought him from millions vnto poverty :
 I will omit the brave Ægyptian Dame,
 Which by her death hath got eternall fame, 1778
 Proud Cleopatra, Anthonies loose minion,
 Who, to obtaine her lovers good opinion,
 Did in a cup of wine, drunk to his health,
 Carouse dissolvèd pearles of infinite wealth ; 1782
 Her great excesse & sensuall gluttony
 Procurde her owne & his sad tragedie.
 I'le leave th' Assirian Sardanapalus,
 With that lewd Roman, Heliogabolus ; 1786
 Only their riot was the fatall knife
 That cut them of from empire & from life.
 Examples from soe farre I need not fetch,
 We have more moderne ones within our reach ; 1790
 In this our native Isle, each day, each hower
 Millions of such like subiects doe ever shower
 Before our eyes, which live in vaine excesse
 Of soule-polluting, beastly drunkennesse. 1794
 On[e] pot companion & his fashion
 I will describe, & make relation
 Of what my selfe have seene, that they that hear it
 May hate the like, & hating may forbear it. 1798
 Cervisius is a most accomlisht man,
 Whether he deale at halfe pot or whole can,
 No flincher, but as true a drunkard bred
 As ever lifted cup vnto his head. 1802
 A right good fellow, a true ioviall boy,
 And on[e] that of his purse is nothing coy ;
 Hee'l spend his dozen of beer with any friend,
 And fox him if he can, before hee'l end ; 1806
 I, or hee'l fox himselfe, but that 's no wonder
 The fox & he are seldome time a sunder.
 But if the man, to sobernesse inclinde,
 Refuse to follow his inordinate minde, 1810

brought himself
to poverty.

Cleopatra, to gain
her lover's good
opinion, drank
dissolved pearls.

Sardanapalus
lost his life not
through such
means

as millions in our
own country now
[leaf 221]
practise.

Cervisius is a
true drunkard

and a right good
fellow,

but if a man
declines to drink
with him he is

ready to compel him. Because his nature cannot brooke to doe it,
 His stab is ready to compell him to it.
 This alehouse-haunter thinkes himselfe a safe
 If he with his companions, George & Rafe, 1814
 Doe meet together to drink vpsefreese
 Till they have made themselves as wise as geese.
 O ther this man (like lord within a hutch)
 Will pay for all & ne're his mony grutch ; 1818
 Th[e]y must not part till they have drunk a barrell,
 Or straight this royster will begin to quarrell.
 Wher e're they meet, to th' alehouse they must goe,
 He sweares they shall, & they must not say noe. 1822
 As soone as e're the alehouse them receives,
 The tapster, duple diligent, straight leaves
 His other guestes, in course to take his cup,
 And make the full messe of these drunkards vp ; 1826
 He knowes what best belongs vnto his gaine,
 These are the men he seekes to entertaine.
 Then straight into the seller hee 'l them bring,—
 'Tis sweetest drinking at the verry spring,— 1830
 Wher as a barrell, for the nonce set out,
 Must straight be peare'd, then each must haue his bout
 And drink vp all ; to leave a litle snuffe
 Is petty treason ; & such pretious stuffe 1834
 Must not be throwne away. Thus they drink round,
 Vntill their adle heads doe make the ground
 Seeme blew vnto them ; till their hands doe shake,
 Their tongues speak duple, & their braines do ake. 1838
 But they proceed till one drop[s] downe dead drunke,
 Wher he doth lie long time, a sencelesse trunk ;
 And all the rest in a sweet pickle brought
 (Such operation hath the barrell wrought), 1842
 Lie downe beside him. One straight falles a sleep
 Ready to drowne himselfe, in that doth keep
 The broken beer from spoiling ; then another
 Falles into spring, & is like to smother 1846

[leaf 22, back]
 One falls dead
 drunk, a second
 goes to sleep,
 the third is sick,

Himselfe in his owne vomit. He that least
 Seemes to be drunk, yet shewes himselfe a beast,
 And that 's the tapster, *which* hath got a tricke,
 Because he would prevent his being sick, 1850
 To force himselfe to cast, then on the barrell
 To take a nap. Thus ends this drinking quarrell.
 After some 3 howers sleepes strong operation
 Hath brought their braines into a better fashion, 1854
 They gin to wake, & finding themselves ill
 Of their late surfet, *which* hath force to kill
 The strongest body, to 't afresh they goe,
 To drink away their paine ; such heartsick woe 1858
 By an immoderate drunkennesse procurede,
 Must by "a haire of the same dog" be curde.
 Then once againe the pot must keep his round,
 Vntill the barrell, with his hollow sound, 1862
 Fortell his emptinesse. Trivmphantly
 They doe then eccho forth this victory,
 As 'twere a conquest, that deserv'd with golde
 In Fames eternall booke to be enrolde. 1866
 But still Cervicius paies for all, his purse
 Defraies all reckonings ; there must none disburse
 A penny but himselfe. " Tut, I have landes
 Which now of late are come into my handes, 1870
 And whilst they last, I will not want good drink,
 Nor boon companions. Wherefore was my chinck
 Made but to spend ? And can 't be better spent
 Then 'mongst good laddes in ioviall meriment ? 1874
 Faith, no. Flie, brasse ! More precious I do holde
 Maltes pure quintessence then king Harries golde.
 Good liquor breeds good blood, good blood best health,
 And that 's a iewell to be prisde 'bove wealth. 1878
 Drink round, sweet George, to me, my turne is next,
 And I'le charge honest Rafe ; let's ply our text
 Without digression. Tapster, take your bout,
 Leave not a drop, you'r best, but drink all out. 1882

while the tapster
vomits and goes
to sleep on the
barrel.

Three hours later
they all wake and
go to it again till
the barrel is
empty,

because "a hair
of the same dog"
must cure them.

Cervicius pays
for all ;

so long as he has
money he will
not want good
drink,

which breeds
good blood, and
good blood best
health.

He thinks the
four would beat
any four in
Europe.

Why soe, brave boyes, this gear doth cotten well,
I think we foure might win *the* silver bell
Of any 4 in Europe, for *our* drink.
Let 's make a challenge, Rafe ; I doe not think 1886
But we shall put downe all that dare contest
With vs in this, if we but doe *our* best.
And yet ther were 4 roring boyes, they say,
That drunk a hogshhead dry in one poor day. 1890
Tapster, some beer ; the conceit makes me dry !
Heer honest rogue, night partes good company ;
But my good lades, let 's meet againe to morrow,
And at this fountaine we will drinke downe sorrowe."

This conceit
makes him dry,
and he drinks
hoping to meet
again next day.

[leaf 23]

Thus he runs on his course, til 's drunken vaine
Ruines his substance, makes him entertaine
For his companion penurious want.—
All other friends doe then wax wondrous scant ; 1898
But this alone, when men fall in decay,
Will never leave them till their dying day.
His substance poore, his soule more poore in grace,
Getes him contempt on earth, in hell a place 1902
Of everlasting paine, vnlesse the smart
Of misery reforme his wicked heart.
For sometimes want & hard calamity
Even Athiestes turnes to Christianity. 1906

Another scorns
to get drunk on
beer or bottled-
ale.

But Bacchanall is of a higher straine,
He scornes soe base a thought to entertaine,
As to drink drunk with beer or bottle-ale ;
Noe, he contemnes the vse, that fashion 's stale. 1910
Marry, *your* true elixar, all rare wine,
That doth enspire, & make the thoughtes divine !
Whie, he esteemes the nectar of the goddes,
Homers Nepenthe, to come short by oddes 1914
Of [this] delicious iuice. Rich Malago,
Canarie, Sherry, with brave Charnico ;
Phalerno, with *your* richest Orleance wine,
Pure Ithenish, Hippocras, white Muscadine, 1918

Nepenthe to him
falls far short of
delicious wine,

- With the true bloud of Bacchus, Allegant,
That addes new vigour *which* the backe doth want
Are precious wines. Marrie, your white or Charret
Is but so so ; he cares not greatly for it ; 1922
But for the rest, whose vertuous operation
Doth cheer the heart opprest with passion,
Doth rapsodize the soules intelligence
Above the leuell of inferiour sence, 1926
Why, had he to his wish the cranes long necke
To tast with more delight, he would not wrecke
Of all celestiall ioyes ; this were a treasure
To be preferd above that heavenly pleasure. 1930
From thine owne mouth, thou beastly Epicure,
Dost thou condemne thy selfe, thou shalt be sure
Never indeed to tast celestiall bliss !
But know *with*hall (though thou those joyes doe misse)
That thou (when as thy soule will be agast) 1935
Shalt of the cup of Godes iust vengeance tast !
Fower kinde of drunkardes this our age hath quoted, There are four
Which, since by observation I have noted, 1938 kinds of
It shall not be amisse heer to insert, drunkards :
That we may know how much each doth *pervert*
The soule of man. The first is merry drunk,
And this, although his braines be somewhat shrunk
I' th' wetting, hath, they say, but litle hart 1943
In his demeanour ; to make harmles sport
Is all his practise. In what fashion ?
Is baudie talke, & damnd prophanation 1946
Of Godes most holy name, a harmlesse thing ?
Are apish tricks & toies, *which* vse to bring
Men in dirision, sportes to breed delight ?
Is that *which* makes the soule as black as night, 1950
Which takes away the perfect vse of sence,
Which is the high way to incontinence,
A thing of nothing ? Whie, if this be soe,
I graunt you then a drunken sot may goe 1954

and claret is but
"so-so,"

Wines cheer the
heart and elevate
the senses.

If Bacchanal had
but the neck of a
crane, to taste
with more
delight !

There are four
kinds of
drunkards :

1. The merry
drunk : his sport
is called
harmless ;

[leaf 23, back]

but bawdy talk
and apish tricks
are not harmless.

- For one that is innocuous ; otherwise
 He is a beast & worse, let that suffice.
 And if this be the hurtlesse sport you meant,
 Love keepe me from such harmlesse merriment. 1958
2. The maudlin drunk, whose
 drink seems to
 fall from his eyes.
 The second kinde we maudline drunkardes call.
 I thinke the humid stuffe they drink doth fall
 Out of their eyes againe, for they distill
 Teares in great plenty. Woemen when they will 1962
 Can weep, we say, but these doe never cry
 Except they first be drunk ; but then they dry
 The fountaine of their teares quite vp before
 but he only when
 he's drunk. They cease from weeping, or doe once give o're 1966
 Their dolefull lamentation. I suppose
 The name of "Maudline drunk" from hence arose.
 This kinde of drunkard is the kindest creature
 That ever did converse with mortall nature ; 1970
 When he is in his fit, you may commaund
 All that he has, his purse, his heart, his hand,
 To do you service ; why hee'l ever kill
 If you'll sit and
 swill with him
 he's happy. Your heart with kindenesse, soe you'l sit & swill 1974
 In his loathd presence ; keep him company
 And he is pleasde, ther's his felicity.
 And now I call to minde an accident
 That did befall to one of his lewd bent, 1978
 One of these maudline drunkards (I will passe
 Over it briefly). In this sort it was :
 Once a wealthy
 young gentleman A certain wealthy-left young gentleman,
 One that had more skill how to quaffe a can 1982
 Then manage his revenewes, for his ease
 let out his land
 to a crafty old
 fox, Put out the best part of his land to lease,
 And had to tennant an olde crafty fox,
 who knew on
 which side his
 bread was
 buttered. Who, though his landlord made him a right oxe, 1986
 Knew for all that on *which* side of his bread
 The sweetnesse of the butter was yspread ;
 Knew how to turn all to his best of gaine,
 And therefore did with patience entertaine 1990

His supposde wrong. What cannot thirst of golde Performe when men to wickednesse are solde?		
This old sinckanter, when he came to pay His landlordes rent at the appointed day,	1994	When he came to pay his rent he
Was for the most part sure to finde him fast Within a taverne; whilst his coine did last Ther was his randevous. The mony tolde, Which was as welcome vnto him as golde,	1998	always found his landlord at the tavern,
They needs must drink together ere they part. Then is wine cal'd for, & quart after quart Comes marching in, till my young gallant fals Into his maudline fit, & then he calles	2002	[leaf 24]
Afresh for wine, & with right weeping eyes Hugging his tenant, "You are welcome!" cryes, "In faith you are, be God you are! Beleeve it, What is it thou wilt have & I will give it.	2006	where he was welcomed and treated,
Sha't have a new lease for a hundred yeares, Of all the land thou holdst!—I speake in teares Of my affection,—& shalt yearly pay A peppercorne, a nutt, a bunch of may,	2010	and offered his land at a pepper- corn rent
Or some such trifle. Tut, man! I desire To have thee thrive,—I only doe aspire To purchase credit; thou the gaine shalt reap;— Hang him that will not let his landes good cheap!"		by his maudlin drunk landlord.
Well, for this time they part. Next quarter comes, And after that a third; he payes the summes, And findes his landlord in this humour still. Then doth the crafty fox begin to fill	2018	
His braines with cunning; if his plotes doe hit To his desire, his landlordes want of wit Shall make him rich for ever. Vpon this He makes a feast to which he doth not misse	2022	This time they part, but before they meet again he prepares indentures.
To invite his landlord; but before, compacted With an attorney by whose healp directed, A paire of large indentures, fairely drawne, Are formally compose. These as a pawne	2026	

Of his deer hopes he keeps, & when the fit
 Hath quite deprive my gallant of his wit,
 Hee 'l make his landlord set both hand & seale
 To this new lease. Men of experience deale 2030
 To their best profit ; & it were as good
 That he should be a gainer as the brood
 Of cut-throat vintners. Well, to make short worke,
 My gentleman, his braines as light as corke 2034
 With brave carousing, fals to his odd vaine
 Of weeping kindenesse ; nay, seemes to complaine
 That his kinde offer findes noe acceptation !
 Olde Gray-beard knowes his cue, & by gradation 2038
 Still drawes him one, till the kinde foole protestes
 Were the indentures drawne, so firme he restes
 In his opinion, ther should be a match,
 And his hand soone should all the rest despatch. 2042
 Straight vpon this are the indentures brought ;
 Witnesse there needs not, for the house¹ is fraught
 With store [of] guestes ; then the kinde harted gull
 Seales and subscribes to all : his wits are dull 2046
 And sencelesse of this wrong. Thus is he² shorne
 Of eight score poundes a year for one poore corne
 Of pepper, & the lease, that hath noe flawe,
 For a whole hundred yeares is good in lawe. 2050
 But now to passe this & to make reporte
 Of lyon-drunkardes, which is the third sorte.
 Your lyon-drunkard is a kinde of man
 That in his fitt will rage, sweare, curse, & banne, 2054
 Break glasses, & throw pottes against the wall,
 Quarrell with any man, & fight with all
 That yield not to his rage. Mad Hercules,
 In the extreamest rage of his disease, 2058
 Clad in the shirt which Deianira sent,
 Dipt in the blood of Nessus, to prevent

Men act for their
 own advantage.

The landlord
 complains that
 his offer is not
 accepted.

Then the in-
 denture is pro-
 duced and signed,
 and he is robbed.

[leaf 24, back]

3. "Lion-drunk-
 ards" come next.

They are far
 worse than
 Hercules.

¹ A letter like *O* is written before the word *house*.

² M.S. this is the

His love to lōle, when the poyson boyld
 In every veine, & with the torment spoilde 2062 This drunkard
 And quite bereaft him of true reasons vse, is worse than
 Making him teare vp trees, & break all truce a madman.
 With man & beast, was not yet halfe soe madde
 As this outrageous drunkard, nor soe bad 2066
 T' encounter with ; for this man is indeed
 Worse then a mad man. Let that man take heed
 Which comes within his reach ; vnlesse he have
 More lives then one, this wretch will dig his grave.
 These are *the* men *that* make soe many fraies, 2071 These are they
 That stab & kill soe many now adayes, who commit so
 On whom just vengeance oftentimes attendes, many murders.
 Bringing their lives vnto most shamefull endes. 2074
 The fowerth & last kinde of this drunken crewe
 Is beastly drunk, & these men vse to spue,
 Lying in gutters, & in filthy mire,
 More like to swine then men. Promethean fire 2078 4. The beastly
 Is quite extinct in them ; yea, vse of sence drunk, who lie in
 Hath within them noe place of residence. gutters like
 Some of this kinde, as if a deadly potion swine.
 Had wrought th' effect, doe seeme to have no motion
 Of vitall faculties ; a man would deeme 2083
 That they were dead indeed, for soe they seeme, They are dead
 When only superfluity of drink drunk.
 Deceives the eye, & makes *the* heart misthink. 2086
 On[e] of these men (I am about to tell
 Noe fable, reader, therfore marke it well)
 Vpon mine owne moste true intelligence,
 Being dead drunk i' th' time of pestilence, 2090 One of these was
 Was thought t' have dide o' th' plague, & seeming dead, missed during
 Was amongst others alive buried. the pestilence
 But being by some of his companions mist, which raged in
 And diligent enquirie made, they wist 2094 1603. [See Defoe's
 At length what was become of him, & went *History of the*
 Vnto his place of buriall, with intent *Plague of 1665*, p.
 68, ed. Bohn.]

- If it were possible to save his life.
 He had beer, The grave digd vp, they saw with how great strife 2098
 buried alive. The drunken man, to wonted sence restorde,
 Had vsde himselfe, being all with blood begorde
 [leaf 25] With violence to help himselfe was wrought,
 But all in vaine ; for not the aide they brought, 2102
 Which came too late, nor his owne power, could shend
 This wretched man from a moste fearfull end.
 This serves as an Surely this iust example doth expresse,
 example of God's How much God hates this beastly wickednesse. 2106
 hatred of this Yet sinfull man, whose very heart should bleed
 sin. With recordation of soe straunge a deed,
 Is not reformed a iot from this lewd sinne,
 But every day more deeply plungèd in. 2110
 Nay, drunkennesse hath got an arch-defender,
 Yea, more then that, a principall commander,
 But a certain A great phisitian, which prescribes some dayes
 physician says Wherin 'tis necessary, as he saies, 2114
 it is necessary To drink drunk for the bodies better health,
 to drink. And being done in private & by stealth,
 It is a thing of nothing ! What phisitian,
 Whose vertuous minde, religious condition, 2118
 Speak him a Christian, would once entertaine
 Soe vilde a thought, or such a lye maintaine ?
 He must be an It is some at[h]eist sure, vpon my life,
 atheist or an Some Epicure, for 'mongst such men ar[e] rife 2122
 Epicure. These damnd opinious ; on[e] that knowes noe God,
 Was neuer scourged with afflictions rod,
 And therefore huld a sleep in pleasures lap,
 Securely sinnes, & feares no after-clap. 2126
 This man, which only setteth vp his rest
 In that which man communicates with beast,
 He denies the The soule of sence, denies th' eternity
 immortality of Of th' intellectual part, & doth apply 2130
 the soul. All his endevours to delight the sence ;
 Noe marle though he with drunkennesse dispence,

Which, though it may the bodies health secure,
The soules continuall death it doth procure. 2134

Old Monsier Gray-beard with your poynts vntrust, Old Gray-beard
Dublet vnbuttond, ready for your lust ; who hangs his
You, which the chamber wher you lay your head chamber with
With baudie pictures round about doe spread ; 2138 bawdy pictures,

Which make your maide daunce naked to your eyes,
Only to see her veines & arteries ;

Which hast given out this foolish prophesie,
That, vnlesse throught to death, thou ne're shalt die ; thinks he will
And therefore neither vnto church nor faire, 2143 only die by being
Nor any publicke meeting darst repaire, throught.

But idlie livest at home in ease, secure,
A very atheist, & meer Epicure, 2146

This is your axiome, "drunkennesse is good
To clear the stomach, & to purge the blood." He too thinks
Well maist thou be a good phisitian drunkennesse good
But I am¹ certaine a bad Christian. 2150 sometimes.

After the killing of some hundred men, [leaf 25, back]
And yet I scarcely reckon one for ten,
To trie the working of thy minerals,

Thy hearbes, thy drugges & such materials, 2154 In his experi-
Perhaps some litle knowledge thou hast gaine ment to test his
To ease the head or stomach, being painde ; drugs he has
To help an ague-shaken bodie, cure killed many.

A fever, dropsie, gout, or cicature ; 2158

All this, & more then this, as farre as nature
Permites thy skill to healep a mortall creature,
Suppose thou canst performe ; graunt thou couldst give
To a dead body force againe to live, 2162

As poetes faine that Æsculapions
Did to vnjustly slaine Hypolitus ;
Yet all thy skill wherof thou makst thy vaunt
Is nothing worth, because thou standst in want 2166
Of the true knowledge of thy soules salvation,

Though he has
learned some-
thing, yet,
ignorant of his
soul, his learning
is useless.

¹ Not unlike *ar* in MS.

The sweetnesse of whose only contemplation,
 The vertue of thy art doe passe, as farre
 As bright Apollo doth the meanest starre. 2170
 Which if thou knewst, it would thee quickly teach
 Another lesson, far above thy reach
 Of principles in phisick :¹—that noe evill
 (*Which* had it's first begin[ing] from *the* devill) 2174
 Though good ensue therby, must be committed,
 Yea though the ill with more good be requitted.
 How much more then soe horrible a crime
 As drunkennesse, whose putrefactionous slime 2178
 Darkens the splendour of our common wealth,
 Must not be acted to secure the health
 Of *the* base body (I doe call it base
 In reference to the soule), so to deface 2182
 The purer part of man ; yea, by such action,
 The loathsomnesse of whose infection
 Makes man, indued with reason, worse then beast ;
 Both soule & body doe become vnblest, 2186
 Vnsanctified members, & vnlesse
 God's grace in time this wickednesse represse,
 Th' all² both together perish, & remaine
 In hels eternally tormenting paine. 2190
 Besides ale, beer, & sundry sortes of wine
 From forren nationes, whose more fruitfull vine
 Yeilds plenty of god Bacchus, we have got
 Another kinde of drinke, *which* well I wot 2194
 Is of smale goodnesse, though *our* vaine delight
 Follow it with excessive appetite ;
 And that's Tobacco, a rare Indian weed,
 Which, because far fetched only, doth exceed 2198
 In vertue all our native hearbes,—for what ?
 For many pretious vses, vertues that

We may not do
evil that good
may come.

Drunkenness
darkens the
splendour of
our country,

and makes man
worse than a
beast.

Besides ale and
wine, we now
have Tobacco,

a rare Indian
weed of great
virtues,

¹ The sense seems to require "*the* reach of principles in phisick," or, "thy reach in principles of phisicke."

² MS. *Th' all* for they'll.

- May be applide to phisicke? Graunt it soe,
 Although I see great reason to say noe ; 2202 [leaf 26]
 which, even if
 good in itself,
 cannot justify
 the excessive use
 of it.
- How can that iustifie our common taking
 In such excesse, our even for that forsaking
 All other nutrime[n]tes? Doe we applie
 Phisick in this sorte? If I should say I, 2206 Physic is used
 seldom and with
 moderation,
- I should belie my knowledge ; phisicks vse
 Serv's only to reforme the knowne abuse
 Of the distempered body, & must be
 But seldome, & with mediocrity, 2210
- Applide on speciall causes when they fall ;
 To take Tobacco thus were phisicall,
 And might perhaps doe good ; but this excesse and if tobacco
 were so used it
 might do good.
- And ordinarie practise, questionlesse, 2214
 Annoyes th' internall partes & makes them foule,
 But I am sure commaculates the soule.
 Yet in these dayes hee 's deemd a very gull
 That cannot take Tobacco ; every skull 2218
- And skip-iacke now will have his pipe of smoke,
 And whiff it bravely till hee 's like to choke. But now every
 skip-jack must
 have his pipe
- You shall have a poore snake, whose best of meanes
 Is but to live on that he dayly gleanes 2222
- By drudgery from others, which will spend
 His pot of nappy ale vpon his friend, an^d pot of ale.
- And his Tobacco with as ioviall grace,
 As if he were a lord of some faire place 2226
- And great revenewes ! “ Tut, why should he not ?
 I hope a man may spend what he hath got,
 Without offence to any. What he spendes
 Is his owne monie, & among his friendes 2230 And why should
 a man not spend
 what is his own ?
- He will bestowe it.” I, & doe soe still,
 Follow the swinge of thy vngoverned will,
 See what 'twill bring thee too ; for I fore see
 Thy end wilbe both shame & beggerie. 2234
- Whom have we yonder with a pipe at 's head ?
 He lookes as if he were true Indian bred.

- Fumoso is the
best of smokers; O, 'tis Fumoso with the tallow face,
He that of late hath got a speciall grace, 2238
And that 's to be *the* best Tobacconist
That ever held a pipe within his fist.
- but he has ruined
himself by the
practice; It cost him dear enough; for *the* fame goes
H'as smokd out all his living at his nose 2242
To purchase this rare skill. But hee 'l repaire
This losse with greater wealth vnto a haire,—
He has the rediest meanes this gap to stop.
- he means to regain
his wealth by
selling tobacco
and bottled ale. "What's that?" Why he intends to keep a shop 2246
For smoke & botle-ale, *which* soone will drawe
Good store of gallantes (even as iet doth strawe)
Vnto his custome, &, for greater gaine,
A bonny lasse or two hee 'l entertaine. 2250
- [leaf 26, back] As take me e're a shop subvrbian
That selles such ware, without a curtezane,
And we will have the deed cronologizde,
Nay it may well be now immortalizde. 2254
Doth a tobacco pipe hang before the dore,
'Tis a sure signe within ther is a whore.
- A woman is
always kept at
these shops. "A whore," sayes he; "O, fie! you speake to broad;
A punck, or else one of the dealing trade; 2258
And such a one I mean to keep, & she
Will help, I hope, to keep & maintaine me.
O, 'tis the only thriving meanes of all
- He will purchase
riches in
abundance, To rayse mans fortunes vp by womans fall." 2262
An excellent project, follow thy designe,
And thou shalt purchase a rich golden mine,
And hell with all to boote;—soe thou hast golde
It makes noe matter. But *perhaps* being olde, 2266
One foote already within Charons bote,
Thou thinkst it time enough to change thy cote
To a more Christian habit, if th' intend,
How vile so e're thy life have been, thine end 2270
Shalbe repentant, though thou doe deferre
To the last minute, yet thou darst aver
- but must lose his
soul in the end.

'Twill be sufficient. From the theefe o' th' crosse
 Thou dost example take ; God seekes the losse 2274
 Of no mans soule ; his Sonne he therfore gave
 The soules of sinners, soe we are all, to save.

Thou silly sott, how well thou canst invent
 Against thy selfe to make an argument ! 2278
 Foole, Foole ! Not every dying man shall enter,
 That saith " Lord, Lord," into the heavenly center
 Of everlasting blisse ; true faith must be
 The only meanes to this eternity. 2282

Faith only can
 gain a man
 admission to
 heaven.

And how doth that but by good workes appear,
 Good workes are true faiths handmaidens, & are dear
 In the Almightyes eyes, though (I confesse)
 Not of sufficient power to release 2286
 The soule from everlasting punishment
 (As papistes doe persuade by argument)
 And purchase heaven. Godes mercy, not deserte
 Of mortall man, can heavenly ioyes impart. 2290

and faith shows
 itself in good
 works.

But to returne to thee which thinkst to die
 In the true faith, yet livst in villanie ;
 That makst account to purchase heavenly grace
 At thy last hower, yet dayly sinst apace ; 2294
 Presumptuous slave, thy error doth deceive thee,
 And of those heavenly ioyes will quite bereave thee !
 For if the truth thou doe exactly scanne,
 As is the life, so is the end of man. 2298

They who hope
 to purchase
 heaven at the
 last hour are
 deceived.

Wheras the theefs example thou dost bring,
 Who being ready, his last requiem sing
 Vpon the crosse, was in that instant hower
 From shamefull death to the celestiall bower 2302
 Of Paradise transported ; learne to know
 That this example was indeed to shew
 Gods mercy infinite, his power to save,
 Though man belike to drop into his grave. 2306
 The vse of this we rightly may applie
 To comfort them whose huge iniquity

The example of
 the thief on the
 Cross was only to

[leaf 27]

comfort such as

are oppressed
with sin, and to
keep them from
despair.

Their conscience doth oppresse, & make them faint,
Lest black dispaire their guilty soules attain. 2310
But as this one, so but this only one,
To keep man from such damnd presumption
As thou dost fall into, Godes word containes,

Man's intellect is
alienated and his
body dedicated
to sin.

How darst thou then presume? Wher are thy braines?
How is thy iudgement from truth alienated? 2315
How is thy soule, *which* should be consecrated
Vnto Godes service, dedicat to sinne,
To such presumptuous sinne? If thou shouldst winne
All thy lives precious time to clear this blot, 2319
To purge thy conscience of soe foule a spot,
To wash thy sinne in true repentant teares,

Nothing that
man can do will
appease God's
wrath.

Yet all thy sorrowes, all thy Christian cares 2322
Are not sufficient to appease Godes wrath.¹
Vnlesse his mercy helpe to expiate¹
The foulnesse of thie crime; without his grace,
Hell shalbe thy perpetuall dwelling place. 2326

Gluttons, drunk-
ards, and
Epicures,

And you rich gluttons, drunkardes, Epicures,
Whom carnall sence & appetite immures
From God & goodnesse, think not (though you live
Like beast^s) that you noe strict account shall give 2330
How you have spent your time, consumd'e your treasure,
Livd' brutishlie in ease, delight, & pleasure.
Yes, for each act, for every word & thought,

will appear before
the Judgment
Seat of God.

Before Godes high tribunal being brought, 2334
You must all answeare, yet you wilbe mute,
For your owne conscience will your cause confute.
Then to your terrour shall that sentence be,
"Depart ye cursed to helles miserie!" 2338
But I too long vpon this vice have staide,
Ther's something else of others to be saide. 2340

¹ *So* in MS.

Sat[ira] 6.

[AGAINST LASCIVIOUSNESS.]

ARGUMENTUM.

*Vndique squalenti seclerata libidine terra
Affluit, & templis spargitur vsque Venus ;
Luxurians ætas læna, meretrice, cinædo
Polluitur, mœchos angulus omnis alit.*

Having discoursd of sensuall gluttonie,		Excess of
It followes now I speake of venerie ;		delicates is the
For these companions as inseperable		heart of lust.
Are linckt together with sinnes ougly cable ;	2344	
The heart of lust 's excesse in delicates,		
And in this vice the soule precipitates.		
Lot was first drunk, & in this drunken fit		Lot was drunk
He that incestuous sinne did straight committ.	2348	when he sinned.
But I leave recordes of antiquity		[leaf 27, back]
And take me to this times iniquity.		
Lust, as a poyson that infects <i>the</i> blood,		
Boyles in the veines of man ; the raging flood	2352	
Of Neptunes kingdome, when th' impetuous might		
Of the fierce windes doth make it seem to fight		Now lust as a
With monstrous billowes 'gainst the loftie cloud,		poison infects the
Is calmer then the sea of lust, though loud	2356	blood,
Vnto the eare of sence, & is more safe ;		
For this can only drowne the worsen hafe		

	Of man, the bodie ; but lustes ocean O'rewhelms both soule & body ; yet fond man Runnes in this gulfe of sinne without all stay, And wilfully doth cast himselfe away.	2360
and if ever a nation were defiled it is our own.	If ever age or nation with this crime Were beastiallie defilde, now is the time, And ours that nation, whose libidinous heat, Whose fire of brutish lust, is growne soe great That it doth threaten with proud Phaeton To give the world a new combustion.	2364 2368
Both sexes and all ages are given to this sin.	Both sexes, each degree, both young & olde, Themselves vnto this filthy sinne have solde ; Yea, even the tribe of Levie (<i>which should be</i> The mirrours of vnspotted chastety) Are slaves to lust ! I speake not this alone	2372
Popish priests are guilty not- withstanding their vows.	Of Popish <i>priestes</i> , <i>which</i> make profession Of an immaculate virginity, Yet live in whoredome & adultery ; But alsoe to our clergie, which to blame, Preach continence, but follow not the same. And their example's able to seduce Well given mindes vnto this knowne abuse ; For euery man doth vse in imitation To follow his instructours fashion.	2376 2380
On: country parson keeps his whore,	The country parson may, as in a string, Lead the whole parish vnto any thing.	2384
	Eulalius hath had good education, Pens sermons well, hath good pronuntiation, Stiflie inveighs 'gainst sinne, as gluttonie, Pride, envie, wrath, sloth, brutish lecherie, Covetousnes, & such like, no man more,— Yet every man can tell he keeps a whore.	2388
while another defiles his neighbour's wife,	Philogonous doth love his lust as well, But he would clear from all suspection dwell ; 'Tis safest gutting at a loafe begunne, And therefore he his neighbour[s] wife hath wonne	2392

- To be his paramour ; they may suspect,
 But hee 's soe wary, no man can detect 2396
 His close encounters. O, but heers the spite,
 On[e] wench cannot suffice his appetite ! but is not
 His first must then be baude vnto another, satisfied with one
 She to a third, the daughter to the mother, 2400 or two.
 Til like the parish bull he serves them still, [leaf 28]
 And dabbes their husbandes clean against their will.
 But he that knew him not, & heard him preach,
 Would think it were impossible to teach 2404
 Vertue with such a fervent seeming zeale, If a man heard
 And yet thus looslie in his actions deale. him preach he
 You lustfull swine ! that know the will of God, would think he
 Yet follow your owne waies, think *that* his rod 2408 could not sin
 (For soe he saith himselfe) shall scourge your sinne thus.
 With many stripes ;—with you he will beginne.
 The greater man, the higher is the evill
 He doth committ, & he the viler devill. 2412
 Turne convertites, & make true recantation,
 And leave at last to act your owne damnation, Let him repent,
 Lest your reward be Godes just vengeance, or God will judge
 And hell your portion & inheritance. 2416 and condemn
 Sempronia 's married to a gentleman him.
 That in the joyes of Venus litle can ;
 'Tis very likely, & you may believe her,
 And you, her honest neighbours, should relieve her.
 Saith lustfull Spurio, “ Would she me accept, 2421
 I'de pawne my head to please her e're I slept, Women, for
 And save the paines of suing a divorce.” various reasons,
 Yet Messalina doth, without remorse 2424
 Of conscience for the act, take to her bed
 A second husband ere the first be dead, are guilty of
 With whom she lives but an adulteresse adultery.
 In brutish sinne & sensuall beastlinesse. 2428
 Pray Iove he please her well, or, though 't be strange,
 This second for a third I fear shée 'I change.

- The incest of
Cæsar Borgia, Borgia's in quiet, & is let alone,
Although his sister & his whore be one ; 2432
The father likewise doth (a hellish fact !)
With his owne daughter cursed incest act.
Who dares to let him ? Hee's a great commander,
- and Alexander VI. Romes triple crownèd Pope, Sixt Alexander ! 2436
Incestuous slaves ! think you to scape *the* rod
Of the Almighty sinne-revenging God ?
No, though the world doe wink at *your* offence
God never will with wickednesse dispence. 2440
- The young wife
deceives her
husband, Sulpitia, leave at last to wrong thy spouse,
Lest thou the furious sleeping lion rouse ;
Desist to act thy aged husbandes scorne,
He hath olde plenty, give him not the horne, 2444
And I'le not tell the world thy hatefull sinne,
How full of luxury thy life hath been,
How many severall lovers thou hast had,
How often thou hast faind to see thy dad, 2448
That by such meanes thou mightst have free accesse
To meet thy paramour. Nor will I presse
Thy conscience with recitall of *that* ill
When thou, thy letchers purse with golde to fill, 2452
Emtiedst thy husbandes bagges ; the diamond ringes,
The sutes of sattin, & such pretty thinges,
Which thou, as pledges of thy lewd desire,
Gavst to thy sweetheart for his lustfull hire, 2456
I'le not once name ; no, I will hold my peace,
Soe thou wilt from thy filthy lust surcease.
- Let the man who
has escaped the
penalty for rape
be careful. Drugo, although thou lately didst escape
The daunger of the lawe, *which* for a rape 2460
Awardeth death, be wise & sinne noe more,
Least *that* thou run soe much vpon *the* score
Of wickednesse, that thou canst never pay it ;
And soe for want of meanes how to defraie it, 2464
By death arrested, in helles prison cast,
Thou pine in torment *which* shall ever last.

Sodomeo scorneth women ; all his joy
 Is in a rarely featurde lively boy, 2468 Sodomy is not
unknown in the
land.
 With whom (I shame to speake it) in his bed
 He plaies like Love with Phrigian Ganimede.
 Monster of men, worse then the sensuall beast !
 Which by instinct doth follow the behest 2472
 Of nature in his kinde, but thou dost fall
 Into a sinne that's moste vnnaturall.
 Degenerate bastard ! by some devill got,
 For man could never, sure, beget a spot 2476 Such men must
be the children
of the devil.
 Of such vncleannesse ; how dost dare enact
 Soe damnd a crime, soe lewde a loathsome fact ?
 Dost thou not fear that iust Iove, in his ire,
 Will raine downe brimstone & consuming fire ; 2480
 As in his wrath, though many ages since,
 He did one Sodome, whose concupiscence,
 Like thine, deserve black helles damnation ?
 Or that some fearfull invndation 2484
 In his swift streame, should hurry thee to hell,
 With damnèd fiendes & torturde ghoastes to dwell ?
 Methinks such thoughts as these should purge thy
 soule,
 And keep thy bodie from an act so foule. 2488
 But 'tis noe marvell though thou be not free
 From the contagion of this villanie,
 When the whole land's thus plagued¹ with this sore,
 Whose beastlinesse then now was never more : 2492
 In Academie, country, citty, Courte,² The Universities,
the City,
 Infinite are defiled with this spurt.
 O, grant, my dearest nourse, from whose full brest
 I have suckt all (if ought I have) that's best, 2496
 Suffer me to condole the misery
 Which thou groinst vnder by this villanie ! and the Court,
are alike guilty.

¹ Spelling uncertain : it appears to have been *plagued*, but the *i* is undotted and the *e* is blurred.

² MS. Corrte.

I grieve at the
vices which
prevail at the
Universities.
[leaf 29]

How many towardly young¹ gentlemen
(Instead of ink, with teares I fill my pen 2500
To write it) sent vnto thee by theyr friendes
For art & education, the true endes
Their parentes aime at, are with this infection
Poysned by them whose best protection 2504
Should keep them from all sinne! Alacke the while!

Each pedant
Tutor spoils his
pupils.

Each pedant Tutour should his pupill spoile.
O, how I grieve at this vnhappy fate,
Because this vice is soe inveterate, 2508
Growne to so strong a custome that (I fear)
The world shall end ere they this sinne forbear!

I pray for a
speedy reforma-
tion.

But I leave thee with my best exoration
For thy moste speedy & true reformation. 2512

Nothus, without
crossing the sea,
has been into
France.

Nothus *which* came into *the* world by chaunce
At a bye window, hath been late in France,
Yet never crost the seas, it cannot bee;
'Tis newes that passes *our* capacity! 2516
'Tis soe, & by th' event I wilbe tride,
For I am sure hee's hugely Frenchified,
Gallicus morbus is his owne, I swear,
He has it paide him home vnto a haire. 2520

Let those pity
him who choose;
he gets none
from me.

Pitty him they that list, soe will not I,
Hee's iustly plagud for his damnd luxurie,
He might have kept his whore-house-haunting feet
Out of Piethatch, the Spittle, Turnboll street;² 2524
He might, forewarnd, have left his pockie drabbes,
They must have veriuiue that will squeeze such crabbes.
But he had cause to love a puncke the more,
Because his mother was an arrant whore. 2528

Claudia has
caught a clap.

I cannot chuse but grieve at *the* mishap
Of Clondia, *which* of late hath caught a clap.
Alack, poore wench! the trust of promise marriage

¹ MS. gounge. It may have been originally *goune*, as the final letter seems to have been altered. Cf. Taylor, "Gown-men," Works, fo. p. 178.

² All notorious haunts of prostitutes.

Hath loded thee with an vnusuall carriadge.	2532	A promise of marriage has been her ruin.
Take comfort lasse, & I a time will spie		
To shew thy lover his discourtesie,		
And though he have thee in this sort beguilde,		
He shall give somewhat to bring vp the childe ;	2536	
A litle mony from the law will quite thee,		
Fee but the Sumner, & he shall not cite thee ;		Fee the sum- moner and the law will hold you innocent.
Or if he doe, only for fashion sake,		
The lawe of thee shall no advantage take.	2540	
And though due pennance thou deservst to doe		
For tredding thus awry thy slippery shoe,		
Be not dismaide at all ; if thou dost flow		
In thy frank giffes, & thy golde freely stow,	2544	
The principall will make thy pennance ebbe.		
The Comissaries court's a spiders webbe,		The Commis- sary's court is like a cobweb which only holds small flies.
That doth entangle all the lesser flies,		
But the great ones break through ; it never ties	2548	
Them in his circling net. Wher golde makes way		
Ther is no interruption, noe delay		
Can hinder his proceeding ; therefore, wench,		[leaf 29, back]
Thou maist with a bolde face confront the bench.	2552	
If thy forerunners bribes have made thy peace,		Bribery will cover your shame,
Thy shame shall vanish, but thy sinne encrease,		
And when thou once hast scapèd this annoy,		
Goe to it roundly for another boy ;	2556	
Lose not an inch of pleasure, though thou gaine,		but increase your sin.
For momentarie ioyes, eternall paine.		
But yet be sure, if thou still goe about		
To play the drab, my pen shall paint thee out,	2560	
And thy lewde actes vpon thy forehead seare,		
That all the world may note thee for a whore.		
O Lynceus, ¹ that I had thy searching eye !		If I had the eyes of Lynceus I could expose the vices of this age.
Then would I in each secret corner prie,	2564	
To finde the hidden knaveries of this age,		

¹ Lynceus, one of the Argonauts, could see through the earth, and distinguish objects at a great distance.

	And lay them open to this paper stage.	
Then Glabria should be exposed,	Then Glabria should not, with her wanton eye, Allure faire Quintus to her villanie, But I would straight detect her for the crime, And hinder their appoynted meeting time. Then Lusco, 'cause his wife's in years decaide, Should not entise to ill her waiting maide,	2568 2572
Lusco's sin should be noted,	But I would spie them out, & note ¹ them downe, To her discredit & his smale renowne. Then Scilla, 'cause she might without suspect Play the lewd harlot, & none might detect Her lustfull conversation, should not hide Her loosnesse in a masculine outside,	 2576 2580
Scilla's disguise ripped off;	² But with my pen I soone would her vncase, And lay her open to noe mean disgrace. Then Galla, that insatiate citty dame, (Which loves a player, 'cause he hath <i>the</i> fame Of a rare Actour, & doth in his part Conquer huge gigantes, & captive the hart	 2584
Galla should not tempt the actor with presents.	Of amarus ladies) should not him intice, Prone (as all players are) vnto this vice, With goodlie presentes. I their match would lett, Or catch them sleeping in a Vulcanes nett, And having caught them to <i>the</i> world display How lusty Mars with lustfull Venus lay.	 2588 2592
None should escape me; I would expose all.	Then lustfull Iove, what shape soe e're he tooke Should not deceive mine eye, nor scape my booke. Thy lust Pasiphae I 'de sett to th' full, Whose bestiall appetite desirde a bull. Mirrha, thou shouldst not scape, <i>that</i> didst desire, To make thy father to thy childe a sire.	 2596 2596
	But since I cannot, as I would, be fitted, Let me detect what I have knowne committed.	
It was once my fortune	It was my fortune, with some others moe, On[e] summers day a progresse for to goe	2600

¹ Final *e* by a later hand. ² /I† in margin.

Into the countrie, as the time of year [leaf 39]
 Required, to make merrie with good cheer.
 Imagine Islington to be the place, to go to Islington
to eat cream.
 The journey to eat cream. Under the face 2604
 Of these lewd meetings, on set purpose fitted,
 Much villanie is howerly committed.
 But to proceed ; some thought there would not be
 Good mirth without faire wenches companie, 2608 To make good
company,
 And therefore had provided, a forehand,
 Of wiues & maides a iust proportiond band
 In number to *the* men of vs ; each on[e]
 Might have his wench vnto himselfe alone. 2612 a wench was
provided for each.
 I that, till afterwarde, not comprehended
 Whereto this meeting chieflie was intended,
 But thought indeed the only true intent
 To spend the time in honest merriment,— 2616
 Went 'mongst the thickest, & had intercourse
 In many a mad & sensuall discourse.
 Among the women kinde a wife ther was,
 Her name I could not learne, I therefore passe 2620 Among them
was a married
woman,
 It over ; but a faind one to frame,
 Call her Veneria, that 's the fittest name.
 This wife, *which* with *the* maides did holde her walke,
 I chanc'd to overhear in her lewde talke, 2624 whom I will call
Veneria,
 How she did them by argumentes perswade
 To vse *the* pleasure of the common trade,
 I will repeat, that you may iudge with me,
 Women moste prone to filthy luxurie. 2628
 "My friendes," quoth she, "first, all of you must knowe,
 Good things more common doe *the* better grow ;
 For 'tis an axiome in morality,
 Which you must all believe for verity. 2632 who perswaded
the maidens to
lust.
 If, then, community doe goodnesse adde
 To actions that are good, who 'd be so mad
 To lose the vertue of this common good
 When 't may be purchasde without losse of blood ? 2636

- For that 'tis good, I think you 'l not deny,
Or if you doe, then thus I doe replie :—
- To do a friend
a pleasure is a
good deed,
To doe *our* friend a pleasur's a good deed,
If it be done for love, & not for meed ; 2640
To doe an act *that* addes to *our* delight
Is it not good? what foole will once deny't?
- or, as we call it,
"a good turn."
Besides, the name importes it to be good,
For we a good turne call it. With my blood, 2644
If all this be to weake, I will maintaine
Ther's none of all *our* sexe that would refraine
To vse *the* pleasure of this knowne delight,
If fear did not restraine their appetite. 2648
- Secret lechery is
less sinful than
hypocrisy.
And this I holde, *that* secret letcherie
Is a lesse sinne then close hypocrisie.
A preacher tolde me that the action wrought
(Because more seldome then the wandring thought)
[leaf 30, back] Is not soe great a fault, soe we chuse time 2653
And place convenient to conceile *our* crime ;
And that we will not want, nor lusty boyes
Able to give a wench her fill of ioyes. 2656
- Her lewd dis-
course made my
ears glow,
Then to it, lasses, when you have desire,
'Tis dangerous to suppressse a flaming fire !"
To hear this lewdnesse both mine eares did glow,
but "I bit in my
tongue" for the
sake of peace,
But I bit in my tongue, lest there should grow 2660
Some discontentment 'mongst them by my speech,
Which happily might have procur'd a breach
Among vs ; & indeed soe much the rather,
and because I
wante'd to see
the end,
Because by circumstances I did gather 2664
Wherefore this meeting was, & did intend
to observe all vnto the very end.
- By this time we th' appointed place attaine'd,
Where straight with welcomes we were entertain'd. 2668
- We had music
and good cheer.
Musicke was sent for, & good chear preparte,
With *which* more like to Epicures we farde
Then Christians ; plenty of wine & creame
Did even vpon *our* table seeme to streame, 2672

- With other dainties. Not a fiddlers boy
 But with the reliicks of *our* feast did cloy
 His hungry stomach. After this repast
 (*Which* feast with many a bawdy song was graced) 2676
 Some fell to dauncing (& dauncing is a cause
 That many vnto fornication drawes),
 In *which* lascivious kinde of merriment,
 Till the darke evening did approch, we spent 2680
 The lightsome day. But now the time drew nigh
 That was comprisd'e to act their villany ;
 And therefore after candles were brought in
 (For then the night grew on) we did beginne 2684
 The fiddlers to discharge, who being gone,
 There straight was held a consultation,
 In *which*, when each man had his wench assignde,
 The filthinesse of this lewde act to blinde 2688
 With darkenesse, all the candles were put out,
Which favouring my intent, I left the rout,
 And closely stole away, having defraide
 A great part of the reckning ; *which* I paide 2692
 Whilst they were all full busie in the darke,
 Because they should not think I came to sharke
 Only for vittailles. How the rest agreed,
 Iudge you *which* doe this true narration read. 2696
 But leaving this mad crew, I have to say
 Somewhat of bawdes, cheife actours in this play.
 Gabrina, in her youth a pretty duche,
 Hath been, they say, as good as ever stricke. 2700
 It was her fortune (long she could not tarry
 'Cause she was faire) with a rich foole to marrie.
 I call him foole, because he let her have
 Her minde soe much, that he became her slave 2704
 To his vndooing. She must keep her coach,
 Consort with ladies ; each new set abroach
 Fantastique fashion *which* she did affect,
 His gold must flie for ; yet she did respect 2708

After the feast
 some fell to
 dancing, which
 lasted till dark.

When the candles
 were brought in
 the fiddlers were
 discharged.

As soon as the
 lights were put
 out I escaped.

Gabrina married
 a rich fool.

[leaf 21]

She kept her
 coach and con-
 sorted with
 ladies.

- Others above him, vpon whom she spent
His wealth ; her lust his care could not prevent.
- Her pride and
sensuality
brought him to
leggary, and
broke his heart.
- Thus soone her pride & sensuality
Brought him vnto disgrace & beggery, 2712
Till grieffe for her lewd life, his ruind state
Broke his weak heart, & made him yeild to fate.
Then was she glad her whores flag to aduaunce,
And get her living by a Scottish daunce. 2716
Thus with her sister, such another piece,
Many a gallant of his golde they fleece.
- In their age she
and her sister
hire out a crew
of whores.
- Now ceazd with age, & both of them turnd bawdes,
Olde hackny women, they hire out their jades, 2720
A crew of whores far worse then crocodiles,
Killing with faind teares & forgèd smiles.
Confusion with their fortunes ever dwell,
That keep the dores that ope to sinne & hell ! 2724
- These bawds up-
hold their state
- These bawdes which doe inhabite Troynovant,¹
And iet it vp & downe i' th' streetes, aflaunt
In the best fashion, thus vpholde their state,
As I haue heard a friend of mine relate, 2728
Who once in privat manner with another
Went purposely their fashions to discover.
- by keeping wives
as well as com-
mon whores.
- They doe retaine besides these common queanes,
Even mens wives which are of greatest meanes, 2732
That yearly pay them tribute for their lust,
Vpon whose seecreie they doe entrust
Their blotted reputation, for which pleasure
They lewdly doe consume their husbandes treasure. 2736
The custome of these bawdes is thus : if any
Repaire vnto them (as God knowes too many
Run to this sinck of sinne), at the first view
To shew their cheapest ware ; if they will glue 2740
Their slimy bodies to those common whores,
The bawdes proceed no farther, keep the dores,
The price paide, which repentaunce findes to dear,
- When a man
comes in, they
show the cheapest
wares first.

¹ London. See Taylor, Works, fol. 491.

- And the act done, doe straight the men cashier. 2744
- But if some gallant, whose out side doth holde
Great expectation that good store of golde
Will from his bounty shower into their lappes,
Come to demaund (for soe it often happes) 2748
To see their choysest beauties, him they bring
(After request [not]¹ to say any thing)
Into a privat roome, *which* round about
Is hung with pictures ; all *which* goodly rout 2752
Is fram'de of Venus fashion, femals all,
Whom if I name whores, I noe whit miscall,
For soe they are, whom these doe represent.
All citty dames, *which* vsually frequent 2756
This cursed place, who, though they goe full brave,
Are in their lust insatiat as the grave.
That picture *which* doth best affect the eye
Of this luxurious gallant, instantly 2760
Is by some traine brought thether in true shape
Of lively substance. Then good Bacchus grape
Flowes in abundance ; Ceres must be by,
For *without* them ther is noe venerie. 2764
Provocatives to stir vp appetite
To brutish lust & sensuall delight,
Must not be wanting ; lobsters buttered thighs,
Hartichoke, marrowbone,² potato pies, 2768
Anchoves, lambes artificiallie drest stones,
Fine gellies of decocted sparrowes bones.
Or if these faile, th' apothecaries trade
Must furnish them with rarest marmalade, 2772
Candid eringoes, & rich marchpaine stuffe ;
Vpon *which* eates ther is consume enough
To give sufficient to a hundred men,
Spent but on ordinarie fare. But then 2776
These dainties must be washd downe well with wine,

But if he looks
rich he is shown
into a private
room

[leaf 31, back]

The picture
which takes his
fancy is soon
replaced by its
"lively sub-
stance."

Wines and
nutritious food
are provided in
abundance.

Lobsters, pies,
jellies, mar-
malade,

¹ Blank in MS.; something erased.

² Very much like Moorowbone in MS.

sack, eggs,
Muscadine,
Alieant,

With sacke & sugar, egges & muskadine,
With Allegant, the blood of Venerie,
That strengthens much the *backes* infirmity. 2780

and dainties
enough to crack
a man's purse-
strings.

Abundance of these dainties they 'l not lacke,
Although it make my gallantes purstrings cracke.
And yet sometimes these cittie dames will spend
As if their husbandes wealth could ne're have end. 2784
Then after this libidinous collation
They doe proceed to act their owne damnation.

Thus is our great
citty made a
brothel.

Thus is the worthiest cittie of *our* land
Made a base brothel-house, by a lewde band 2788
Of shamelesse strumpets, whose vncurbéd swing
Many poore soules vnto confusion bring.

The Magistrates
should rid it of
this cursed crew.

You magistrates, *which* holde Astraeas sword,
For countries cause joyne all with one accord 2792
To clear the cittie of this cursed crew,
Least the whole land the noysomenesse doe rewe
Of their contagion. For the better health
Of the whole body of the commonwealth, 2796

Remove the
cause, and the
effect will perish.

Cut of these rotten members, & beginne
First at the head of this notorious sinne.
For this is written one the Lidian stone,
"The effect doth *perish* when the cause is gone." 2800

[leaf 32]

These bawdes & panders *which* doe give receat
(Being indeed the meanes wherby they eat)
To whores & ruffians, whose damnd villanie
Doth purchase gold & sell iniquity ; 2804
Were they expeld the cittie, ther would grow
More continence, for¹ them these heades doe flow ;
The springs of lust, these fountaines, being drawne dry
The lesser streames would stint immediatly. 2808

Lop off these
ulcered members
with the hand
of justice.

Lop of these vicerd members of *our* land,
These putrified members ; with the hand
Of iustice chase hence this vngodly rout,—
Subtract *the* fewell & *the* fire goes out,— 2812

¹ ? from.

And let our land this damnd devillish crew,
 As excrementes, out of her bosome spewe;
 And then you manifestly shall perceave
 The greater part their brutish lust will leave. 2816

For every man this olde saide saw beleeves,
 "Were no receivers there would be no theeves."

"No receivers,
 no thieves."

Thus City scapes not, nor the Court is free
 From obsecane actes of hatefull luxurie. 2820

Those men or women *that* doe make resorte,
 In hope of gaine or honour, to *the* Court,
 Doe live soe idely, & in such excesse,
 That it must needs produce this wickednesse. 2824

The Court is not
 free from these
 sins.

Vitellius hath gotten a good place,
 And might live well i' th' Court, had he *the* grace
 To keep it to good endes, & vse it soe,

"But lightly come," we say, "doth lightly goe." 2828

"Lightly come,
 lightly go."

It cost him nothing but a supple knee,

¹ And oyle mouth & much observancie,

But he doth vpon worse then nothing spend it,

Yet 'tis well spent, he saies, & hee 'l defend it. 2832

He keeps a whore i' th' city, what needs that?

Ther's whores enough i' th' Court, *which* (as a cat

City and Court
 are alike.

Waites to surprise a mouse) watch to espie

²Whom they can draw vnto their villanie, 2836

Some for meer lust, others for greedinesse

Of gaine; as, 'mongst all your court landresses

If but one honest woman can be found,

I 'le give her leave to give me twenty pound.³ 2840

Scarce one honest
 woman to be
 found.

But these are stale; Vitellius must have one

That's a rare piece of *the* best fashion,

Although she make these three thinges fare *the* worse,

His soule, his body, & his strouting purse. 2844

They ruin soul,
 body, and purse.

His purse, her gay apparel & fine fare

Have made already very thin & bare;

¹ /Ion in margin of MS.

² /I in margin of MS.

³ MS. 20^l.

- Bodily disease. His bodie, her vnwholsome luxurie
 Hath brought to *the* disease of venery ; 2848
 And I much fear this their lewde fashion
 Will bring his soule vnto damnation.
- [leaf 32, back] I need not talk
 of Silvius and
 City dames,
 Silvius doth shew *the* citty dames brave sights,
 And they for *that* doe pleasure him a nightes. 2852
 Citty & country are beholding to him,
 And glad with purse & body both to woe him.
- when higher
 personages are
 gaily.
 But what talke I of these, when brighter starres
 Darken their splendant beauty with *the* scarres 2856
 Of this insatiate sinne? If honour fall
 Gentry must needes submit himselfe a thrall.
 But whether climst thou, my aspiring Muse?
 It wilbe thought presumption & abuse 2860
- Forbear, m,
 Muse, to tax
 nobility!
 To taxe nobility! Forbear, forbear!
 Thou art an orbe above thy native spheare,
 Something thou canst not in oblivion drowne ;—
 Why come one then, & briefly set it downe. 2864
- One boasts that
 he has made
 fifty-one cuckolds
 in the year:
 I heard Brusano by his honour sweare
 He on[e] & fifty cuckoldes made last yeare.
 Pitty it was he did noe farther goe,
 Each weeke would have done well to struck a doe, 2868
 And given *the* keeper his due fee to seeke
 When as he came to th' two & fiftith weeke.
- but he who made
 so many,
 Whom shall we finde to make vp *the* iust number?
 To bring 't about it my conceit doth cumber. 2872
 Why, what a foole am I to seek thus farre!
 You did soe many cuckoldes make or marre?
- is himself the
 fifty-second.
 Well then, i' faith you may, for all *your* pelfe,
 Make vp the two & fiftieth *your* selfe ! 2876
 Madame Emilia hath a proper squire
 To vs her vnto *the* filthly mire
- Madam's page
 knows all her
 arrangements,
 Of soule-polluting lust, who knowes his cues
 Wher he must leave her, where attendance vse ; 2880
 And can while 's lady *actes* the horrid crime,
 With picking rushes trifle out *the* time ;

And for a need, when she wantes fresh supplie,
 Her sensuall desires satisfie. 2884 and can at times
 supply her wants
 himself.
 Base slave! *which* standest centinell to lust,
 Suffering thy soule, polluted with *the* rust
 Of cankered sinne, by thy neglect to *perish*,
 Which above all *things* thou shouldst love & cherish!
 Thou instrument of sinne & Sathans¹ rage! 2889
 Incarnate devill! pandarizing page!
 Be sure (vnesse repentance pardon gaine)
 There doth a place in hell for thee remaine. 2892
 But he may rest
 assured that
 there's a place
 reserved in hell
 for him,
 And for those lechers *which* will never linne
 (Accounting lust but as a veniall sinne)
 To committ incest, whoredome, sodomie,
 Defile *the* land with damnd adulterie, 2896
 as well as for
 all who are
 guilty of incest,
 whoredom,
 sodomy,
 and adultery.
 Which strive not to suppress their lewde desires,
 But fewell ad to their lust-burning fires,
 By seeking wicked opportunities
 To act their damnable iniquities, 2900
 Till they have ruind all their hope of blisse,
 Devilles will hale them to helles darke abisse.

¹ MS. Sathange.

Sat[ira] 7.

[AGAINST THE PASSIONS OF THE MIND.]

ARGUMENTUM.

Reginam mentis rationem, serva rebellis
 Passio devincit, calce tyrannza premit,
 Dum gerit immodicos (victa ratione) triumphos,
 Incautos homines, ad mala damna rapit.

God gave to man a reasonable soul that he might govern all things.	God gave to man a reasonable soule, That he might govern vnder his controle All other creatures in the world beside, Yet man wantes reason how himselfe to guide.	2906
Reason is the queen of the soul,	Reason, <i>the</i> soules queen, whose imperious sway Should rule the microcosme of man, & stay By her wise governing authority Each insolent affections tyranny,	2910
but she is become the slave of her subject,	Is through much, too much, sufferance become Slave to her subiect, who vsurps her roome. Ambitiously aspiring passion, Ever delighting in rebellion,	2914
who boldly rebels against her.	Collects her forces, meets her prince i' th' field, Subdues her power in conflict, make[s] her yeild. And now <i>the</i> tyrannesse beares all <i>the</i> stroke, Clogging her suffering neck with servile yoke, And proud insulting in her victorie, Triumphs o're mans base imbecillity.	2918

- Thus his owne servant, every base affection,
 Keeps him in slavish t[h]raldome & subjection. 2922
- By love or hatred, by ioy, griefe, or feare,
 Desire, boldnesse, anger, hope, dispaire,
 Man is enthrald, & doth submitt his will
 Their tyrannies & pleasures to fulfill. 2926
- The Amoretto, peare'd with Cupides stroke,
 Must straight submitt his neck vnto *the* yoke
 Of peevish love. Either his mistrisse haire,
 Or else her forehead is beyond compare ; 2930
- Her eyes are starres, & her cheekes roses be,
 Her lips pure rubies, her teeth ivorie,
 Her breath perfume, her voice sweet harmonic
 Passing Threician Orpheus melody ; 2934
- The path between her brestes a whiter way
 Then that celestiaall via lactea ;
 Her veines pure azure, o' what colour's best,
 Her skin sleek sattin or *the* cygnettes brest ; 2938
- A Venus in whom all good partes doe hitt,
 More then a second Pallas in her witt ;
 In stately pace and dazeling maiestie,
 Another Iuno ; in pure chastety 2942
- Spotlesse Diana. Thus is all her feature
 Beyond *the* fashion of a humane creature.
 Then what "ay mees !" what crossing of his armes,
 What sighs, what teares, what love-compelling charmes
 He vseth, would enforce a sicke man smile ! 2947
- Yet all the paines he takes is to beguile
 His sillie soule ; for having once enjoyed
 The thing, for *which* he erst was soe anoyde, 2950
- The tide is turnd, the saint doth seem a devill,
 And he repentes that soule-bewitching evill
¹ Which once his fancy as a good adorde ;—
 His mistresse love, I mean, is now abhorde. 2954
- Another's minde by hate distempered is,
¹ /I in margin of MS.

Every base
 affection keeps
 man in thralldom.

If man falls in
 love he must
 submit to the
 yoke of peevish
 fancy,

and compare his
 mistress to

[leaf 33, back]

Venus, Pallas,
 Juno, and Diana.

Then to hear his
 "Ah me's !" till
 he gets dis-
 enchanted!

Then his "saint"
 seems a devil.

The mind of
 another is over-
 come by hate,

- Malicing whom in shew he seemes to kisse.
 This base affection causeth dismall strife,
 Despoileth honour, & destroyeth life. 2958
- which he hides
 by dissimulation. Yet in these dayes 'tis counted pollicie
 To vse dissimulation ; villanie
 Masqu'd¹ vnder friendships title (worst of hate)
 Makes a man liue secure & fortunate. 2962
- Such as he are
 worse than
 Timon of Athens. These Machiavillians are *the* men alone
 That thrive i' th' world, & gett promotion.
 Athenian Timon, in his hatefull moode,
 Was ne're soe bad as some of this damnde broode, 2966
- This brood of Caines, these dissembling knaves,
 These mankinde-haters, bloody minded slaves,
 Which all *the* world with horrid murders fill,
 Laughing one those whom they intend to kill. 2970
- A third sort have
 their minds
 overwhelmed
 with joy. A third ther is, *which* gaining some vaine toy,
 Is overwhelmed through excessive ioy.
 The husbandman, if that his crops proove well,
 Hath his heart fild with joy 'cause his barnes swell ;
 The marchant, if his gaines doe safe come in, 2975
- Is with ioy ready to leape out on 's skinne ;
 The vehemeny of this passion 's such,
 Many have² died by joying overmuch. 2978
- Some are over-
 come with grief, Another, shuning comfort & reliefe,
 Suffers himselfe to be surchargde with grieffe,
 And soe this passion doth his reason blinde
 That it begettes a frenzie in his minde. 2982
- [leaf 34] Another, if that fear doe him assaile,
 Doth suffer that affection to prevaile,
 And doth bring him [in]to such frantiecke fittes,
 As you would judge him to be out on 's wittes. 2986
- and some with
 fear. Each bush doth fright him, & each flying bird,
 Yea his owne shadowe maketh him afeard.

¹ *Masque* originally written ; altered into *Masqu'd*.

² This *have* seems to have been *o'ave*, but a line is drawn through the *o*.

- Desire in others sheweth forth his mighte,
 Making them follow brutish appetite. 2990
- Desire of honour fires th' ambitious minde ;
 Desire of wealth the covetous doth blinde ;
 The lecher cannot lustfull thoughtes withstand :
 Reason's controule by passions that commaund. 2994
- Another, rash & indiscreetly bolde,
 Hazardes himselfe in dangers manifolde,
 Yet thinks himselfe (mislead by his temerity)
 To vse true valour & dexterity ; 2998
- When folly his companion is assignde,
 For "who soe bolde as bayard that is blynde ?
 With rashnesse is conioyned impudence,
 With which my Muse in noe case can dispence. 3002
- His talke is bawdry, he doth rather choose
 His soule then a prophane conceite to loose.
- Mischiefe-procurer anger rules another,
 That knowes not friend from foe ; stranger or brother,
 All's one to him ; for in his bedlem fitt, 3007
- Which quite deprives him of his litle witt,
 He cares not whom he strikes, or what vile wordes
 That cutt like razors, or sharp edgèd swordes, 3010
- Flie from his hasty tongue. This passion swaies
 And rules over too many now adayes,
 For each vaine toy stirreth vp man to furie,
 When he in patience greatest wrongs should burie. 3014
- Hope & affection is that doth least harme
 Vnto the soule of man ; for it doth arme
 With constancy in trouble to endure
 The worst of evill that sad fates procure. 3018
- It makes the prisoner, bound in givcs of steele,
 In expectation of release, to feele
 Noe torment in his bondage ; cures the sicke
 Of his diseases ; makes the halfe dead quicke. 3022
- Yet is this good conioyned with some evill ;
 To hope on God is good, but from the devill

Honour fires
the ambitious.

Rashness by some
is mistaken for
valour.

Impudence is
often conjoined
with rashness.

Anger rules some,
and deprives
them of their
wits.

They care not
whom they
wound.

Hope and affec-
tion do the least
harm.

They console
the prisoner and
cure the sick.

Don't expect aid
from the devil.

To expect healep, as they doe *which* attend
With expectation of a happy end 3026
To some ill act, is diabolically,
And not by Christians to be vsde at all.

Despair drives
men to suicide.

But when I come to think vpon dispaire
(*Which* to withstand the rediest meanes is praier) 3030
I muse to think it should soe much bewitch
The minde of man, making *the* soule (like pitch)
Commit such deeds of darkenesse, such damnd ill,
As with *our* owne handes *our* owne lives to spill. 3034

[leaf 34, back]

A man void of
passion is void
of good.

Farre be it from me all passion to exclude
Out of mans soule, my meaning's not so rude ;
For 'tis an axiome not to be withstood,
"He *that* is void of passion's voide of good."¹ 3038

Love to God
kindles devotion.

Love of *that* love deserving Diety,
Which doth produce effectes of charity,
And kindles in mans heart² devotion,
Once to extenuate were a sinfull motion 3042
Of a pestiferous braine ; noe, I desire
To ad more fewell to that holy fire.

Godly hate is
commendable.

Nor can I but commend of godlie hate,
Detesting sinne, *that* doth commaculate 3046
The soule of man ; this passion's worth commending,
That hates the offence, yet loves *the* man offending.

Joy in modera-
tion is good,

Neither will I restraîne *the* heart from joy
Soe that with moderation we imploy 3050
This passion to good vses ; hartes rejoyce,
But let *the* cause be singuler & choise.
Grief likewise must abounde in every man
That will indeed be a true Christian, 3054

so are godly
sorrow and
filial feare.

Sorrow *the* badge of true repentance weares,
Sinne must be purg'd by a whole flood of teares.

³ To filial feare I likewise doe assent,

¹ *blood* was first written, then a line drawn through it, and
good written after.

² MS. heard.

³ / *I and* written in margin of MS.

That 's awd from sinne by love, not punishment. 3058

Salvations hope, celestially ioyes desire,

Virtuous boldnesse, with religious ire,

Virtuous boldness
and religious ire,

Are heavenly passions not to be denide,

But as occasion serves, to be applide 3062

To their true endes. Affectiones of such kinde

Mie Muse disclaimes not ; but all such as blinde

my Muse dis-
claims not ;
but all such
affections as lead
man to sin.

The eyes of reason, & doe quite pervert

The soule, mans better intellectuall part, 3066

That keep him from *the* path of his salvation,

And lead *the* way which brings vnto damnation,

These, these they be, on which I doe engage

My vexèd Muse to wreck her spleenfull rage. 3070

Philantus with his very soule doth love

Philantus loves
many things,

A wench as faire as Venus milke white dove ;

He loves his hunting-horse, his hauke, his hound,

His meat & drink, his morning sleeps profound ; 3074

He loves to follow each new-fangled fashion,

He loves to hear men speake his commendation,

He loves his landes, *that* bring him store of pelfe,

But above all thinges he doth love himselfe. 3078

but himself
most of all.

In all this love noe love of God I finde,

Noe love of goodnesse, but a love confinde

To sensuall delights, to sinne & ease,

A love to others see himselfe to please. 3082

Thou impious worldling, leave this vaine affection,

[leaf 35]

Which only on thy selfe hath a reflection ;

This sinne relinquish, lest incensèd Love

This is love
misapplied.

Doe iustly plague thy misapplyèd love. 3086

I saw (a sight *that* made me much affraide)

Amorphus kisse his mothers kitchin-maide.

Me thought as both their heades together came,

Amorphous is in
love with his
mother's kitch en-
maide.

I saw *the* devill kissing of his dam :¹ 3090

And yet this foole 's in love with her 'bove measure,

Calls her *the* mistresse of his² ioy & pleasure ;

¹ Final *e* crossed out.

² MS. *her*.

It is a case of
like to like;
the collier and
the devil.

Sweares *that* faire roses grow vpon her cheekes,
When I'le be sworne 'tis fitter place for leekes ; 3094
Saies her sweet breath his amarous fires increase,
When she smelles filthy strong of durt & grease.
“ But like to like, *the collier & the devill,*”
He & his wench ; she stammers, he doth drivell ; 3098
He squints, & she doth gogle wondrous faire ;
His botle-nose is red, soe is her haire ;
She hath a crooked backe, he a polte foote ;
His face is blacke, & hers begrimd'e with soote ; 3102
A loving lovely couple most divine,
Pitty it were *that* they should not combine.

Pamphila is in
love with every
man she sees.

Pamphila is in love with every man
That comes within her sight, & if she can 3106
Will prostitute her body to his will,
And never leave till she her lust fullfill.

Phædra's love to
her stepson is
turned to hate.

Stepmother Phædra woos her husbandes sonne,
Hypolitus, but he with care doth shunne 3110
Her odious lust, loathing a sinne soe vile
As his sires bed with incest to defile ;
But still she sues, & still he doth denie,
Till vrgde to farre, he doth her presence flie. 3114
Lust thus by verteous chastetie withstood
Is turnd to hate, & hate thirsts after blood ;
And his hartes blood it is this thirst must ease ;
Only his death can her fell hate appease. 3118

Honorius is per-
secuted because
of his virtues.

True Machiavillian Cæcilius
With hate doth prosecute Honorius,
Because his vertues did deserve more love,
And he i' th' Court respected was above 3122
His high aspiring selfe. Yet till *the* end
In outward shew he seemd to be his friend.
But when *that* Fortune had once turnd her wheele
He was *the* first *that* did his furie feele ; 3126
For then his rage burst forth, & it is thought
This one mans hate his sad destruction wrought.

- Misotochus (*which* his hand will sooner lend
 To bring his neighbour to vntimely end 3130
 Then save his life) hath horded vp his corne,
 Ready to burst his garners with *the* horne
 Of his aboundance, & doth hope his seed
 Kept from *the* market will a famine breed ; 3134
 And therefore will not sell a graine this year,
 Nor to sustaine his householde thresh an care ;
 But lives one rootes like a Diogenes,
 With poor thin drink, & course bread mad[e] of pease.
 What though *the* pöore doe want, begge, starve, & dye, Though the poor
 They get from him noe heale in miserie. die of want they
 Their hunger feeds him fat, he ioyes to see get no help from
 Their death-procuring sad calamity. him. 3142
- Thou hateful cynick-dog, belov'd of none,
 Because none loving, not thy selfe alone !
 Inhuman devill ! think some fatall hower
 Will bring huge troupes of vermine, to devoure 3146
 Thy graine & thee ; or that from heaven will fall
 Consuming fyre & destroy it all. But troops of
 vermin devour
 him and his
 corn.
- Looke for some fearfull vengeance to be sent,
 Some plague vnheard of, some straunge punnishment ;
 For such damnd hatred, iust revenging God 3151
 Will scourge thy sinne with some vnusuall rodde.
- Nænius hath with much officious labour
 Recoverèd his mistrisses lost favour, 3154
 For *the* which act *the* foole's soe overioyde
 That through excesse therof he is annoide.
 When she vouchsafte *that* he might kiss her hand,
 The asse had much adoe on 's feet to stand, 3158
 He was soe inly ravisht with delight
 Of *that* rare pleasure : such another fight
 Twixt reason & his passion would have sent
 A foolish soule to Platoes regiment. 3162
 When Carthaginian Hanniball, *that* stout
 And politicke capitaine, *which* soe often fought
- A man who
 would rather
 help to kill than
 save life,
 [leaf 55, back]
 keeps his eorn
 till there's a
 famine.
- One fool was so
 overjoyed at his
 mistress's
 favours,
- that another fit
 like it would
 have killed him.

- With Roman Consuls in their native soile,
 And their best forces many times did foile, 3166
 It is recorded by cronologers
 And excellent histriographers,
 In *that* unluckie Cannas overthrowe,
 When few or none escape deaths fatall blowe, 3170
 A certaine woman dwelling then at Rome
 Heard her two sonnes had their eternall doome;
 For *which* (as nature would) she did lament,
 Her eyes (bare witnesse) all with teares besprent. 3174
- But they escaped, and she was so overcome when she saw them, that she died.
 But *the* young men scaping by flight their foe
 Recover Rome & to their mother goe;
 She hearing both alive returnèd were
 And bid her former sorrow to forbear, 3178
 Will not beleieve reporte, but trust her eyes,
 When sodainly opprest with ioy she dies.
- One dies in the act of sin.
 Mopsa, they say, o'recome with joy lies dead,
 But how? i' th' act of her lost mayden head! 3182
 A fearfull end, to die in act of sinne,
 And in this death a second death beginne,
 A dayly living death, yet dying paine
 Which shall in *perpetuity* remaine. 3186
- Another mourns her puppy's death.
 Luctantia, cease thy lamentation!
 Thou mone'st thy puppies death with greater passion
 Then *the* offences *that* thou dost committe
 'Gainst thy Creatour; *which* iust ne're a whit 3190
 Grieve thy seard conscience; noe remorse for sinne
 On[e] tear enforceth, but for every pinne,
 For every trifle else, that doth distast
 Thy foolish liking, thou dost even wast 3194
 Thy selfe in sorrow. Wash thy blubbered eyes,
 And cry no more for shame! If thou be wise
 See that hence forth thou keep thy fludgates dry,
 And weep for nothing but iniquity. 3198
- She should weep for iniquity.
 Mutius, why art thou thus opprest with grieve?
 Take comfort man, & thou shalt finde reliefe;

Be not dejected, bear a constant minde :

What though the tempest of an [a]dverse winde 3202 If adversity come
do not be cast
down.

Hath blowne thy fortunes downe, ruind thy state?

Wilt thou for this accuse *the* god of fate,

And yeild to sorrow? Doe not soe ; beware,

'Twas mercy in him then thy life to spare. 3206

When he destroide thy goods, had 't been his pleasure

He might have ruinde thee & them together.

But now thy substaunce & thy wealth is lost,

Thou art vndone, & all thy hopes are crost ; 3210

Ther is noe meanes to rise : who once doth fall

Is still kept downe, & cannot climbe at all.

Fear not, Antæus more couragious grew,

And by his fall did still his strength renew. 3214 Antæus became
more courageous
by his fall.

Be thou like him ; may be this misery

Was pre-ordainde for thy felicity.

Grieve not at all, ther's blessing still in store,

And he *that* tooke thy goodes can give thee more. 3218

Ther's three ill feares (to one good filiall)

There are three
ill feares :

A worldly, servile, & a naturall :

A worldly feare is when some worldly gaine

Makes vs doe evill, or from good abstaine ; 3222

When for *our* profit, pleasure, & *our* ease,

We doe not good, but men fear to displease.

There is a worldly fear, a fear to lacke

Things necessary for *the* maw or backe, 3226

A worldly fear,
or fear for want
of things
necessary.

Which hath in nature greater confidence,

Then in Gods all-foreseeing providence.

[leaf 36, back]

Naturall fear is a distraction

Of mind & senses, by th' iniection 3230

Of some moste eminent danger ; & this passion

Is great where faith doth want his operation.

A servile fear's a fear of punishment

Vnto *the* reprobate coincident, 3234

A servile fear, or
a fear of punish-
ment for ill
deeds.

Whom oftentimes vnto good actes doth drawe,

Not fear of God, but fear of humane lawe.

- Letia doth fear to play *the* whore with any,
 And yet she loves the sport as well as many 3238
 That act the sinne ; what hinders her intent ?¹
 O she 's afraide of shame & punnishment.
- A man would
 steal, but he
 fears punishment. Irus is poore, yet feares to play *the* theefe,
 And yet his fingers itch to get reliefe, 3242
 " But the burnt childe (we say) doth dread *the* fire ;"—
 Hee 's burnt i' th' hand, the next is halters hire.
 Romanus keeps his monthly residence
- The Church
 dignitary would
 neglect his duty,
 only he fears the
 consequences. At church, although against his conscience ; 3246
 He would refraine (because he doth abhor it)
 But *that* he feares to be presented for it.
 Bellina, tost in a tempestuous sea,
 Fears drowning much, & fear doth make her pray. 3250
 And yet her prayers, *which* doe seeme profounde,
 Are but lip-labour & a hollow sound ;
 For set a shore, vnlesse apparent evill
 Affright her much, she fears nor God nor devill. 3254
- Phorbus has
 been frightened,
 but it was only
 a cat, Phorbus, what makes thee looke soe like a ghoast ?
 Thy face is pale, thy sences are quite lost,
 Thy haire vpon thy head doth stand vpright
 As if thou hadst been haunted with a spright. 3258
 Why soe thou hast, thou thinkst ; what, hast thou soe ?
 How scapdst thou from him ? would he let thee goe ?
- which he thought
 was the devil. Sure 'twas a very honest devill, friend,
 Wer he holgoblin, fairie, elve, or fiend. 3262
 Thou fearfull idiot ! looke, it was a catt,
 That frights thee thus, I sawe her wher she satt ;
 But thou with conscience guilty of much evill
 Dost deeme *the* cat to be a very devill. 3266
- Caligula creeps
 under the bed,
 but it is a poor
 shelter. Caligula, creepst vnderneath thy bed ?
 That 's a poore shelter to defend thy head
 'Gainst Ioves feard thunderbolte ; huge Atlas hill
 Cannot preserve thee, when he meanes to kill. 3270
- One wishes for
 an estate Votarius wisheth for a great estate,

¹ MS. intentent.

And saith *the* poore should then participate
 Of all his blessings ; yet doth nothing give
 Although he be exceeding well to live, 3274
 And might heale others, till his substance grew ;
 But *the* olde proverbe is exceeding true,
 “That these great wishers, & these common woulders,
 Are never (for *the* moste part) good householders.” 3278

[leaf 37]
 that he might
 assist others.

Timophila her part of heaven would sell
 To be a ladie, she so much doth swell
 With this ambitious longing, to be calld
 Madam at every word ; to be enstalde 3282
 In such a chaire of state, were heaven it selfe.
 Ambitious woman, high aspiring elfe !
 All thy desires are wicked, thou vnblest,
 Vnlesse Godes Spirit, working in thy brest, 3286
 Change thy desire from vaine & earthly toies
 To covet truly after heavenly ioyes.

Another would
 sell heaven to be
 a lady and be
 called Madam.

Chremes is troubled with *the* greedy minde
 Of golde-desiring Midas ; he doth finde 3290
 Noe comfort but in gaping after gaine.
 Would to his wish awarded were *the* paine
 That Midas felt ; who, thirsting after golde,
 Wishd *that* what e're he touchd might change *the*
 mould 3294

Chremes is
 greedy, and his
 only comfort is
 in gain.

Midas wished all
 things turned
 into gold,

Into *that* purer mettall. Phæbus graunt
 Confirmd *the* misers wish, but soone did daunt
 The wretches minde ; for all *the* foode he tooke
 To comfort nature, cleane his forme forsooke 3298
 And turnd to golde. The asse had surely starvde
 Had not Apolloes power his life preserue
 By taking of his wish. May the intent
 Of Chremes meet with *the* like punishment ; 3302
 Or, since *that* Midas greedy minde he beares,
 May he with Midas wear *the* asses eares.

and had starved
 had not Apollo
 taken off his
 wish.

Dame Polupragma, gossip Title-tattle,
 Suffers her tongue, let loose at randome, prattle 3306

Dame Tittle-
 tattle

- goes to public
feasts,
 Of all occurrentes ; comes to publike feastes
 Without invitement, 'mongst *the* worthiest gues^tes
 Takes vp her roome at table, where, more bolde
 and talks
politics and
divinity.
 Then truely welcome, she discourse will holde 3310
 Of state affaires, talke of divinity
 As moves *the* hearers to deride her folly,
 But grieves me to *the* heart, that thinges soe holy,
 Things which in greatest estimation stand, 3314
 Should by her foolish lips be soe prophande.
 But Betterice let me thee this lesson teach,
 To leave those thinges *that* are above thy reach.
- Temerus, wishing
to advance
himself,
 Temerus, which i' th' warre had borne a launce, 3318
 Vpon some great exploite would needes aduancee
 His high attempting minde, & doe some act,
 To make *the* world applaud his worthy fact.
- [leaf 37, back]
 Then (ne're regarding what might him befall) 3322
 He takes in hand to kill *the* generall
 Of the foes armie ; but his vaine intent
 Met with as ill successe ; care did prevent
 His desperate boldnesse, ere he could come nigh 3326
 His wish'd end ; for, taken for a spie,
 Brought to the
rack he confesses
all
 And brought to th' racke, torture did him compell
 The truth of his straunge stratagem to tell ;
 For which *the* wretch in horrid torment lies, 3330
 Being iustly plagu'de for his rash enterprise.
- Anaidus, art soe clean devoide of grace ?
 Hast thou soe impudent a brasen face,
 Some men sin
and boast of it,
 Not only to act sinne with greedinesse, 3334
 But to make boast of thy damnde wickednesse ?
 Was 't not enough with wordes to have beguild
 Thy mothers maide & gotten her with childe,
 But *that* thou must most shamefully beginne 3338
 To make a iest of this thy hellish sinne
 'Mongst thy companions ? Thou perhaps dost think,
 Because thy law-perverting curs'd chink
 Hath freed thee from *the* standing in a sheet 3342

(A punnishment for thy offence moste meet)
 That there remains noe more? Yes, ymp of hell,
 There is a Iudge *which* in the heavens doth dwell, but an uncor-
rupted Iudge
dwells in heaven.
 An vncorrupted Iudge, *that* will award 3346
 Damnation for thy sinne, vlesse regard
 Of *that* vnhappy state wherin thou art,
 Softning (I fear) thy vnrelenting heart,
 Shew thee thy soules deformity, & in 3350
 Repentaunce fountaine make thee purge thy sinne.
 Looke vpon Adrus in his furious ire ! The limbs of
Adrus shake
with anger.
 He seemes to burne like some red cole of fire ;
 How his eyes flame ! how his limbs shake with rage !
 How his voice thunders, as he ment to wage 3355
 Warre against heaven ! Surely the cause is great
 That makes him in this sort himselfe forget ;
 It cannot but be matter of much consequence, 3358 What moves him
so ?
 That moves *the* man to this impatienece ?
 Faith no, you are deceiue ; *the* cause was smale,
 A better man then he would put vp all,
 Were *the* disgrace more hainous, *which* is none 3362
 But *that* his cholericke humour makes it one.
 This asse (*which* for *the* wagging of a straw
 His dagger vpon any man will drawe)
 Walking i' th' street, was iustled from *the* wall 3366 He'll draw his
dagger upon
any man :—
why ? Somebody
pushed him into
the gutter !
 Downe almost to *the* channell ; this is all
 That puttes him in this fume ! Would you surmise, [leaf 38]
 A man that hath the vse of reasons eyes
 To guide himselfe, should for a cause soe light, 3370
 Soe smale a matter, be in such a plight ?
 Ready to frett himselfe to death, to sweare,
 To curse, & banne, as if [he] meant to teare
 The earth in sunder, only for this end, 3374 And all this fury
because he
knows not on
whom to bend
his fury !
 Because he knowes not vpon whom to bend
 The furie of his rage ! Thou irefull foole !
 Vse henceforth to frequent *the* learned schoole
 Of sacred vertue, *which* will thee inspire 3378

With patience to moderat thine ire.

Good Mistriss Orgia, holde *your* hasty handes !

Because *your* maides have not pind in *your* bandes

You who lay the
stick about your
servants'
shoulders,

According to *your* minde, must *the* stick flie 3382

About their shoulders straight ? Should they replie

In *your* owne language to you, you were servde

According as *your* rage had well deservde.

But this is nothing with this furious dame, 3386

Ther's other matters *that* deserve more blame.

and break your
husband's head,

She will not stick to breake her husbandes head,

Revile¹ him to his face & wish him dead

In most reproachfull manner ; he, good man, 3390

Dares not replie a worde, but gettes him gone

Till her fit's past, & doth with patience

Endure his wives outragious insolence.

learn to rule
your passions,

Thou furious vixen, learne to rule thy passion, 3394

And vse thy husband in a better fashion,

Or I will have thy name to be enrolde

For a moste shamelesse & notorious scolde !

Manlius lives in
hope of inherit-
ing his uncle's
lands.

Manlius hath a very mean estate, 3398

Yet lives in longing hope of better fate ;

He hath an vnkle above measure rich,

And cares not much if he lay dead i' th' ditch ;

Hopes he cannot last long because hee's olde ; 3402

And then he hopes to seaze vpon his golde.

Foole, how dost know *that* thou shalt him outlive ?

'Twere better for thee, did he something give

A bird in the
hand is worth
two in the bush ;
and he who
waits for dead
men's shoes may
go barefoot.

Now while thy wanttes desire reliefe ; "one thrush 3406

I' th' hand is worth more then are two i' th' bush ;"

And "he *that* hopes to put one dead mens shoos,

It often comes to passe he barefoote goes."

Elpinas, *which* with seas doth traffique holde, 3410

Hath made a ship out for West Indian golde,

And all his hopes doe in this venture lie :

¹ *Reveale* originally. The stroke over the second *e* is continued till it looks more like *j*—*Rerjle*.

Should she miscarry sure *the* man would die ;
 But hope, *which* holds him like a violent fever, 3414
 Flatters him still he shalbe made for ever
 At her returne ; & since she first began
 To cut *the* billowes of *the* ocean
 With her swift keel, his minde, more swift then she,
 Followes her in *the* voyage, & doth see 3419
 With eyes of selfe-delighting fantasie
 (*Which* sometime wrap him in an extasie)
 Her prosperous traffique. If *the* day be faire 3422
 He hopes *that* homeward she doth then repaire ;
 If stormes obscure *the* brightnesse of *the* skie,
 He hopes she doth in safest harbour lie.
 The time *which* slowlie seemes to passe away 3426
 Vnto his longing hopes, he day by day
 Telles o're in minutes ; not a puffle of winde
 Blowes, but *that* straight his advantageous minde
 Carries it to his ship. Sometime his thought 3430
 Runnes on *the* gold wherwith his ship is fraught,
 Imagining in his still working braine,
 How to imploy it to his best of gaine.
 Thou greedy minded slave ! whose hopes are fixd 3434
 Only on wealth, with pleasure inte[r]mixt,
 And ne're hop'st after heaven, how canst thou thinke
 But *that* iust Iove should in *the* ocean sinke
 All thy fond hopes, & drive thee to dispaire, 3438
 Which ne're implorst his ayde by hearty praier ?
 Returne at last, and fix thy hopes one him,
 Whose only power can make thee sink or swimme.
 Alston, whose life hath been accounted evill, 3442
 And therefore cal'de by many the blew devill,
 S[t]ruck with remorse of his ill gotten pelfe,
 Would in dispaire have made away himselfe,
 One while by drowning, when *that* would not be, 3446
 He drew his knife to worke his tragedie,
 Intending with *that* fatall instrument

[leaf 58, back]
The merchant is
all anxiety about
his ship.

He daily tells
over the time for
her return in
minutes.

Sometimes he
decides what to
do with the gold
she will bring
home.

But his hopes
may all be
confounded !

Alston, in a fit of
"blue devils,"
would have com-
mitted suicide,

- To cut his owne throte. Fearfull punishment
 Of a despairing minde ! O, who can tell 3450
 The pangs *that* in a guilty conscience dwell ?
 but God's mercy Had not *the* gracious mercy of *the* Lord
 restrained him, Restrained him from a sinne soe much abhord, 3453
 With his owne handes he would have stopt his breath
 And with his bodie sent his soule to death.
 Thrice happie mortall, *which* this grace didst finde,
 Soe *that* henceforth thou bear a better minde,
 And let thy actions to his glorie tende 3458
 That savde thy life from such a fearfull end.
 and saved him Returne thanksgiving, & desire in praier
 from such an end, His grace to sheild thee from forlorne dispaire.
 [leaf 39] Latro did act a damnèd villanie, 3462
 Latro added Adding blacke murder to his robbery,
 murder to robbery, Yet 'cause 'twas closely done he might conceale it,
 For, save himselfe, none living could reveale it.
 But see *the* iust revenge for this offence ;— 3466
 but conscience After *the* deed, his guilty conscience
 Torturing his soule, enfore'd him still to think
 The act disclosde, & he in dangers brinke. 3469
 He thought *the* birds still in their language said it ;
 He thought *the* whistling of *the* winde bewraide it ;
 He cald to minde *that* murder was forbidden,
 And though a while, it could not long be hidden.
 Destraet in minde, & fearfull in his place, 3474
 and the devil Having noe power to call to God for grace,
 The devill doth suborne him to dispaire,
 Tells him 'tis pittie he should breath this aire
 Which hath been such a villaine ; thrusts him on 3478
 To worke his owne death & confusion.
 made a coward He, though he had *the* murderous hand to spill
 of him, Another's blood, himselfe yet durst not kill,
 And was afraide of others. What e're stirres 3482
 He iudgeth to be men & officers
 Come to attache him, & his sight vnstable

Takes every bush to be a constable. ¹			
Thus plagud & torturde with dispaire & feare,	3486		and he fears every bush is a constable;
Out must <i>the</i> fact, he can noe more forbear ;			
For <i>which</i> according to <i>the</i> course of lawe			till he yields himself to justice.
Deaths heavy sentence one him he doth drawe ;			
And being brought vnto <i>the</i> place of death,	3490		
There in dispaire yeildes vp his latest breath.			
Thus each affection like a tyrant raignes			So every passion reigns over man's soul.
Over mans soule, <i>which</i> letteth loose <i>the</i> reines			
Vnto selfe will, in <i>which</i> soe slavish state,	3494		
Mans sence captivd'e, his reason subiugate,			
Makes <i>the</i> soule clogd, a massie lump of sinne,			
<i>Which</i> following his creation should have been			
Like his Creator pure ;—soules were made free,	3498		
Not to be held in base captivitie			
By every passion, but with reasons bitte			
To checke affections from all things vnfit.			
He therfore <i>that</i> intends to live vpriht			He that would live upright must curb his appetites.
Let him in time curbe hedstrong appetite.	3503		

¹ See 3 Hen. VI., v. 6.

[Certaine Poems.]

[PART II.]

[leaf 39, back]

Certaine Poems, comprising Things
Naturall, Morrall, & Theologicall,
written by R. C., Gent.

E dulci virus contractat aranea flore,
Quando ex vrtica mella leguntur ape.

Ad Lectorem.

I did not intend
to place these
Poems before
you,

had not my
friends per-
suaded me to do
so.

They were so
suddenly put to
press, that I

I had not thought (courteous reader) to have pre-
tended thus conspicuously in thy sight this rude &
indigested chaos of conceits (the abortive iss[ue] of
my vnfertile braine) & to have set before thee this
immature & vnpleasing fruit, collected only for my
private recreation, & not for thy publique satisfaction
& delight; but *the* vehement importunity & instiga-
tion of certaine friends, with whom I did communicate
my moste private studies, prevailing above mine owne
determination, enforced me (otherwise vnwilling) to
commit this peece of poetry alsoe to thy courteous
acceptaunce & kinde censure. It was soe sodainlie
thrust into *the* presse, *that* I had noe competencie of

time, with *the* bear, to lick over this whealp, & with a more diligent pervsall to correct any easily overshipped error. Wherefore I desire thee, if thou finde any, to think it is rather a lapsus pennæ than an error¹ mentis. As for *the* crabbed & criticall interpretation of many, *that* would seeme moste iudicious Catoes, & yet are indeed most censorious coxeombes, I waigh it litle, and lesse *the* detracting speeches of barking Momists; & yet let them both know *that* it is easier to reprove then reforme, & a good word is as soone spoken as a bad. But least I seeme to begge their favours, or distrust mine owne fancies, I will leaue them as I found them, & returne to thee, gentle reader (because thou shalt be both *the* protasis & catastrophe of my epistle). If thou canst with *the* bee sucke honie out of this hemlock, I hope, when *the* garden of my wit shalbe thoroughly watered with *the* spring of Helicon, to present thee with flowers. In *the* meantime, thy present kinde acceptation of this wilbe a great animation to my subsequent endeavours.

pray you excuse errors.

As for judicious Catoes, I care but little.

If you, gentle reader, can suck honey from this hemlock, I may at a future time present you with flowers.

Farwell.

¹ error in MS.

[Certaine Poems.]

Vera quid hominis forma.

[leaf 40]	What makes a perfect man? My Muse declare.	
External qualities do not make a perfect man.	Externall qualities? Their force is much I doe confesse ; but beastes excell vs farre In them ; our stepdame Natures will is such, The lions strength mans force doth overquell ; The hare in swiftnesse doth vs all excell.	3 6
The brutes excel him in senses.	In senses likewise brutes doe vs exceed ; Hartes in quicke hearing, eagles in sharp sight ; Spiders in touching ; apes when as they feed, Have daintier palates to procure delight : Tender-nosd houndes, & vultures, senting prey, In smelling doe surpasse vs every waie.	9 12
In his form, man excels all beasts.	Neither doth mans essentiall forme consist In lineaments of body well contr[i]vde ; Although heerin of force I must insist He doth excell all beastes <i>that</i> ever livde ; Since beastes aspect is downeward as they passe, And man <i>the</i> heavens hath for his looking-glasse.	15 18
Wealth cannot make him perfect.	What then ? Doth wealth mans perfect forme compose ? Noe, though thy wealth doe Cræsus wealth exceed ; Though many miles thy land cannot enclose, Though all things to thine owne desire succeed : Yet this (if thou <i>the</i> matter rightly scanne) Is of noe force to make <i>the</i> perfect man.	21 24

There is a soule, not generate, but infusde,
 Immortall therefore, *which* conjoyntly knit
 With [the] corriptible bodie, & diffusde 27
 By vertue through each member, as is fit,
 Informs each part, & animates *the* same,
 And this mans true essentiall forme doth frame. 30

De quatuor anni partibus.

Apollo to his flaming carre adrest
 Taking his dayly, never ceasing course,
 His fiery head in Thetis watry brest, 3
 Three hundred sixty & five times doth source :
 As many times Aurora doth appear
 Ere there be made a full & perfect year. 6

This year equally doth it selfe distribute
 Into 4 partes, *which* we doe quarters call,
 Each having his pecuniar attribute 9
 Of name, & severall qualitie with all :
 Spring ever plesant, Summer hot & dusty,
 Fruit-ripening Autumne, Winter colde & frosty. 12

Sweet smelling Spring, *that* ever chearfull season,
 Clad with *the* verdure of fresh hearbes & flowers,
 Renewes *the* year & makes it alwaies geason 15
 By distillation of his fruitfull showers :
 This quarter doth (for soe it is assignde)
 Refresh *the* sence & recreate *the* minde. 18

No sooner doth *the* blazing bright beamd starre,
 Sol, enter Cancer *that* signe tropicall,
 But Summer in his progresse doth declare 21
 A hot ensuing season *that* must fall :
 Summer, when
 Ceres begins
 harvest ;

Now Ceres, goddesse of all corne & tillage,
 Begins her harvest in each country village. 24

Autumn, when Bacchus treads the vine.	When day & night are in equalitie,	
	Autumne doth then beginne his course to take,	
	Whom aires temperate serenity	27
	A pleasaunt quarter evermore doth make :	
	Now Bacchus treadeth ¹ downe <i>the</i> fruitfull vine,	
	And doth compose the spirit quickning wine.	30
Winter when nipping cold breeds disease.	When longest night doth make <i>the</i> shortest day,	
	Frostie-facde Winter Autumne doth succede,	
	In boysterous stormes his force he doth display,	33
	Whose nipping colde doth ofte diseases breed :	
	Yet man to please this quarter doth present	
	Domesticke sportes & homebred merriment.	36

Planetarum energia.

Astronomers have found seven planets.	Astronomers, with their heaven searching eyes,	
	Seven planets in their severall orbs have found,	
	Whose influence, they say, descends the skies,	3
	And in <i>our</i> mortall bodies doe abound :	
	Whose force is great, or else they greatlie lye	
	That calculate mans fatall destinie.	6
The morose and melancholy are born under Saturn.	Saturn is mounted in the highest sphear,	
	Vnder <i>which</i> planet if man life receive,	
	He shalbe subject to dispairefull feare,	9
	Dull melancholy to his minde shall cleave :	
	His stupid braine, his frowning looke, shall bear	
	A crabbed nature & a life austere.	12
The honoured and liberal under Jupiter.	Next vnto lumpish Saturn, sprightlie Iove	
	Moves in his orbe. Who vnder his aspect	
	Shall breathe this aire (<i>which</i> doth him mortall prove)	
	He alwaies shalbe held in good respect :	
	Pleasing his looke shalbe, comely his feature,	
	Bounteous his minde, and ever kinde his nature.	18

¹ MS. treading.

- After Iove, Mars assumes his proper seat, [leaf 11]
 Whom poets faine to be *the* god of warre ;
 That man in battell shall his foes defeate 21
Which vnder Mars is borne, *that* warlike starre : Soldiers under Mars.
 He will (for of his nature hath been tride)
 Be quicklie angrie & soone pacifide. 24
- In midle of *the* planettes regiment,
 Bright Sol, that heauenlie ever burning lamp,
 Himselfe doth in his glorious orbe present. 27 The skilful and religious under the Sun.
 Who vnder him receives his native stampe,
 Shalbe well skild in artes, in conference wise,
 Religious in heart, in life precise. 30
- After bright Sol, the beauteous queen of love
 Faire Citherean Venus takes her place :
 Who vnder her aspect is borne, shall prove 33 The skilful in love under Venus.
 Skilfull in love ; & with a blushlesse face
 He shall vnto his lawlesse lust allure
 Many that are of thoughts & life impure. 36
- Next Venus, in his sphear is Maiaes sonne,
 Loves messenger, wing-footed Mercurie :
 Who vnder his aspect his life begunne 39 The deceitful under Mercury.
 Shalbe endude with craft & subtilty ;
 He wilbe (soe his state thereby may mend)
 Apt to deceive even his most trusty friend. 42
- Lowest of all *the* planets placèd is
 Selfe-chaunging Luna : vnder whose aspect
 If man be borne, he never shall have misse 45 Women under the Moon.
 Of an inconstant heart, *which* doth detect
 A perverse nature, & a peevish minde :
 Vnder this starre are borne most women kinde. 48
- Every man hath his constellation Every man has his star.
 Vnder one of these planets influence

Stars rule man. Predominating, & *the* calculation 51
 O[f] his ensuing fortunes comes from hence,
 Be he to labour borne, to art, or warres :
 Thus starres rule man, & God doth rule *the* starres.

De quatuor elementis.

Earthly bodies are composed of the four elements.	Each sublunarie bodie is composit	
	Of <i>the</i> fower elementes, which are proposde	
	By Nature to <i>that</i> end, a worke t' admire	
	That aire should meet with earth, water with fire,	4
	And in one bodie friendlie sympathize,	
	Being soe manifestlie contraries.	
	These elements apparent to <i>the</i> eye	
	Are mixt, & not of simple puritie ;	8
[leaf 41, back] There are simple elements,	Pure simple ones ther are, but wher they be	
	Passes <i>the</i> skill of our philosophie.	
	Wheither earths purer elementall part	
	Reside within Thessalian Tempes heart ;	12
	Wheither Arabia Fœlix it containes,	
	Or Edens garden, or th' Elizian plaines ;	
but where ean they be found?	Olympus hill, or mountaine Appenine,	
	Our Albion heer, or fertill Palestine,	16
	I rashly in opinion dare not enter.	
	Who shall finde out earth[s] yet vnheard of center ?	
Where purest water ?	Where purest water is, declare who can,	
	Whether in midst of <i>the</i> vast ocean,	20
In Tagus or in Ganges ?	Or where rich Tagus workes vp golden sand ;	
	Whether in some clear rivolet on land,	
	As in <i>the</i> spring vpon Parnassus hill,	
	Where the nine Muses dip their learned quill ;	24
	In silver Ganges, or that fountaine rather	
	Where faire Diana with her nymphs doth bath her ?	
Where purest air ?	Art thou perhaps <i>that</i> purest breathing aire,	
	Sweet Zephyrus, which wontst to make repaire	28

To amorous Psyche, when for Cupids love, She fearlesse lept downe from <i>the</i> rocke above. If thou be <i>that</i> pure aire without all doubt,	
Shew me thy dwelling, & I'll seeke thee out, And having found thee, then my next desire Shalbe for purest elementall fire ; Be it within the moones concavity Or above all the heavens convexity,	32
	Having found air, fire must next be sought.
Doe it within <i>that</i> fornace closely lurke, Where Vulcan & his Cyclopes doe worke, Or be it <i>that</i> celestially fire above Which wise Prometheus stole away from Iove.	36
But I leave these pure elements alone, To speake of these amongst vs better knowne. This quadruplicity, these elements, From whom each body takes his existence,	40
	Each body takes its existence from the elements.
Have qualities calde elementarie, Knowne by <i>the</i> names of first & secundarie. Earth is <i>the</i> driest in his first degree, Then coldnesse is his second quality.	44
Coldest is water in first quality, Then moysture is his second propertie. Moistenesse in aire houldes principality, And heat is secundarie quality.	48
	And each has its particular quality,
Fire doth predominate in calidity. And then <i>the</i> next degree is siccity. Fire hot & dry, aire moyst & hot we call, Seas colde & moist, earth dry & colde with all.	52
These elements, although they doe agree In <i>the</i> composure of mortalitie, Yet in each body one it selfe doth vaunt, And is above <i>the</i> rest predominant.	56
	[leaf 42] as hot and dry, dry and cold.
In man complexions plainly doe dilate What element is moste predominate. In cholerick bodies, fire doth govern moste ; In sanguine, aire doth chiefly rule <i>the</i> rest ;	60
	In cholerick bodies is most fire ;
	64

in phlegmatic
most water.

In flegmatick, hath water greatest sway,
Dull melancholy seemes to be of clay.

It is recorded by some antiquaries,
Nor doe I see *that* it from truth much varies, 68

That each before recited element

Gives to a bruit his onlie nutriment.

I speake not this of those we purest call,
For they, I know, cannot sustaine at all. 72

The mole lives in
the earth, the
herring in the sea.

The earth vnto *the* mole her essence gives,

The herring only in *the* water lives ;

The chameleon
lives in air,
the salamander in
fire.

Aire only *the* camelion doth suffice,

And salamander from *the* fire dies. 76

To these 4 brutes, living in this estate,

Fowre kindes of men we may assimilate.

Like to *the* mole *the* worldly minded man

Workes in *the* earth, as if he headlong ran 80

Into her bowels ; for some paltry gaine,

Man searches the
earth for gold.

He digs, & delves, & toils himselfe with paine.

His avaritious minde is wholly bent

Vpon *the* purchase of this element ; 84

Blind like *the* mole in 's intellectuall eye

That should direct him to felicity.

The second kinde from water doth alone

Produce his lifes best sustentation, 88

Pirates live by
sea-robbery ;

And such are they *which* vse damnd piracie,

And live vpon *the* sea by robberie,

These with *the* herring make *the* sea their friend

Till some of them at Wopping take their end. 92

Ambitious men doe one *the* ayer feed ;

Like *the* camelion they are please indeed

ambitious men
on praise.

With meer aeriall praise ; good wordes (I think)

Fattens them better then their meat & drinke. 96

Some of this kinde build castles in *the* aire,

Thinking themselues instald in honours chaire

In their selfe pleasing mindes, when such promotion

Is as furre from them as they from devotion. 100

But they think soe ; & he should doe them wrong [leaf 42, back]
 That puts them by this their conceit soe strong.
 Lust is *the* fire that doth maintaine the life Lust consumes
 Of the venereous man (but sets at strife 104 the life of the
 The soule & body). Did I say maintaine ? venerious.
 I should haue saide consume, for soe 'tis plaine.
 Yet can he live noe more without desire,
 Then can the salamandra without fire. 108

De quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus.

What may the reason be that we doe call
 Our fower excellent vertues cardinall?
 Is it because Romes Cardinals moste vse them,
 And other men doe more then they refuse them? 4
 No truely, for each severall vertue trie,
 And you shall finde that they one few relie.
 For wisdome first, what wisdome can ther be
 In them, who, given superstitiouslie, 8
 For the true God doe images adore,
 And in necessity their healpe implore?
 Yet why should I their wisdome thus defie,
 Whose crafty witt and damnd pollicie 12
 Is to enrich themselves, though their soules have
 Perdition, whom true wisdome seekes to save?
 For iustice next, doth iustice with them live
 Who absolution to each sinne doe give 16
 For a corrupting bribe? The sonne may kill
 His aged parentes ; man the blood may spill
 Of his deepe foe & 'scape ; for a large fee
 Wrong shall take place, & right perverted be. 20
 If these thinges we may iustice iustly call,
 Iustice is vsde by every Cardinall.
 But it may be in temperance they excell,
 And therin doe all only bear the bell. 24

Are these virtues
 called cardinal
 because Cardinals
 use them ?

Their policy is to
 enrich them-
 selves.

They do not
 excel in justice,

perhaps they do
 in temperance,

if to be Epicures is to be temperate;	If to be Epicures, and live at ease, Swallowing vp pleasures when & how they please, We doe account a temperat sober life, Then these are they we graunt withouten strife. 28
and chastity, if the keeping of concubines is chastity.	Their chastety is soe immaculate That they doe alwaies live in virgin state, Marriage they nill admitt by any meanes, Yet doe allowe of concubins & queanes. 32
[leaf 43]	Lastly to speake of manlie fortitude, Therin their calling shews them to be rude ; Full ill (we know, & every man may see) A steely helme, & Cardinals cap agree ; 36
They are proud in power.	As for their fortitude of minde, 'tis small, Proud in their height, dejected in their fall. I, but their power 's great great ; in oppression,
They tread down virtue.	Treding downe vertue, raising vp transgression. 40 These are their cardinall vertues of cheife fame, Which we may trulie cardnall vices name. But now at last a reason shew I shall, Why we these vertues doe name cardinall: 44
These vertues are called cardinal because they embrace all the rest.	Cardinall iustly may derived be From cardo, which a hinge doth signifie ; Soe these 4 vertues, all the rest enfolde, Even as the hinges doe the dore vpholde. 48

Scilicet vt fulvum spectatur in ignibus
aurum,
Tempore sic duro est inspicienda fides.

A rich young
man to prove his
friends

A certaine man which great possessions had,
Had likewise store of friends ; as who 's so mad
To think that friendship doth not wealth pursue,
Though for the moste part fainèd & vntrue? 4
This man of wealth (though sold it soe be found
In a young man) in iudgement did abound,

- And him bethought a way his friendes to trie,
 How they would serve him in extremity. 8
 He kills a calfe & ties him in a sacke, killed a calf, and
put it into a sack.
 Whom vp he takes & carries one his backe ;
 And then straightwaies vnto his friendes he goes,
 And in this manner doth his minde disclose. 12
 "My friendes," quoth he, "your loves I now must trie, He told his
friends he had
killed a man,
 For friendes are truly prov'de in misery ;
 Vnlesse your succours doe my life defend,
 I am in danger of a shamefull end. 16
 Knowe, in my rage I have slaine a man this day,
 And knowe not where his body to conveigh
 And hide it from the searchers inquisition, and wished them
to hide the body.
 My house being subject to no mean suspicion. 20
 Healp me, good Sirs, in my distressed state,
 Since thus to you my griefs I doe dilate."
 "Depart," quoth they, "from vs, you are a stranger !
 We mean not for your love to bring in danger 24
 Our goodes & lives ; should we a murder hide
 'Twould even by sencelesse creatures be descride.
 Your friendship thus distainde with innocent blood
 We doe disclaime. While your estate was good, They would have
nothing to do
with him in his
trouble. 28
 And your selfe free from danger of the lawe,
 The fatnesse of your purse had power to drawe
 Our wealth-pursuing loves ; but you must knowe, [leaf 43, back]
 Our friendships with your fortunes ebbe or flowe." 32
 Thus severally he all his friendes did trie,
 And had from them this or the like replie ;
 At last he calls to minde a man of fashion,
 With whom his father held much conversation 36
 Whilome he livde, & oft had heard him praise
 His friendship, prov'de in divers hard assaies. Then he tried his
"father's friend,"
 To this as to the rest the young man hies,
 And in like manner his fainde grieffe discries ; 40
 He for his fathers sake, which was his friend,
 Sweares he will doe his best his life to shend.

	The body then he takes, & meanes to hide ; Vowes secreteie, what euer doe betide.	44
who at once promised to help him.	"And if," quoth he, "you 'le on my faith relie, I 'le keep you safe from the world searching eye, Vntill this gust of danger be o're blowne, Which threatens death, if that the fact be knowne."	
	The man reioycing in his friends firme love, Sayes how he did it but his faith to prove, "And now," quoth he, "by giving of false fire,	49
Having found a friend, he told him the trick.	I have found out the thing I doe desire, A faithfull friend, vpon whose trust I may My life, my landes, & all my substance lay."	52
A compact of never-dying friendship was made between the two.	Then vp & tels him all the project plaine, How the dead body was a calfe yslaine. The other, wondring at his pollicie, Resolvèd straight a knot with him to tie Of never-dying friendship to their end, Thus each to other was a perfect friend.	56
	Mean while the other from him he removde, Whose fainèd love sufficientlie was prov'de.	60

Somnium.

	About <i>the</i> dead time of <i>the</i> silent night, Disquiet thought debarring sounder sleepe, A dreame I had that did me much delight,	3
I had a dream about the choice of a wife.	Wherof my minde doth yet impression keepe, Because it chiefly touchèd single life, In good or bad election of a wife.	6
Three virgins introduced themselves to my notice.	Methought 3 virgins did appear vnto me, In their attyer all full seemly clad, Which saide they came on purpose for to wooe me, To know to <i>which</i> I moste affection had :	9
	"But first (said they) before this thing thou shew Thou each of vs shalt severally knowe."	12

- Then first gan say *the* fairest of the three,
 "I Beawty am ; if me thou list to take,
 Thy fancy shall receiue content in me, 15
 And I will never thy true love forsake :
 But I am poore, & have no meanes at all
 Reliefe to give, if want should thee befall." 18
- The second then begann, "I Wealth am hight ;
 If me thou chuse thou never shalt have lacke ;
 Aboundance thee to give is in my might, 21
 To fill thy belly, or to clothe thy backe :
 Only I am (as thou maist well beholde)
 Deformde, hard-favourd, crabbed, wringled, olde."
- Then quoth the third & last, "My name is Witt ;
 If me thou chuse to give thy minde content,
 I can discourse, with wordes moste apt & fitt, 27
 Of nature, heaven, & every element :
 But this be sure, a wanton I will prove,
 And not be tyed vnto on[e] only love." 30
- "And now," quoth they, "thine answeare we request,
 For we of purpose come the same to knowe ;
 Tell whether of vs thou canst fancy best."— 33
 And heer me thought they left to speake ; when loe !
 I framèd me an answer them to make,
 But fore'd my selfe, & thus I did awake. 36

[leaf 44]

Beauty was poor
and faithfulWealth promised
plenty,but she was ugly
and deformed.Wit was pleasing,
but wanton.I awoke before I
made up my
mind.

Brevis Allegoria.

- Out from the depth¹ of Griefes infernall cave
 Sad Melancholie rose with weeping eyes ;
 Company had she none, ne would she have,
 But ne're pleasd Discontent, with whom she hies 4
 With as swift feet as Griefe to her had lent,
 Vnto *the* surging billowes of Lament,
 To be washt² o're into *the* desert Languishment. 7

Melancholy and
Discontent
proceed from
Grief.¹ MS. depht.² MS. waste.

Despair is their
Ferryman over
Lament.

The ferriman, or boatswaine of *the* lake,
Incredulous, all doubting, hight Dispaire,
Would none conduct *that* did not aye forsake
To draw *the* breath of *that* halfe killing ayre 11
Issuing from Hope, his still professèd foe,
Which makes men constant in abiding woe,
Expecting still at length their trouble to forgoe. 14

The boat was a
fearful hulke,

The boat wherin this Ferriman of hell
Dischargde his office, was a fearfull hulke
Framd' of a guilty conscience (worst of ill) ; 17
The sailes compositde of sinne, whose monstrous bulke
Swelling with sighs, *which* were *the* gales of winde
Made *the* barke seeme to flie ; a fearfull minde 20
Was the maine-mast, & doubt for anchor was assignde.

[leaf 44, back]
in which
passengers are
carried

Thus rigd & trimd, it floteth vp & downe,
To ferry passengers vnto *the* shore
Of *that* inhospitable desert, where no towne,
Ne humane wight inhabited of yore ; 25
Yet gins it now with people to abound,
Which daylie passe o're to *that* hatefull ground,
Although they know it will at length them quite con-
found. 28

to the shores
of death.

For whie, w'ithin that desert lyes a cave,
Where horrid Murder, Death[s] sterne sire, doth dwell ;
Him that Dispaire doth hither bring, this slave
Doth straight encounter, leads him to his cell, 32
Presenting him with cordes to stop his breath,
Poyson to kill him, or else doth vnsheath
Swordes, ponyards, knives, all instruments of cursèd
death. 35

Hope met
Melancholy on
her way and
cheered her up

As Melancholie posted to the shore,
To be conducted to this balefull place,
Hope met with her & never gave her o're,
Till she had staide her rash vnsteady pace. 39

And with wise wordes, diverting her intent with wise words,
 From seeking out *the* desert Languishment,
 At last she brought her to *the* house of Merriment. 42

De Fortuna.

Well have the poetes fainde the queen of chance, Dame Fortune, blinde, & fixd vpon a wheele, The swiftnesse of whose motion may entrance A dull spectators eye ; at whose feet kneele Great potentates, & kinges that sue for grace, Whom as she list she spurns or doth embrace.	The poets represent Fortune as blind and fixed on a wheel.	3 6
Sometimes she rayseth to imperiall throne An abject peasant & base cuntry swaine, Who from <i>the</i> ycie to the torrid zone Boundeth <i>the</i> frontiers of monarchall raigne : Then downe she thrustes from their supernall seat Princes & kings, & makes them begg their meat.	Sometimes she raises a beggar to the throne.	9 12
O could she see, she would not be soe mad (As now she is) in honour to aduaunce (Vertue despise, & art but meanlie clad) Vnmatchèd vice, & worthlesse ignoraunce : But blinde she is, & seeth no mans fall ; Deafe, & can harken vnto no mans call.	Could she see she would not promote the vicious.	15 18

Homo Arbor.

Like as a tree from forth <i>the</i> earth doth spring, So from <i>the</i> earth doth man his essence take ; ¹ The tree shootes forth & doth faire blossoms bring, So man, till youth his mansion doth forsake : The tree growing crooked, if you 'l have it mended, Whilst that it is a twigg it must be bended.	As a tree springs from earth, so man takes his essence from it.	3 6
---	--	------------------------

¹ *Secundum corpus* written at the end of this line in the MS.

[leaf 45] "Just as the twig is bent the tree 's inclined,"	Right soe it fares with man, whose infant age Is apt of any forme to take impression, Following advice & reason or else rage, 9 According as his youths frame takes succession : If green he be not bended, but let grow, When he is olde hee 'l breake before hee 'l bowe. 12
In spring trees put forth leaves ; so man, and both die for want of nourishment.	When lusty Ver approacheth, he doth bring Fresh vigour to the tree & liveries gay ; Soe man doth reassume new health i' th' spring ; 15 The tree when moysture failes will fade away : And man will quickly perish like a plant, If he that <i>humidum radicale</i> want. 18
The tree falls at last ; and as it falls so it lies.	Looke how at length the tree to ground doth fall, Though long it stand fast fixèd in the earth ; Soe man, thoug[h] long he live, yet die he shall ; 21 No helpe there is in honour, wealth, or birth : The tree what way it falls, that way doth lye ; Even so shall man be iudgde as he doth die. 24

Mundus Theatrum.

The world is by some compared to a theatre, the gods being spectators, men the players.	The world by some, & that not much amisse, Vnto a Theater comparèd is, Vpon <i>which</i> stage the <i>goddess</i> spectatours sitt, And mortals act their partes as best doth fitt. 4 One acts a king, another a poore swaine ; One idely lives, another taketh paine ; One, like Orestes, becomes mad with rage, Another seeks his furie to asswage. 8 And as i' th' play that man <i>which</i> acts the king, (Though many he to his obeisaunce bring)
In the end he who plays king and he who acts	I' th' end is of no more account then he, <i>Which</i> represents the beggers misery, 12

So is't i' th' world, when every man by death Has his last exit, <i>which</i> doth stop his breath. The king for all his crowne shall reape noe grace, Nor beggars meannesse shall his cause embase.	16	the beggar are alike
But to my thinking, in this saide compare, Though many iump, yet some things differing are. In our stage-plaies ther 's but one foole at most And sometimes none at all ; we cannot boast So much, farre otherwise with vs it is ; We act <i>the</i> same part all, not one doth misse. They shew awhile in iest their foppery, We still in seriousnessse <i>our</i> foolery.	20 24	In plays there 's only one fool, in the world many.

Armat spina rosas.

Hard is it for <i>the</i> patient <i>which</i> is ill, Fulsome or bitter potions to digest, Yet must he swallow many a bitter pill, E're he regaine his former health & rest :	3	Physic is bitter, but man must keep himself in health.
To keep the body safe is mans desire, Though it be done through water, sword, & fire.	6	[leaf 45, back]
The hardy soldier, with death-threatning sword, To kill his hostile enemy procures, In hope the conquest will rich spoiles afford, He mortall strokes & bloody woundes endures :	9	The soldier endures wounds, hoping for conquest.
Victorious tryumph ther doth never grow, But by the adverse parties overthrowe.	12	
The silly bee his hony doth defend, And from his hive doth chase the drone away ; Yea oftentimes with man it doth contend And 'gainst him doth his threatning sting display :	15	The bee protects its honey with its sting.
Loth is it his mellifluous meat forgoe, <i>Which</i> with such paine it gathers too & froe.	18	

The rose is
fenced about
with thorns.

The odoriferous & fragrant rose,
Which in the spring tide shewes his blushing hiewe,
For fence it selfe with prickes doth round enclose, 21
Which make the gatherer oftentimes to rue,
And wish, with his prickt fingers making mone,
That he had let *the* verdant rose alone. 24

The lover under-
goes many
hardships.

T[h]e amorous lover, ere he can enioy
His wishèd end, doth many paines endure ;
Sometime his love disdainfull is & coy, 27
And will not stoop vnto his gentle lure ;
Sometime he feares she will vnconstant prove,
And not reward him faithfull love for love. 30

Things valuable
are difficult of
attainment.

Straight is *the* passage vertue to attaine,
And steep the hill that vnto honour leads ;
Art is not had without industrious paine, 33
Nor wealth possest by praying vpon beads :
Things of great prise are not atchiev'de with ease,
But once attained, they doe for ever please. 36

Comparatio mortis & Hyenæ.

The hyena has
the shape of
several beasts.

A monstrous beast ther is Hyena namde,
Whose shape of sundry formes composèd is ;
Like to a wolfe her visage is iframde, 3
A vipers swelling neck she hath, I wis ;
An elepha[n]ts huge backe, voice like a man,
And Proteous-like, transforme her selfe she can. 6

Death is like it
in many respects.

Death like this monster is in each respect :
First like a wolfe that ravenous is of prey,
Whose very looke his rapine doth detect, 9
Ne spareth he ought commeth in his way ;
So death is cruell, suffering none escape ;
Olde, young, rich, poore, of all he makes his rape. 12

- Next as a viper swelleth on *the* ground, [leaf 46]
 And glideth to & fro to many a place,
 Yet wher he was no print there can be found, 15
 So nimble is he & so quick of pace ;
 Soe death is heer & yonder in one stound, Death is subtle as
a viper :
 And kills & sleas, yet no man sees him wound. 18
- The elephant in strength to him doth yeild, strong like
the elephant ;
 Though he 'mongst beastes the strongest be accounted,
 And castles carries on his back in field, 21
 Where fighting men, as on a tower mounted,
 Safegard themselves & doe their foes annoy ;
 But death whole townes & countries doth destroy. 24
- A man he is in craft & pollicy,
 Lurking full closely to devour his prey ;
 So death is full of craft & subtilty, 27 crafty as man,
 And vnawares doth many take away ;
 As with sweet sleep he closeth oft the sight,
 Yet shuttes the eyes in an eternall night. 30
- Lastly as Proteus into sundry shapes and can trans-
form himself
like Proteus.
 (When as him list himselfe transforme) could change,
 Or male or female he could be *perhaps* 33
 Nor male nor female ; soe doth death estrange
 Himselfe into each sexe when as him will,
 That is, both male & female he can kill. 36

. Vesper exornat diem.

- What profits it the well built ship to ride What good is it
for a ship to
have a prosperous
voyage, if it is
wrecked in the
end ?
 Vpon the surging billowes of the maine,
 Drivne with a pleasant gale & a calme tide, 3
 If, ere it iornies end it doth attaine,
 By boysterous stormes, *which* cannot be withstood,
 Sea wrackt it perish in the raging floud ? 6
 TIME'S W. 9

	The learned <i>artistes</i> much admired skill	
The old wife's medicine cannot cure grief.	In life-preserving phisicke is then tride, When some strange cure is wrought ; not every pill Or olde wifes medecine to the sick applide Can grieffe recure ; 'tis arts all knowing lore Must man vnto his wonted health restore.	9 12
He who has fought and conquered may claim the crown.	He that with trenchaunt blade in bloody fight, Singlie opposde, & clad in equal armes, Hath slaine his foe, or fored him vnto flight, Vsing noe witch-craft, sorcery, nor charmes, May worthely crowne his victorious brow With oken leaves of Ioves tryumphant bow.	15 18
[leaf 46, back]	Who truely can affirme the day will prove Pleasant & faire, e're even doth appeare, When sodeinly ¹ o'recast, the heauens remove Oft times their beawty <i>which</i> our sight doth chear ; *Successe by the event is knowne, the end Doth every action praise, or discommend. ²	21 24

Virtus persequenda.

He who pursues virtue in youth shall be famous in age.	He that in youth doth vertues path way tread, When age vpon his wrinkled front shall sitt, A crowne of honour shall enguirt his head, And though he dye, his praise shall never flitt : With her shrill trumpet never dying Fame, Vnto the world shall still resound his name.	3 6
He that despises virtue shall be forgotten,	But he that vertue in his youth disdaines, And like a lozell runneth out his race,	

¹ I cannot tell whether this was intended to be *sodeinly* or *sodainly*. The MS looks more like *sodainly*.

² *———Cereat successibus opto

Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

Written in the margin of the MS, with the asterisk as above.
Ovid. Epp. 2. 86.

Shame & not honour in his age attaines, 9
 And after death on earth shall have noe place :
 Lethe shall drowne his ill deserving name, and drowned by
 But vertuous acts are still enrolde by Fame. 12 Lethe.

Cur Venus orta mari.

The poetes faine (for soe I know I read)
That Venus of the seas white foame was bred,
And therfore Aphrodite doe her call,
Which name doth signifie as much to all
That know the word ; but wherfore she should be
Derivèd from the froath of Neptunes sea
I know noe reason, since, as I doe gather,
Neptune her vnecke was & not her father ;
Vnlesse that we, against true logicks lawes,
From the effect produce th' efficient cause ;
And that too by comparison must be
As thus :—we all know that the foaming sea
Is salt & bitter to *our* tasting sence ;
So lustfull Venus, *which* is saide from thence
To issue forth, proves salt & bitter still,
To them that follow her disordered will.

Medio tutissimus ibis.

Climenes brat, aspiring Phaëton,	When Phaeton
Dryvng the fierie horses of the sunne	drove the chariot
Out of the midle way, vp to the seat	of the Sun
Of Iupiter, & scorching with the heat	4 Jupiter sent him
Of his bright flaming charriot all the goddes,	headlong into the
Was by incensèd Love whipt downe with rodde	sea.
Of thundering lightning to the raging wave	[leaf 47]
O' the vast ocean, his vntimely grave.	8

Icarus, soaring
too high, fell into
the sea.

Fond Icarus, proud of his waxen wings
Soaring to high, is drenchèd in the maine,
When Dædalus his plumèd bodie brings
Safe to the shore. Ambition is a traine 12
That life entraps ; a golden mean the way
To live securely ; for we often see
Men of most honor soonest doe decay,
When meaner men live in tranquillity. 16

If you would not
fall, don't climb.

Wilt thou be safe? strive not to climbe at all ;
Low shrubs stand fast, when statelier okes doe fall.

Scribimus indocti doctique epigrammata
passim.¹

Jonson, they say,
has turned
Epigrammatist.
I don't believe it.

Johnson they say's turnd Epigrammatist,
Soe think not I, believe it they that list.
Peruse his booke, thou shalt not find a dram
Of witt befitting a true Epigram. 4
Perhaps some scraps of play-bookes thou maist see.
Collected heer & there confusedlie,
Which piece his broken stuffe ; if thou but note,
Iust like soe many patches on a cote. 8

He has put Cato
at the beginning
of his book!

And yet his intret Cato sta[n]ds before,
Even at the portall of his pamphlets dore ;
As who should say, this booke is fit for none
But Catoes, learned men, to looke vpon : 12
Or else, let Cato censure if he will,
My booke deserves the best of iudgement still.²
When every gull may see his booke's vntwitten,

The epigrams are
as bad as any
written.

And Epigrams as bad as e're were written. 16
Johnson, this worke thy other doth distaine,
And makes the world imagine that thy vein

¹ Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.

Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 117.

² *skill* in MS.—? iudgement[s] skill.

Is not true bred but of some bastard race.
 Then write no more, or write with better grace ; 20 He had better
 Turne thee to plaies, & therein write thy fill ; confine himself
 Leave Epigrams to artists of more skill. 22 to plays and
 leave Epigrams
 to better men.

In Madamam quandam.

A country lasse of silly parents bred,
 In London was for service entertainde,
 And being of a wealthy master sped 3 A country lass
 She with her luring lookes so farre him trainde, induced her rich
 That he embrac'd her in a marriage bed, master to marry
 But first she pawnd to him her maydenhead. 6 her.

What plottes she had, what tricks she then did vse,
 To bring her matter to soe good effect,
 I list not now repeat ; lest for the stewes 9 [leaf 17, back]
 New stratagems I plainlie doe detect : Her contrivances
 But such they were, that from a scullians life to bring this
 Made her a wealthy marcheantes second wife. 12 about need not be
 named.

Then gan she trip it prouddie one the toe,
 And mince it finely vpon London streetes.
 She lady-like in her attire did goe, 15 Then she tripped
 Bought with the purchase of vnlawfull sheets ; it finely till he
 At last, her of her husband death bereft, died.
 Who dying, her a wealthy widow left. 18

Ambition now began to swell her minde,
 All her desire was to be ladifide ;
 And with a knight at len[g]th she was combinde, 21 Afterwards she
 Which made her think herselfe halfe deifide : was married to a
 But well she might, in Edens plot she lies, knight.
 And all men know that place is paradise. 24

Long liv'de she not in Edens fruitfull soile,
 For her aspiring minde straight drave her thence ;

But pride ruined her. That serpent pride did her soe far beguile, 27
 Eden she banisht was for her offence :
 Iudge, was not woman very much vnwise
 That thus by pride hath twice lost paradise? 30

: In Neandrem.¹

Neander, held a great cevillian
 (Let me not say a Machiavillian)
 Appointed to dispute before the king,
 Struck mute with fear, could not say anything 4
 Save 'twas ill luck ; for if he had done well,
 As we expected he would bear the bell
 From the whole Academie for the test,
 'Tis certaine he had been a knight a[t] lest, 8
 And made his wife (what she hath lookt for long)
 A Madame. Fortune, thou hast done her wrong
 To hinder his once dubbing of his wife,
 Which hath dubde him soe often in her life. 12

In Asinium.

Asinius what I speake straight overhears ;
 Asses have long ears. Will you know why? Asses have longest cares.

[leaf 48]

In Balbutiam.²

Balbutia, which hath all the tricks of art
 That doe belong vnto a whorish part,
 Wholly bewitchd a gentleman to leave
 His wife & children vnto her to cleave 4

¹ This and the next poem but one have been so thoroughly obliterated by means of a thick pen that at first I was tempted to omit them. I have been at some pains to read them, but I am by no means sure that my readings are absolutely correct.

² I cannot ascertain whether this was Bacbutia or Balbutia. I am more inclined to think the former.

Even to his end, &, though God did him blesse		and give her his
With a faire issue, cleane to dispossesse		property.
His children of his goodes & give her all		
By his last dying testimoniall.	8	
But how dost thrive with her? Exceeding well;		How does she
She is the likelyst still to goe to hell.		prosper?
But heer she doth not without crosses goe,		
Those in her children, sonnes & daughters too.	12	
Her eldest sonne is hangd or drown'd i' th' seas,		Her eldest son is
Her other is as good in forwardnesse.		hanged or
Her eldest daughter's married to her grieve,		drown'd.
Whose husband lives a prisoner & a theefe.	16	Her eldest
Her other daughters would fain married be,		daughter is
But moste that knowe doe hate this progenie.		married to a
Thus she <i>which</i> made mothers fare <i>the</i> worse		thief.
In her owne seed hath this deserv'd curse.	20	

In adulantes Aulicos.

Base sycophantes, crumbe-catching parasites,		Sycophants,
Obsequious slaves, <i>which</i> bend at every nod;		
Insatiate harpies, gormandizing kites,	3	harpies, kites,
Epicures, at[h]eists, <i>which</i> adore no God		epicures,
But <i>your</i> owne bellies & <i>your</i> private gaine,		
Got by <i>your</i> oily tongues bewitching traine!	6	
O how my Muse, arm'd with Rhannusiaes whip,		how my Muse
Desires to scourge <i>your</i> hell ¹ -bred villanie,		desires to scourge
And with Astræas sharp edgd sword t' vnrip	9	you!
The hatefull cloke of <i>your</i> deformity;		
Whose naked view soe odious would appear,		
That we should hate what now is held full deare.	12	
<i>Your</i> sly deceits dissimulation hides,		Your deceits hide
<i>Your</i> false intent faire wordes obnubilate;		dissimulation,

¹ *hell* in MS.

- as grass hides
serpents. So 'mongst the greenest grasse the serpent glides, 15
And freshest flowers foule toades coinquinate :
All is not golde that hath a glistering hiew,
But what the touchstone tries & findeth true. 18
- You cause
dissensions
between friends. Dissentions, & twixt friends vnfriendly jarres,
Your base tale-carr[y]ing tongues doe sett abroch,
Intestine broyles, cyvill vncivill warres, 21
[leaf 48, back] Which end in death or infamous reproch,
Are causd' by your insinuating wordes,
Whose poysnous breath wounds deeper then keen
swordes. 24
- Leave the Court,
and no longer
flatter greatness. Avaunt, ye fauning cures, & leave *the* Court !
Flatter not greatnesse with *your* scurrill praise.
Dare flies approach where eagles doe resort ? 27
And shall the cuckoe in [a] cove[r]t¹ chaunt his laies ?
For ye, like cuckoes, all one note doe sing,
And like to flies doe buzze about *our* king. 30
- The king scorns
the whole of you. But he, the princely Eagle, scornes such flies,
Such butter-flies, such gnates, whose humming sound
Relisheth not his care ; nor doe his eyes 33
Affect *your* gaudy outside, *which* abound
More in queint speach & gorgeous attire,
Then in *your* loves, *which* ought to be entyre. 36
- Leave off your
flattery. Ye Aristippian zanies, Albions ill,
Leave off at last *your* poysning hommi'd speach ;
Let not your sugred wordes be traines to kill, 39
Iust like *the* foxe when he to geese doth preach :
And ye rich men, *which* selfe-conceit doe love,
Be not such geese, foxe-flattering praise to prove. 42
- And you rich
men, remember
Æsop's crow So Æsops crow whom crafty rainard spide
With prey in bill, was earst by him deceivde ;

¹ ? For *Court*.

“O thou faire bird” (a lowd lie !) then he cride, 45 which was
deceived by the
crafty fox
 “Why singst thou not, whose musick hath bereavd
 The nightingale of that respect she held,
 Since thy sweet voice a sweeter note doth yield?” 48

The silly crow, bewitchd with flattering praise,
 Addrest herselfe to give the foxe a song,
 When opening wide her bill to chaunt her laies, 51
 Downe fell the prey she held! The foxe ere long and cheated out
of her prey.
 It quite devoured had, gan her deride ;
 Then, all too late, his cunning she espide. 54

Such crows are they whom flatterers beguile ;
 Such foxes they *which* flatter, faune, & cog :
 Brittans, let them no more sucke vp *your* oyle ; 57 Men beguiled by
flatterers are just
like this crow.
 Be Aesops crow noe more, but Aesops dog.
 Chace hence these foxes, *which* at *your* mercy stand,
 For *our* then happy made Eutopian land. 60

Somnium.

About that time when as the chearfull spring
 Bedeckes the earth with her sweet smelling flowers,
 When pretty birds with their sweet caroling, 3
 Record their ditties in Silvanus bowers,
 I fortune, envited by the aire,
 Vnto a pleasant grove to make repaire. 6 In the spring I
wandered into a
grove,

Quite through the thicket ran a pleasant spring, [leaf 49]
 Whose gentle gliding a sweet murmure made ;
 The place (sufficient to content a king) 9
 Allurde me to repose vnder the shade and sat down
under a broad
beech,
 Of a broad beech, the aptnesse of *which* seat
 Preservde me from the sunnes annoying heat. 12

Not many minutes did I there repose,
 Ere gentle Morpheus, powerfull god of sleep,

- where I soon
fell asleep,
- With his compelling charmes mine eyes did close. 15
Such harmony the chirping birdes did keep
Coniointly with the sweetly warbling streame,
That my long slumber did begett this dreame : 18
- and dreamed an
amazing dream.
- Me thought it was about the dead of night,
What time there was presented to my view
A spectacle that did me much affright, 21
And all my sences in amazement drew ;
Till manly courage, putting fear to flight,
Made me expect the issue of the sight. 24
- A woman
appeared to me in
costly robes and
crowned.
- The fearfull obiect of my wandring eye,
In shew appeard to be a womans shape ;
Her looke was heavy, & did well descrie 27
She had been subiect to noe mean mishappe :
Her robes were costly, crownèd was her head,
Which did foretell she was not basely bred. 30
- In one hand a
sword, in the
other she held a
torch.
- One of her handes a bloody sword did graspe,
Wherwith had been transfixd her tender heart ;
The other hand a burning torch did claspe, 33
By light wherof I might descrie each part
Of her well featured body, whose sad plight
Drew forth salt teares from my relenting sight. 36
- I would have
questioned her,
but was too
frightened.
- I would have questiond whence, or who, she was,
But admiration such amasement bred,
That not one word from forth my lips could passe, 39
My voice had lost his office & was dead,—
Buried in silence lay ; when loe, ere long
The apparition thus let lose her tongue :— 42
- “ Young man ” (quoth she) “ thy spirites recollect ;
Be not amazde mine vncouth shape to see ;
Such peevish fear doth shew a minde deiect, 45
Or guilty conscience, which are farre from thee :
Give ear vnto me, & I will relate
A true sad story of my passèd fate. 48
- She spoke and
commanded me
to listen.

- "I am by birth of most divine descent ;
 For I am daughter to immortall Iove,
 From whom into the world I first was sent
 As witness of his reconciled love
 With mortall man ; for *which* effect I came
 From heaven, & True Religion is my name. 51
- She said she was
 the daughter of
 Jove, True
 Religion by
 name.
- "First went I to the vnbelieving Iewes ;
 But there I could smale entertainment finde :
 The greater part did vtterlie refuse
 To lodge me in their heartes, & wilfull blinde
 Did cast me from them ; though alone by me
 Man can attaine to true felicity. 54
- [leaf 49, back]
 She went first to
 the Jews, who
 refused her.
- "By them reiected thus, I did intend
 Vnto the Gentiles next to bend my course,
 To see if they would greater favour lend :
 With these I had indeed somewhile great force,
 And purchasde a large kingdome with this crowne,
 Till *the* ten persecutions put me downe. 57
- Then to the
 Gentiles, who
 listened to her.
- "But noe oppression could me quite suppress ;
 Nay, persecutions made me flourish more ;
 I still was slaine, yet still I did increase,
 And growing lesse, grew greater then before :
 Cammomill trodden doth the farther spred,
 And the palme prest, the higher lifts his head. 60
- No oppressions
 could put her
 down.
- "Rome was of yore my place of residence,
 Where as a soveraigne I long time did sitt,
 Till antichristian prelates drave me thence ;
 Then did I flie to Brittain, & in it
 I have till now, & ever will remaine,
 Till the world shall to chaos turne againe. 63
- She was driven
 from Rome to
 Britain,
- "With this sharp sword, *which* in my hand I holde,
 A cruell Lady peared me to the heart ;
 The wound is fresh to see, the blood scarce colde,—
 Her name was Mary that did act this parte : 71
- where Mary
 pierced her to the
 heart.

But e're she kilde me she was slaine by death,
And I revivd'e by young Elizabeth. 84

But Elizabeth
revived her.

"Forty-fower yeares this far renownèd queen,
Honord of all, me above all did honor ;
But fates her, graie in yeares, in vertues green, 87
Cald to a worthier place, death seazd vpon her,
And for this world, *which* nought but sorrow yeilds,
Carried Eliza to th' Elizian fields. 90

Afterwards came
the "good
Josiah," James I.,

"After her death the good Iosiah came,
When the land feard some sodaine innovation,
And, for the propagation of my name, 93
Contracts a league with many a neighbour nation ;
Wisely foreseeing that by such a peace,
My crowne should flourish & my power encrease. 96

[leaf 50]
under whom
she rules Britain
in spite of Rome.

"Vnder this monarch, or above him, rather,
I rule this Britaine Empire & doe bring
Many a soule vnto my heavenly Father, 99
In spite of Rome, *which* for me hates the king :
But God will blesse him, & vnto *the* end
He and his issue shall my cause defend. 102

The torch she
carries is to
disperse the
mists of error.

"If thou wouldst know whie this bright burning light
Mine other hand doth bear, I will thee tell ;
I have an enemy as darke as night, 105
Cald Error (I to heaven, she leades to hell)
Whose blacknesse to obscure me doth endeavour,
But that this light doth her false mists dissever. 108

She looks down-
cast because of
the hypocrisy

"The reason why I looke thus heavily,
Is 'cause of late my power gins decay ;
That hellish monster, damnd hypocrisie, 111
Doth carry in the land far greater sway ;
Enters my temples &, in spite of me,
Vsurps my place & titles soveraintie. 114

- "There is a sort of purest seeming men,
 That aide this monster in her wrongfull cause,
 Those the world nameth—Puritanes I meane— 117 of the sancti-
 Sent to supplant me from the very iawes monious
 Of hell, I think ; by whose apparant shew Puritans,
 Of sanctity doe greatest evils grow. 120
- "Vnless the hand of wise authority
 Doe reinstall me in my former place,
 And punish them & their hypocrisie, 123 who must be put
 They will ere long mine honour quite deface. down.
 And so I prethee, tell him gentle youth,—
 Be not afraide, 'tis nothing but the truth." 126
- This saide, methought she vanishd from my sight, Then she
 And left me much perplexèd in my thought. vanished,
 I musde a Puritan should be a wight 129 and I mused on
 So seeming good, & yet soe passing naught ; Puritans till I
 Till thinking long vpon so strange a theame, awoke.
 At last I wakd, & then I writ my dreame. 132

In curiosos theologos.

- You high aspiring wittes, which seeke to prie
 Into the secretes of the Diety,
 Is 't not enough to know his will reveald,
 But you must aime at that which is conceald? 4
 By curious inquisition, too much light
 Hath made you lose the perfect vse of sight.
 Saint Austines saying may you well befit,
 Which vnto one would know (without all witt) 8
 By curious interrogation,
 What God did ere he layd the workles foundation,
 Replide, "I think, or rather know full well,
 He made for such as thee infernall hell." 12
- Is it not enough
 to know what is
 revealed, but
 some would know
 the Divine
 secrets ?
- [leaf 50, back]
- Remember the
 saying of
 Augustine to one
 of these in-
 quisitors.

Hell is the place
for them.

A place most meet for them that dare adventure
Into Godes secret cabbinet to enter.

O, strive not then to know his secret will,
Which art can never compasse with her skill! 16

Gratia peccatum superat.

I soar to the
throne of grace,

Mounted on winges of high aspiring thought,
I soare a loft vp to the throne of grace ;
My heartes repent, by true contrition wrought,
I there present before th' Almightyes face. 4

and there seek
pardon of my
sins.

The spotlesse Lambe which for my guilt was slaine,
I offer vp a ransome for my sinne ;
With sighs, praiers, teares, I begge release of paine,
Of him that ever mercifull hath been. 8

My soule thus seated in divine desires,
Selfe-love allurs me vnto vaine delight,
Then quenched are my former heavenly fires,
Till grace doth once againe put sinne to flight. 12

Sin and grace
strive together.

Thus sinne with grace, & grace with sinne doth strive,
Till sin lie dead, & grace doe sinne survive. 14

Christianus Agnus.

A Christian must
be like a Lamb

Like a young tender lambe that man must be
Which doth professe true Christianity
With sincere heart, in imitation
First of that spotlesse Lambe, whose Passion 4
Brought sinfull man from endlesse misery
To the true center of felicity.

in innocence,
gentleness,
quietness,

Next, as a lambe is harmlesse, innocent,
Meek, gentle, humble, quiet, patient, 8
So must a Christian be ; his harmlesse life
Must be devoide of all malicious strife.
Reville, he must not once revile againe,
But must doe good for ill, must suffer paine 12

And persecution with an humble heart		
And patient minde ; yea, though it doe impart		patience in
The bodies death ; such martirdome shalbe		suffering,
A glorious crowne of immortality.	16	
Lastly, in this respect (if I not erre)		
A lamb is a true Christians charecter :		
The infant lambe among a thousand sheep,		[leaf 51]
Whose frequent bleatings a loude murmure keepe,	20	and in knowing
Knowes his owne damme when he but heares her voice,		his own Mother
And to sucke her milke onlie doth reioyce :		
So must a Christian know the Church his mother		
By her owne voice, the word of God, from other	24	
Which are but steplames :—Popish congregations,		from all others
Brownisme, & Puritannicke invocation[s],		by whom she is
Which bleat false doctrine & damnd heresies,		surrounded.
He must distinguish from true misteries ;	28	
And like an infant lambe, the childe of grace,		
Sucke only from her breastes, which flow apace		
With the sincere milke of Godes holie word,		
His soules nutrition. Thus ther is accord	32	
In these respectes & more, which I 'le not trace,		There are lambs
Twixt lambes of nature & the lambes of grace.	34	of nature, and
		lambes of grace.

Christianus Navis.

A ship vnto a certaine haven bent,		
Turmoilde in Neptunes watry element,		
With longing expectation doth attend		
To make arrivall to his wishèd end.	4	
This ship thus troubled is a Christiane		The Christian is
Tost vp and downe in the vast ocean		like a ship tossed
Of this terrestriall orbe, of which even all		upon the ocean,
We fitlie by the name of sea may call ;	8	
For 'tis a place of perturbation,		
Of anguish, sorrowe & vexation,		

	Like the tempestuous sea ; & is to vs	
endeavouring to escape all dangers	For rockes, quicksand ^{es} , & gulfe ^s , as dangerous.	12
	Vpon this ocean terrestriall,	
	This ship, this vessell allegoricali,	
	A Christian, floating vp & downe, doth strive	
and to reach a haven at last.	To heaven his safest haven to arrive.	16
	Which harbour ere he can entirely winne,	
	He must first passe by rockes & gulfe ^s of sinne,	
	And therefore needes good preparation	
	To make a prosperous navigation.	20
	Assist me Phœbus, & I will recite	
The ship must be properly rigged,	How he must riggèd be to saile vpright.	
	The earthly stuffe wherof this ship 's compositè	
	Is flesh & bones in order well disposèd.	24
	Ships have their sides or ribbes, & soe hath man	
	All tacklings else, soe must a Christian.	
	The maine-mast must be love o' th' Diety ;	
	The lesser ones, meeke heart & charity ;	28
[leaf 51, back] with masts of love, sails of faith, the anchor of hope.	The sailes strong faith, hope anchor is assignde,	
	And fervent prayer is the gentle winde	
	That blowes it forward ; other tacklings be	
	Good thoughtes, good wordes, good workes, which trinity	
	Must all comioyne in one to holde the sailes,	
	For when these stringes slip, faith then quicklie failes.	
The pilot, God's Word.	The pilote which must alway be aborde	
	To steere the right way, is Godes holy worde ;	36
The common sailors, affections under restraint.	The sences must the common sailers be,	
	Affections, slaves restrainde of libertie,	
	Kept only to take paines, their actions	
	Must still be ordered by directions	40
	Given by reason, which must have some sway	
All must obey the pilot.	In this same voyage ; but all must obey	
	The counsell of the pilot, & still stand	
	Prest at his service, when he doth command.	44
	Now, 'cause this voyage cannot welbe made	
	Free from all danger, but ther will invade	

Some hostile foe or other ; be ther plac'd	
A prospective vpon the top o' th' mast,	48
Wherin 'tis fitt that carefull diligence	A sharp outlook must be kept to discover enemies ;
Keep evermore his watchfull residence,	
And straight give notice, when he doth descrie	
The force & comming of the enemye.	52
For Sathan, that leviathan, that whale,	
Who is an enemye & ever shall	
To Christian man, doth wat[c]h occasion	
When he may make his best invasion.	56
Wherefore against this foe, <i>which</i> seekes to kill,	
Offensive & defensive weapons still	weapons offensive and defensive must always be ready,
This ship must carrie, & himselfe prepare	
To fight it out like a strong man of warre.	60
First at his beake-head he must fasten on	
Th' impenetrable helme salvation,	
And then the breastplate of true righteousness	
<i>Which</i> will resist the devill, & repress	- 64
His furious rage. Then faith his sheild must be	and faith will, as a shield, "quench the balls of wild- fire."
To quench the ballles of wilde-fyer presentlie ;	
But the sword of the spirit Sathan quailles,	
And to attaine the conquest never failes :	68
This is the weapon that the pirate woundes,	
This is the sword-fish <i>which</i> the whale confounds.	
Thus if vnto the end he doe endure	
Like a brave champion, then he shalbe sure	72
The fiend will like a coward run away,	
And he, a happy victour, gett the day.	[leaf 52]
Then having once attaind the victorie,	
He may advance his flag trivmphantly,	76
And saile with ioy, till he the port attaine,	Enduring unto the end he will arrive safe in port.
Where in <i>perpetuall</i> blisse he shall remaine.	78

Deum nescire est nihil scire,
ipsum rectè scire, omnia.

Philosophers may
search into all
things,

Philosophers, *which* search the cause of things
As farre as nature gives their knowledge winges
To soar vnto ; whose quicke & ready witt
A definition to each thing can fitt ; 4
Though they can sillogize with arguments
Of all things, from the heavens circumference
To the earths center, & true reason give
Of natures power, *which* makes thinges move & live ; 8
Yet if they want faiths intellectuall eye
First to believe ther is a Diety,
In Godhead one alone, in *Persons* three,
By whom all creatures are, & cease to be, 12
They are but fooles, & they 'r still blinde, not seeing
The Cause of causes, *which* gives all their being.

but if they are
ignorant of God
they are but
fools.

Astronomers can
foretell many
things,

Astronomers that can foretell eventes
By the celestiaall creatures influence, 16
By errant planettes & by fixèd starres,
Can pre-divine of famines, plagues, & warres ;
And of their contraries pre-indicate,
Which come by an inevetable fate ; 20
Can shew th' eclipses of the sunne & moone,
And how the planettes make coniunction ;
Which have found out, & will maintaine it true,
Three orbes, *which* Aristotle never knew. 24

yet all their
knowledge is
vain, and they
are in ignorance.

Yet all this knowledge, though it reach as farre
As is the Articke from th' Antarticke starre,
Is nothing, if they know not God above,
That Primus Motor, *which* all orbes doth move ; 28
Their art wherin they doe themselves aduance,
Lives still eclipsèd in black ignorance.

Phisitions *which* prescribe a remedy
To each disease & bodies maladie ; 32

That know what is nocivous, & what good,		[leaf 52, back.]
When it is fit to bath, to purge, let bloode ;		
Although they know the nature & the power		Physicians
Of every simple, every hearbe, & flower,	36	know the virtues
With Solomon, <i>which</i> from the cedar tall		of herbs,
Vnto the hisope spreading on the wall,		
Knew every growing plant, flower, hearbe, or tree,		
With their true vse & proper qualitie ;	40	
Yet all their skill as follie I deride,		yet if they are
Vnlesse they rightly know Christ crucified.		ignorant of
He, he it is, <i>which</i> truly is alone		Christ, their
The soules best physicke & Physition.	44	skill is but folly.
All artes, as well those we call liberall		
As other sciences mechanicall,		
What e're they be, & howsoever lov'de,		
And worthily by mortall man approv'de,	48	
If the best knowledge theologicall,		
Be not conioyn'd with their rationall,—		
What e're they may vnto <i>the</i> world professe—		
All their best wisdome is starke foolishnesse.	52	
He is the only wise & prudent man		The Christian is
Whose knowledge makes him the best Christian.		the only wise
For practise must agree with speculation,		man.
Belief & knowledge must guide operation ;	56	
Man may believe & yet he may dissemble,		
For even the diuels doe beleeeve & tremble.		The devils
'Tis not enough that we beleeeve a God,		believe and
For this will all confesse that feele his rod ;	60	tremble.
But we must alsoe in this God beleeeve,		
And in <i>our</i> actions not the Spirit grieve.		
We must beleeeve that it was he alone		We must believe
<i>Which</i> gave to man his first creation,	64	that God created
And that from him alone comes <i>our</i> redemption,		and redeemed us.
<i>Which</i> is from everlasting death exemption ;		
That we in him alone are iustifide,		
And by him only shall be glorifide.	68	

	This we must trow & (though it passe our sence) Repose in this assurde confidence, Which how we must performe in each respect The Scripture plainly doth vs all direct.	72
The man who knows these things, [leaf 53]	He that knowes this (although <i>the</i> poorest worme) And to this knowledge doth his life conforme, Want he the giftes of nature, education, Speake he the tongue but of one only nation ;	76
though a fool in men's eyes,	Be he a foole in the esteeme of man, In worldly thinges a meer simplician ; Yet for all this, I boldly dare averre	
has a knowledge to be preferred before that of physicians, lawyers, astronomers.	His knowledge great, & will it farre preferre Before the skill of wise philosophers, Phisitions, lawyers, & astronomers, Which either want the knowledge of the Diety, And live in sinne & damnd impiety,	80 84
	Or, if they know a God, doe fear him rather As a just Iudge then as a loving Father. He that doth truly know Christ crucifide, Doth know enough, though he know nought ¹ beside ; But he that knowes him not doth only rave, Though all the skill else in the world he have.	90

Ternarius numerus perfectissimus.

The number Three is the principal number.	Of all the numbers arithmeticall, The number three is heald for principall, As well in naturall philosophy As supernaturall theologie.	4
Three chief causes.	Philosophers, in causes naturall, Holde that all thinges have their originall From three chief causes, or principia, And therfor say tria sunt omnia, From three all essence & existence growe, Materia, forma, & privatio.	8

¹ Perhaps *naught* in MS.

The body three dimensions doth include, And they are these, length, bredth, profunditude.	12	
In mathematic bodies three thinges please, their punctum, linea, superficies.		Bodies have three dimensions.
The soule, that breath of life. we threefold call, Vegitive, sensitive, & rationall.	16	The soul is threefold.
Time doth his three divisive partes endure, That <i>which</i> is past, the present, & future.		So is time.
There are three graces ; ther be vertues three, Theologicall, faith, hope, & charity.	20	Three Graces.
The father of the faithfull, Abraham, Receivde three Angels <i>which</i> vnto him came.		Three angels appeared to Abraham.
From the fierce flames of Nebuchadnezar God was the three childrens Deliverer.	24	[leaf 53, back] Three children.
Jonah, whose flight Godes mandat had oppose, In the whales belly three dayes was endlosde.		Jonah three days in the whale.
Christ, to give man a new regenerate birth, Was three dayes in the bowels of the earth ;	28	Christ three days in the grave.
When he from death & hell a Victour rose, Did three times visible himselfe disclose To his disciples ; thrice bad Peter keepe And nourish well his flock of lambs & sheepe.	32	
Thrice was let downe to Peter in a dreame A sheet, with beastes, birdes, creeping things vncleane, And he thrice bidden eat, denide consent,		The sheet was let down to Peter three times.
Whilest three men sought him, from Cornelius sent.	36	
The heavenly kingdome, that celestiaall bower, A leaven is, hid in three peeces of flower.		
Lastly, but principallie, above all The Diety in Persons three we call ;	40	Three Persons in the Trinity.
This Trinity it is ¹ indeed alone Which gives this number best perfection.		
Thrice happy is that man, with ioy shall see This Perfect Number, this Thrice Glorious Three.	44	

¹ MS. *is is*.

De duplici adventu Christi.

As soon as man
had sinned,

When sinfull man in Edens garden plac'd,
By stubborne disobedience had defac'd
The true idæa of his happinesse,
And had deservde, for soe great wickednesse, 4
Eternall death, loe, mercy then began
To mitigate the punishment of man.

mercy began to
mitigate his
punishment.

Though earth was cursde, & man must by the sweat
Of his owne labour make it yeild him meat ; 8
Though woman, whom the serpent had beguilde,
In paine & sorrowe must bring forth her childe ;
Yet from eternall death the promise seed
Put them in comfort that they should be freed. 12
To which effect the only Son of Iove,
Out of the infinitenesse of his love

[leaf 51]

Christ made
satisfaction for
him.

To his own likenesse man, came downe from heaven,
Toke flesh vpon him, was of life bereaven, 16
And made full satisfaction by his death
For all their sinnes, which by a lively fayth
Lay holde vpon his meritorious Passion,
The perfect path that leads vnto salvation. 20

Christ's first
coming was in
the flesh.

This Christes first coming was, which we doe name
A coming vnto vs in grace ; to frame
Mans soule to come to him, he first began
To come him selfe in grace to sinfull man, 24
From a pure Virgin to take incarnation,
From impure Iewes, his patient Passion.

His birth was
poor.

His first Advent yeilds a quaternall section,
His birth, his life, his death, his resurrection. 28
His birth was poore, that by his poverty
We might be made rich in eternity.

He lived
despised of man,

Borne in a cratch 'mongst beastes (yet for our gaine)
That in heavens kingdome we with saintes might raigne.
He livd despise of man, to get vs grace 33
With God the Father ; meekly did embrace

- (Sole sinne excepted) each infirmity
Coincident to fraile humanity, 36
That he might put vs in a better state,
And in his weaknesse vs corroborate.
As he was man he yeilded vp his breath
To save vs men from an eternall death, 40
Which death was full of agonie & paine,
That *our* life purchasd, might in joy remaine.
Lastly, as God he subdued death & hell,
And rose againe from the infernall cell 44
Of conquered Sathan, to prepare the way
For vs to follow him ; and now this day
Sitting in maiesty at Gods right hand,
Sole Mediatour for *our* cause doth stand, 48
And till his second comming, shall doe still
To plead their cause *which* doe obey his will ;
Which second comming shall in glory be,
And in vntterable maiestie. 52
- The generall resurrection shalbe then, [leaf 54, back]
And dust & wormes returne to living men.
Then shall *our* corruptible¹ flesh put on
Immortalnesse & incorruption. 56
Then shall we see Christ comming in the cloudes,
When some will wish whole mountaines were their
shroudes. His second coming will be in clouds and majesty.
- Then he the sheep from goates shall separate,
The iust & godly from *the* reprobate, 60
And sheepe have blisse ; the other for their hire
Perpetuall paines & everlasting fire.
- Thus shall his second powerfull comming be
The godlies ioy, the wickedes misery. 64
Twixt his first comming & his latter one
There wilbe found much discrepation.
First did he come in all humility,
Then shall he come in splendant royalty ; 68

¹ May be *corruptible* in MS.

First to be iudgèd by *the* world he came,
 Then shall he come as Lord to iudge the same ;
 In his first *comming* he for man did die,
 In this he shall give 's lifes eternity. 72

May we use the
 first to prepare us
 for the second!

May we the first advent of Christ emploie
 So to *our* good that at the latter day,
 His second *comming*, when he shall appeare,
 Before *our* Iudge we may without all feare 76
 Expect that happy sentence, "Come ye blest,
 And enter into everlasting rest." 78

In Momum.

Momus derides
 my verse,

Momus, that foulmouthd slave, my verse derides ;
 Sayes they are plaine, bald balladstuffe ; besides
 They want invention, poetrie, & witt,
 And are farre worse then ever Bavius writt. 4
 Dost not thou like 'em, Momus? Why I 'me glad ;
 That *which* thou likst, I 'me sure must needs be bad.
 But be they soe, as worse thou canst not prove them,
 I tell thee they like me, & I will love them. 8
 As for thy scoffes, I neither doubt nor fear them,
 Thou hast wrongd better, therefore I may beare them.¹

but he has
 wronged better
 men than I.

[End.]

¹ The Poems end here without any horizontal line. The next leaf of the volume is the fly-leaf of another MS.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX

(INCLUDING PROPER NAMES).

Note. For the extracts from Marlowe I have used Mr Dyce's ed. 1858 ; from Greene and Peele, his ed. 1861. For those from John Taylor, the Water-Poet, I have used the Spenser Society's reprint of the Folio ed. of 1630. Where not otherwise stated the reference is to the page. H. = Halliwell's Archaic Dict. P. = Kersey's Phillips, 1708.

A, a nightes, 90/2852.

A, a safe, 60/1813, very safe.

To steal sands from the shore he loves *a-life*. *Marlowe*. 337.

Abie, 23/613, pay for, expiate.

Thou shalt dear *aby* this blow.

Greene, 259.

Abraham, 39/1158, 149/21.

Abroach, new-set-abroach-fantastique fashion, 85/2706. Fantastic fashions, newly invented, or introduced.

Adon[is], 37/1101.

Adrus, 105/3352, Dives, rich.

Advantageous, 107/3429.

Advantageous care

Withdrew me from the odds of multitude. *Troil. & Cress.* v. 4.

Æsculapius, 69/2163.

Æsop, 136/43.

Aflaunt, 86/2726, showily dressed.

Al *aflaunt* now vaunt it ;

Brave wench, cast away care ;

With layes of love chaunt it,

For no cost see thou spare.

Promos and Cassandra, i. 2. II.

A forehand, 83/2609, before.

After-clap, 68/2126, the punishment which follows an unlawful act.

Ahab, 50/1501.

Aleheron, 9/188, Alcoran, the Koran.

Alehouse, 60/1821.

Farewell my Cowslippe sweete,

Pray lets a Sunday at the *Ale-house* meet. Sam. Rowlands, *The Letting of Hemours Blood*, etc. Sat. 4.

Alehouse-haunter, 60/1813, a frequenter of the ale-house.

Alexander VI., 78/2436, Pope. Died, 1503.

Allegant, 63/1919, wine from Alicant.

Sweet *Allegant*, and the concocted Cute. *Taylor*, 549.

Boxt *Alligant* with Sugar and Eggs. *Heywood's Philocoth.* p. 48. Sweet wines . . . Tent, *Halligant*.

lb.

Alston, 107/3442.

- Amber, greece of, 36/978, ambergris, a perfume.
 Embalm'd with cassia, *ambergris*, and myrrh. *Marlowe*, 53.
- Amoretto, 93/2927, one who yields to "love-kindling looks."
 How martial is the figure of his face!
 Yet lovely and beset with *amoretts*.
Greene, 168.
- Cotgrave has "*Amourettes*. Louetricks, wanton loue-toyes, ticking, ticklings, daliances," &c. *Ib.* note by Ed.
- Amorphus, 97/3088, deformed, ugly.
- Anabaptists, 9/195, a sect whose distinctive tenet is, that those who have been baptized in their infancy ought to be baptized anew.
- Anaidus, 104/3332, irreverent.
- Ananias, 46/1370.
- Anchoves, 87/2769, anchovies.
- Angels, 48/1490, the name of a coin varying in value from six shillings and eightpence to ten shillings. It was introduced by Ed. IV.
 My Lawyer said the case was plaine for mee,
 The *Angell* told him so hee tooke for fee :
 But yet my *Angell* and my Lawyer lyed,
 For at my Iudgement I was damnified. *Taylor*, 515.
- Anteus, 101/3213.
- Anthony, 59/1779.
- Antilegon, 49/1487, a disputer.
- Aphrodite, 131/3.
- Apitius, 58/1765, ? Gr. *apites*, perry.
- Apollo, 41/1214, 70/2170, 103/3300, 113/1.
- Appetitually, 18/496, appetive, belonging to the appetite.
- Arch-defender, 68/2111.
- Architecture, 55/1668, heaven's architecture, the skies.
- Argus, 2/27.
- Aristippian, 136/37, pertaining to Aristippus.
- Aristotle, 29/821, 146/24.
- Arras, clothes of, 36/1044, a superior kind of tapestry, so named from Arras in the French Netherlands, which was celebrated for its manufacture. "I'll not speak another word, except the ground were perfumed, and covered with *cloth of arras*." *Marlowe*, 89.
- Assimilate, 118/78, to compare.
- Astræa, 50/1524, 88/2791, 135/9.
- Athenian, 94/2965.
- Augustin, S., 28/816, 141/7.
- Aurimont, 41/1211.
- Aurora, 113/5.
- Avarice, 41/1201.
- Avicen, 29/822. Died, 1037.
- Baal, 51/1562.
- Bacchanal, 62/1907.
- Bacchus, 63/1919, 70/2193, 87/2762, 114/29.
- Balladstufte, 152/2, worthless rhymes.
- Bavius, 152/4, a bad poet, contemporary with Virgil and Horace.
- Bayard, prov., "Who so bold as blind Bayard?" 95/3000.
- Beake-head, 145/61, of a ship.
- Beer, broken, 60/1845, spilt beer. "Remnants of beer." *II*.
- Begorde, 68/2100, covered with gore.
- Beholding, 90/2853, beholden. "And so I will, my Lord; and, whilst I live, rest *beholding* for this courtesy." *Marlowe*, 98.
- Belike, 53/1611, 73/2306, perhaps. "Staves-aere! why, then,

- belike*, if I were your man, I should be full of vermin." *Marlowe*, 84.
- Bell, phr., "Win the silver bell," 62/1884, to gain the highest prize, to beat, or excel all. See also 119/24.
Of all the Bawdes that euer were,
The Deuill himselfe *the bell away*
doth beare. *Taylor*, 251.
- Bellie-cheer, 10/232, eating and drinking.
Bald-pate friars,
Whose *sumum bonum* is in *belly*-
cheer. *Marlowe*, 91.
At supper with such *belly-cheer*
As Wagner ne'er beheld in all
his life. *Ib.* 98.
- Bellona, 25/708, the goddess of war.
- Bereaven, 54/1638, bereft.
My senslesse braines, of wit and
sence *bereauen*. *Taylor*, 359.
- Bernard, S., 28/816.
- Besprent, 100/3174, besprinkled.
- Betterice, 104/3316, ? Beatrice.
- Bewraide, 108/3471, bewrayed.
- Bit, phr., "two bits," 20/571,
two bites, two morsels.
- Bitte, 109/3500, bit.
- Blew, 60/1837, "Till the ground
seems blue," till they are drunk.
A drunkard is "One that will
drinke till the ground lookes blew,"
in Heywood's *Philocoth.* p. 44.
- Blotted, 86/2735, spotted, ruined.
- Blubbered, 100/3195. "O, run,
Doll, run; run, good Doll; come.
[She comes *blubbered*.] Yea, will
you come, Doll?" 2 *Hen. IV.* ii. 4.
- Blushlesse, 115/34.
- Bolster, 37/1073, prop up, support.
- Boore, 27/763, boor, a rustic.
Hobnail *Boores*, & sheep skin
country clowns. *Taylor*, 511.
- Bootelesse, 45/1325, in vain, to
no purpose, profitless.
I'll follow him no more with *boot*-
less payers. *Mer. of Ven.* iii. 3.
- Bord, 19/520, board, table.
- Borgia, Caesar, 78/2431. Died,
1507.
- Bottle-ale, 62/1909.
Away, you *bottle-ale* rascal.
2 *Hen. IV.* ii. 4.
One madly sits like *bottle-ale*,
and hisses. *Taylor*, 307.
- Bottle-nose, 98/3100, a large nose.
- Bout, 60/1832, a contest.
- Braggadocchio, 26/731
Braue *Bragadocia* whom the world
doth threaten,
Was lately with a Faggot-sticke
sore beaten. *Taylor*, 508.
- Brat, 131/1, a child.
- Bread, phr., "To know on which
side the bread is buttered," 64/
1987, to know what is for one's
advantage. In Heywood's *Philoco-*
th. one of the titles of a drunkard
is, "One that knowes of which
side his bread is butter'd." p. 45.
- Bread-chipper, 27/775, one who
chipped the crusts off burnt bread
(see Index to *Babees Book*); a term of
contempt. "A' would have made
a good pantler, a' would ha' *chip-*
ped bread well." 2 *Hen. IV.* ii. 4.
"Not to dispraise me, and eall me
pantler and *bread-chipper*." *Ib.*
- Brooke, 60/1811, to bear patiently.
First let me ask of these,
If they can *brook* I bow a knee to
man. 2 *Hen. IV.* v. 1.
- Brownisme, 4/16. See p. xxviii.
- Brusano, 90/2865, one who is
vigorous, or enjoys life.
- Brute, 26/728, the legendary
founder of Britain.
- By, to put by conceit, 119/102,
to undeceive.
- Cæcilius, 98/3119, proper name.
- Cain, 94/2967.
- Calidity, 117/53, heat.
- Caligula, 102/3267.

- Camelion, 118/75, chameleon.
- Can, 59/1800, a vessel.
Canne follow'd *Canne*, and Pot
 succeeded Pot. *Taylor*, 136.
- Canarie, 62/1916. "From the
 Spaniard . . . Malligo . . . sherry,
Canary, Moscatelli." Heywood's
Philocoth. p. 48.
- Cancer, 113/20.
- Canekered, 91/2887. Eaten with
 the Canker or with Rust. *P.* See
Anat. of Abuses, p. 111: "There
 are three *cankers*, whiche, in pro-
 cesse of time, wil eate vpp the
 whole common wealth," where
 caterpillar is meant, as in *Two*
Gent. Fer. i. 1.
- Captive, 109/3495, held in
 captivity, enslaved.
- Carrier, Dr, 52/1583. See *note*,
 p. x.
- Cashier, 87/2744.
 Maymed *cassiered* Soldiers and
 Mariners. *Taylor*, 87.
- Cast, 61/1851, to vomit.
- Cast office, 27/781, cast off, de-
 spised, abandoned.
 While thread-bare Martiall turns
 his merry note,
 To beg of Rufus a *cast* winter-
 coat. *Hall's Satires*, vi. 1.
- Castles in the air, to build, 118/97.
- Catastrophe, 111, end.
- Cates, 56/1683, 87/2774, dainty
 victuals.
- Cato, 29/824, 132/9.
- Ceres, 87/2763, 113/23.
- Cervisius, 59/1799, 61/1887,
Cervisia, a Gallie word, meaning
 Beer.
- Cevillian, 134/1, one versed in
 civil law. See p. xvi.
- Chalk from cheese, phrase, 28/794.
 Tom is no more like thee, *then*
Chalks like cheese. S. Row-
 lands, *The Letting of Hermoners*
Blood, etc., Sat. 6.
- Chalkd out, 9/181, pointed out.
 For it is you that have *chalk'd*
forth the way
 Which brought us hither.
Tempest, v. 1.
- Channell, 105/3367, kennell,
 gutter. See quotation under
Iustled.
- Chapmen, 43/1282, dealers,
 customers.
- Charles V., 25/685. Died, 1558.
- Charnico, 62/1916, a kind of
 sweet wine.
 Well, happy is the man doth
 rightly know
 The vertue of three cuppes of
Charnico.
 S Rowlands, *The Letting of*
Hermoners Blood, etc., Sat. 6.
 And here, neighbour, here's a cup
 of *charneco*. 2 *Hen.* IV. ii. 3.
 Peter-se-mea, or head strong
charnico. *Taylor*, 549.
 It is called *charnio* by Heywood,
Philocoth. p. 8.
- Charon, 72/2267.
- Charret, 63/1921, claret.
 Claret, Red nor White,
 Graues nor High-Country could
 our hearts delight. *Taylor*, 549.
- Cheap, phrase, good cheap, 65/
 2014.
- Cheeke, 52/1576, restraint; cen-
 sure, reproof, or reproach.
 Rebuke and *cheek* was the reward
 of valour. 2 *Hen.* IV. iv. 3.
- Child, prov., "The burnt child
 dreads the fire," 102/3243.
- Chineke, 61/1872, 104/3341,
 money.
 Both lybertie and *Chinke* ynough
 himselfe he will allow.
News out of Powles, Sat. 5.
 Some of their pockets are oft
 stor'd with *chink*. *Taylor*, 197.
- Chockt, 14/343, choked.
- Chremes, 103/3289, the name of
 an avaricious old man in the *Andria*
 of Terence.

- Chuffe, 26/749, a reproachful term often applied to an old miser.
 Miser *chuffes* who charitie doe banish. *Taylor*, 398.
 If he but steale a sheepe from out the fold,
 The *chuffe* would hang him for it if he could. *Ib.* 494.
- Circe, 23/617.
- Civet, 34/979, a perfume obtained from the civet-cat.
 Is not this a sweet pride, to haue *civet*? *Anat. of Abuses*, p. 73.
 And though they were perfum'd with *Civet* hot
 Yet wanting these things they would stinke and rot. *Taylor*, 549.
- Clap, 80/2530, caught a clap = met with a mishap.
- Claudia, 80/2530.
- Cleopatra, 59/1779.
- Climenes, 131/1(2).
- Clogd, 109/3496, burdened.
- Clogging, 92/2918, loading, or burthening. The noun is used in the following passage:—"I'll hang a *clog* about your neck for running away again." *Marlowe*, 59.
- Closely, 85/2691, secretly.
 Now every man put off his bur-gonet,
 And so convey him *closely* to his bed. *Marlowe*, 234.
- Cloy, 85/2674.
- Cocus, 48/1433, a cook.
- Codpiece, 27/758, an artificial protuberance to the breeches.
- Codruss, 49/1481, proper name.
- Cog, 137/56, to lie, to cheat.
- Coinquinate, 136/16. "To coinquinate, staine, or defile." *Milish.* 1627.
- Cold comfort, phr. 57/1704, no relief, no sympathy.
- Collation, 88/2785.
- Collier—devil, prov., "Like to like, the collier and the devil," 98/3097.
- Comines, Philip de, 28/814.
- Commauculate, 71/2216, 96/3046, to spot, pollute.
- Commerce, 51/1537, to trade with, deal with.
- Comprisde, 85/2682, comprised to act, etc., in which the "villany" was to be acted.
- Consubstantiation, 17/473.
- Convented, 49/1472, convened, summoned.
 The king hath commanded To-morrow morning to the council-board
 He be *convented*. *Hen. VIII.* v. 1.
- Convertites, 77/2413, converts.
 No, governor, I will be no *convertite*. *Marlowe*, 149.
 See *As You Like It*, v. 4.
- Coram, 46/1382, "Justice of peace and coram." Coram, "an ignorant mistake for Quorum."
 "Robert Shallow, esquire . . . justice of peace and '*Coram*.'" *Merry W. of W.* i. 1.
- Cornelius, 149/36.
- Corrivals, 35/1024, rivals.
 So he that doth redeem her thence might wear
 Without *corrival* all her dignities. 1 *Hen. IV.* i. 3.
- Corroborate, 151/38, to strengthen. "Meates (moderately taken) *corroborate* the body, refreshe the arteries, and reuiue the spirits." *Anat. of Abuses*, 114.
- Coryate, 26/721, "was bepraised and abused as much as any man." See *Taylor's Works*, *Corbet's Poems*, etc. He died in 1617.
- Cosens, 43/1282, cheats.
 To lye, to *cosen*, to forswear, and swear. *Taylor*, 536.
- Cote, 13/316, 16/408, quote, speak about, "make a note of." "He sayeth moreover that he hath

- coated* a number of contrarieties out of the Scriptures." (*Bame's Note*), *Marlowe*, 390.
- Cotten, 62/1883, to cotton, to succeed or prosper; to go right. Why, so; now it *cottens*, now the game begins. *Geo. Peele*, 396.
- Course, 26/718, coarse.
Her with your *course* wives compare. Taylor, *A Peellar and a Romish Priest*, p. 8.
- Cow, 26/731, coward. Cf. cowish, *K. Lear*, iv. 2.
- Coy, 59/1804, shy.
- Crisis, 24/647. "In a *Physical-Sense*, a proper Constitution, Temperature, or Mixture of Humours in an Animal Body." *P*.
- Crassus, 46/1393, proper name.
- Cratch, 150/31, a manger. "And she broght forth her fyrst begotten sonne, and wrapped him in swadlyng clothes, and layd him in a *cretche*, because there was no rowme for them with in y^e ynnre." *Luke* ii. 7, *Gen. New. Test.* 1557.
- Cronologers, 100/3167.
- Cronologized, 72/2253, chronicled.
- Crosse-barre, 39/1151, an obstacle. There is probably a reference to the cross-bar, or cross-beam of the gallows.
Out of the water shall appeare one dead,
A halter and a *crosse-barre* o'r his head. *Taylor*, 316.
- Crumbe-catching, 135/1.
- Cue, 66/2038, 90/2879. "Cue, a terme vsed by Stage-players." *Minsh.* 1627.
His Buckram-bearer, one that knowes his *ku*,
Can write with one hand and receive with two." *Taylor*, 495.
- Cuffe, 43/1255, same as chuffe, *q. v.*
- Cupid, 45/1339, 93/2927.
- Curry favour, 48/1434, to flatter, gain favour.
- Cyclops, 117/38.
- Cynick-dog, 99/3143.
- Cynthia, 41/1214.
- Cytheræa, 37/1102.
- Dabbes, 77/2402, ?deceives. Perhaps the same as *dub*. See 134/11. 134/12.
- Dad, 78/2448, father.
Thy body is the *Dad*, thy minde the Mam. *Taylor*, 232.
The names used for food in Northamptonshire sometimes show the different classes of society:
Dad, mam, and porridge;
Father, mother, and broth;
Pa, ma, and soup.
- Dædalus, 132/11.
- Dagon, 51/1559.
- Damon, 24/654, a Pythagorean philosopher, the intimate friend of Pythias. When Damon was sentenced to death, and had obtained leave to go and settle his domestic affairs, Pythias pledged himself to undergo the punishment if Damon should not return in time.
- Danae, 42/1252.
- Dance, phr., "goe dance for," 39/1164, to wait for, obsequiously, perhaps. Cf. "Danced attendance on," 2 *Hen. VII.* i. 3; and "I dance attendance here," *K. Rich. III.* iii. 7.
- Dareling, 37/1102, darling.
- Daunce, a Scottish daunce, 86/2716. Cf. *The Gallie Morbus*, and the *Scottish Jleas* (*Taylor*, 549), which were the result of indulging in the "Scottish dance."
- Daw, 46/1380, a foolish fellow, a slattern, or sluggard. *H.* A daw to a solicitor probably means what we now understand by a "lawyer's clerk."
- Day, phr., "dying day," 62/1900, day of death.

- Day, phr., "happie day," 12/275, happiness, prosperity.
- Dealing trade. *See* Trade.
- Debaush, 58/1759, debauched, dissolute. "A *Debosht* Drunkard." *Taylor*, 335.
- Defame, 51/1541, 1556, to render infamous.
- Deianira, 66/2059.
- Demosthenes, 42/1237.
- Descride, 121/26, described.
- Detect, 82/2569, 133/10, to accuse. These fishers tell the infirmities of men:
And from their watery empire recollect
All that may men approve or men detect! *Pericles*, ii. 1.
- Devil, blew devill, 107/3443. "Blue devils," the "horrors," or the remorse which frequently follows an ill course of life.
- Devil, prov., "Goe they must because the devill drives," 52/1582; "Needs must when the devil drives."
- Diana, 93/2943, 116/26.
- Dilate, 117/61, 121/22, to show, declare, open.
- Diogenes, 99/3137.
- Dioscorides, 29/821, flourished in 2nd century A.D.
- Dirges, 13/336, dirge, corrupted from *Dirige*, the commencing word of *Dirige nos, Domine*.
- Disreparation, 151/66, discrepancy, difference.
- Distaine, 121/27, 132/17, to sully by contrast.
Her beauty glancing on the waves
Distains the cheek of fair Proserpina. *George Peele*, 430.
- Distast, 100/3193, disgust, disagree with.
- Divisive, 149/17, divisible.
- Dog, phr., "A hair of the same dog," 61/1869, the homœopathy of the period.
- Dores, keep the doors, 86/2724, 2742.
A Pander (Hostler like) that walks a whore.
And for a Fee securely *keeps the doore*. *Taylor*, 215.
- Drabbes, 80/2525.
The Devils deere *drab* must be the Church of Rome.
That Church . . . is . . . the devils whore. *Taylor*, 593.
- Draco, 57/1728.
- Drivell, 98/3098.
- Drugo, 78/2459.
- Drusus, 37/1077, proper name.
- Dubbing, 134/11 } *See* Dabbes,
Dubde, 134/12 } *supra*.
- Ducke, 85/2699, an endearing term often applied to a child or young girl.
Will you buy any tape,
Or lace for your cape,
My dainty *duck*, my dear-a?
Winter's T. iv. 4.
- "Eat to live, not live to eate," 56/1672. "The olde adage saith . . . we must not live to eat, but we must eate to live!" *Stubbs's Anat.*, ed. 1836, p. 109.
- Effeminize, 34/972, to effeminate, to make womanish or wanton, to soften by voluptuousness. *P.*
- Elizabeth, 140/84.
- Elohim, 7/112, God.
- Elpinas, 106/3410, hopeful.
- Embase, 127/16, debase.
- Emilia, 90/2877, Emily.
- Eminent, 101/3231, imminent.
- Emperie, 35/1024, empire.
Measuring the limits of his *empire*
By east and west, as Phœbus doth his course. *Marlowe*, 10.
- Enable, 12/272, to encourage, to make firm, to strengthen.

- Enact, 39/1156, commit.
- Enditers, 28/816, inditers, composers, writers. Cp. "My heart is *inditing* of a good matter." *Psalms* xlv. *P. B. Vers.*
- Epainntus, 37/1085, praise.
- Equipage, 58/1764.
- Eringoes, 87/2773. Eringo, sea-holly, the roots of which, being candied, made excellent sweetmeats: they were considered provocatives.
- Errant, 146/17.
- Estrange, 129/35
- Eulalius, 76/2385, eloquent.
- Eve, 32/915.
- Except, 9/164, accept.
- Exoration, 80/2511, a prayer, a desire or wish.
- Extenuate, 96/3042.
- Eyen, 56/1686, eyes.
His angry *eyne* look all so glaring bright. *Hall's Satires*, v. 1.
- Fact, 48/1451, act, deed.
And praise his gentle soule and wish it well,
And of his friendly *facts* fall often tell. *Hall's Satires*, iv. 2.
- Families of Love, 9/196, sometimes called Familists. See *Note*, p. xxix.
- Fatuo, 44/1311, a fool.
- Faune, 137/56, fawn.
- Faustus, 53/1625. Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* first appeared about 1590. It was published in quarto in 1604, and again in 1616.
- Fawkes, 12/291.
- Fees, 27/780, rewards.
- Felt, 27/751, a hat.
- Figs of Spaine, 39/1153, a kind of poison.
- Fire, phr., "to give false fire," 122/51, to raise a false alarm.
- Flat, "that's flat," 39/1166, that is certain, or clear. "The boy hath sold him a bargain, a goose, *that's flat*." *Love's L. L.* iii. 1.
- Flavia, 45/1331.
- Fleece, 86/2718, to rob, plunder, strip.
To *fleece* and flea the simple wretche,
to pylfer and to powle.
News out of Powles, Sat. 2.
- Flincher, 59/1801, one who gives over.
- Fond, 13/329, foolish.
- Foulnouthd, 152/1.
- Fox, 58/1762, 59/1806, 1807, to make drunk. "No man must call a Good-fellow Drunkard . . . but say . . . He is *fox*." 1635. *Heywood, Philocthonista*, p. 60. "The liquor . . . would *fox* a dry Traveller, before he had half quencht his thirst." 1639. *J. Taylor, Travels*, p. 8. "You were never so *fox'd* but you knew the way home." *Ib.* p. 46.
- Fox, 64/1985, crafty fox, a clever rogue.
- Frenchifide, 80/2518, made like a Frenchman. See *Ladifide, infra*.
- Frie, "the yoonger frie," 15/386, the younger children.
Thither went the doctors,
And sattin-sleeve'd proctors,
With the rest of the learned *fry*.
Bp. Corbet's Poems, ed. 1807, Intro. xxiii.
- Fucata, 24/661, painted.
- Fucus, 34/973, a red dye, rouge.
- Fulsome, 127/1, nauseous.
- Fume, 105/3368, angry humour.
- Fumoso, 72/2237, well-smoked, smoke-dried, smoky.
- Furder, 12/270, further.
- Gabrina, 85/2699.

- Galen, 29/822. Claudius Galen, d. A.D. 200; M. Galen in 1573.
- Galla, 82/2581, proper name.
- Gallicus morbus, 80/2519.
The Spanish Pip, or else the *Gallican Morbus*,
Bone-bred diseases, mainly doe disturbe vs. *Taylor*, 178.
The *Gallicæ Morbus* or the Scottish fleas,
Or English Poxe, for all's but one disease. *Ib.* 549.
- Ganymede, 79/2470.
- Garnet, 12, *note*.
- Geason, 113/15, this word generally means scarce, rare; as,
Base Death, that took away a man so *geason*,
That measur'd every thought by time and season. *Greene*, 279.
Good men are scarce, and honest men are *geason*. *Taylor*, 404.
- George, 60/1814, 61/1879.
- Gives, 95/3019, shackles, or fetters.
Manacles, and Bolts, and *Gives*,
Which fetter vs in bondage all our liues. *Taylor*, 291.
- Glabria, 82/2567, one who loves a beardless youth.
- Gogle, 98/3099, goggle.
- Golde, King Harries golde, 61/1876. See *Note*, p. xxxv.
- Grandams, 29/836, grandmothers.
If our Grand-fathers and *Grandams* should
Rise from the dead. *Taylor*, 488.
- Gray-beard, 66/2038, 69/2135.
- Grease . . . in the fist, phrase, 43/1269, 48/1442. "If you have argent, or rather *rubrum unguentum*, I dare not saie gold, but red ointment to *grease them in the fist* withall, then your sute shall want no furtheraunce." *Stubbs's Anat.*, ed. 1836, p. 129.
Would now that Matho were the Satyrist,
That some fat bribe might grease him in the fist.
Hall's Satires, iv. 5.
- Greece of Amber, 36/978. See Amber.
- Guld, 29/838, cheated, deceived.
"But my Gowne-brother promised mee good stuffe . . . and verily did *gull* mee." Sam. Rowlands, *Diogenes Lanthorne*, sig. B. 1628.
- Gull, 29/843, a cheat, a deceiver.
- Gulles, 13/320, people easily deceived.
- Hackny, 86/2720, hackney women, women who let out, etc., as explained in ll. 2720-1.
- Had I wist, 40/1194, a proverbial phrase = had I known; an expression of regret.
When dede is down, hit ys to lat; be ware of *had-y-wyst*.
Qu. Eliz. Achad. p. 42.
Clad in a Gowne of mourning *had I wist*. *Taylor*, 165.
See also *Marlowe*, 201, and *Gower's Conf. Amant.* i. 105, ed. 1857.
- Haire, phr., "unto a hair," 72/2244, 80/2520, to a nicety.
- Hannibal, 99/3163.
- Hard-favourd, 123/24.
- Harry (Henry VIII.), 61/1876.
- Heliogabalus, 59/1786.
- Hell-bread, 45/1342, hell-bred.
Cp. *hell-borne* (*Taylor*, 511), and *hell-begot* (*Ib.* 535).
- Hell-hatched, 37/1079, 58/1741.
For ther's no habite of *hell-hatchéd* sinne,
That we delight not to be clothéd in. Sam. Rowlands, *The Letting of Hemorrs Blood*, etc., sig. A. 2.
Down must tumble
The Nimrods proud cloud-piercing Babylon
Like *hell-hatch'd* pride.
Taylor, 500.
Hell-hatcht plots. *Ib.* 501.

- Hell-hound, 42/1249.
 Yet all their lines here they with
 cares are vext,
 Slaues in this world, and *Hell-*
 hounds in the next.
 Taylor, 489.
- Helottes, 58/1755, Spartan serfs
 or bondmen.
- Heracles, 66/2057.
- Herod, 36/1059.
- Hiew, 7/98, hue.
- Hight, 123/19, 124/9, called,
 named.
- Hippoceras, 62/1918, a beverage
 composed of wine, with spices and
 sugar, strained through a cloth.
 It is said to have taken its name
 from *Hippocrates' sleeve*, the term
 apothecaries gave to a strainer. *H.*
- Hippolytus, 69/2164.
- Histriographers, 100/3168, histo-
 riographers.
- Hobnol, 22/604, ? a countryman.
 "Hobbinol, as most readers are
 aware, was the poetic name of
 Gabriel Harvey." *George Peele*,
 583, note by Ed. G. Harvey died
 about 1630.
- Hoggishlie, 14/344, hoglike.
- Hombred, 114/36.
- Home-spun.
 Home-spun medley of my mottley
 braines. *Taylor*, 387.
- Honorius, 98/3120, pertaining to
 honour.
- Horace, 28/815.
- Horn, give him not the horn, 78/
 244, don't make him a cuckold.
- Houreglasse, 53/1627.
- Hunger-starved, 57/1705.
 Meanwhile the *hunger-starv'd* ap-
 purtenance
 Must bide the brunt, whatever
 ill mischance.
 Hall's Satires, v. 2.
- Hutch, 60/1817, like lord within
 a "hutch;" hutch means a chest.
- Here the sense seems to be "like a
 lord standing among his riches."
- Hypocrates, 29/822, Hippocrates,
 d. B.C. 357.
- Hypolitus, 98/3110, Hippolytus,
 a son of Theseus and of Hippolyte.
 The story of Hippolytus and Phæ-
 dra is well known.
- I, 46/1388, and elsewhere, Aye.
 "The motion was hotly canvas'd
 in the house of Peers, and like to
 pass, when the Lord Paget rose up
 and said, 'I, but who shall sue the
 king's bond?' so the business was
 dasht." *Howe's Fam. Letters*, ed.
 1678, p. 135.
- Iearus, 132/9.
- Ice, 3/38, phr., "To break the
 ice," to open or commence a sub-
 ject, or conversation.
- Ies, 41/1207, ? eyes, searches, ex-
 amines.
- Iet, phr., "jet it," 86/2726,
 struts.
 And, Midas-like, he *jets* it in the
 court,
 With base outlandish cullions at
 his heels. *Marlowe, Ed. Sec.*
 (Works, ed. Dyce, p. 193).
- Iet, 72/2248, a stream of water.
 Fr. *jet*.
- Iezebel, 34/965.
- Iframde, 128/3, framed.
- "Ignorance is the mother of de-
 votion," phr., 11/244.
 The woman, musing little at the
 motion,
 Said, *ignorance is the Mother of*
 Devotion.
 If Ignorance be mother then (said
 he)
 Sure darknesse must her onely
 daughter be. *Taylor's Pedlar*
 and *Priest*, p. 21.
- Immediatly, 6/89, without the
 intervention of anything.
- Imp, 46/1363, child. "An *impe*
 of Sathan, and a limme of th

- deuill." *Stubbs's Anat.*, ed. 1836, p. 119.
- Impostume, 2/12.
The Common wealths *Impostum*
hee doth cut,
And the corruption in his purse
doth put. *Taylor*, 495.
- Inchoation, 3/56, a beginning of
any work. *P.*
- Index, phr., "The face is index
to the heart," 23/631-2.
- Inly, 99/3159.
- Innocuous, 64/1955, harmless.
- Intend, 56/1696, fix the mind on,
aim at.
..... Men intend,
But God it is that consummates
the end. 17/467-8.
Paraphrase of "Man proposes, but
God disposes."
- Intret, 132/7, introit, preface.
- Invitement, 104/3308, invitation.
- Iöle, 67/1961.
- Ionah, 149/25.
- Ionson, 132/1, 17.
- Iosiah (James I.), 140/91.
- Iot, 15/401, jot, small space of
time.
- Iove (Jupiter, *planet*), 114/13.
- Irefull, 105/3376.
- Irus, 102/3241, the name of a
beggar in the house of Ulysses at
Ithica.
- It, 129/4, its.
- It's
- Iudas, 20/567, 44/1291.
- Iump, phr., "many jump," 127/
18, coincide, agree.
Master, for my hand,
Both our inventions meet and
jump in one.
Taming of the Shr. i. 1.
- Iuno, 38/1122, 93/2942.
- Iupiter, 131/4.
- Iustled, 105/3366. "A Gallant
iustled him from the wall almost
into the kennell." *Taylor*, 352.
- Keepen, 33/962, keep.
- Kembe, 34/979, to comb.
- Knights of the post, 49/1475,
professional perjurers.
A *post-knight* that for five groats
gaine
Would sweare & for foure groats
foreswear't againe.
Taylor, 557.
- Lacklattin, Sir John, 43/1267, a
term of contempt applied to an
ignorant parson.
This *sir Iohn Lacklatine*, true
course doth keepe,
To preach the Vestry men all fast
asleepe. *Taylor*, 493.
- Ladifide, 133/20, made a lady.
Because his Landlords daughters
(deckt with pride)
With ill-got portions may be
Ladyfide. *Taylor*, 42.
Thy Female faire, adorn'd and
turpifide,
Should, for thy services be *Ladi-
fide*. *Aqua-Musa*, 11.
- Landresses, 89/2838, laundresses.
- Latro, 108/3462, an assassin.
- Lazarus, 56/1703.
- Let, 18/503, a hindrance, an ob-
stacle.
- Let, 78/2435, to hinder, prevent.
- Lethe, 131/11(1).
- Letia, 102/3238, delighting, or
taking pleasure in.
- Levi, 76/2371.
- Levie, the tribe of, phr., 76/2371,
the clergy.
Cease to Abuse the Bishops, and
the *Tribe of sacred Levi*.
Aqua-Musa, p. 9.
- Lidian, 88/2800, the Lydian stone.
- Liew, 9/164, lieu.
- Lightly come, lightly go, prov.,
89/2828.

- Lightsome, 85/2681, cheerful.
- Linceus, 81/2563, Lynceus. See *note*, p. 81.
- Linne, 91/2893, lin, to cease, to stop.
 Forth then shotten these children 2,
 and they did neuer *lin*
 Vntill they came to merry church-
 lees,
 to Merry churchlee with-in.
Percy Po., ed. Hales and
 Furnivall, i. 55.
- Lip-labour, 102/3252.
- Littleton, 46/1380.
- Loaf, prov., "'Tis safest gutting at
 a loaf begun," 76/2393, may be for
 "*cutting* at," etc.
- Lockram band, 27/755, a band
 or collar to the shirt made of *lock-*
ram, which was of a finer texture
 than the shirt itself.
 Hempseed doth yeeld or else it
 doth allow
 Lawne, Cambricke, Holland, Can-
 nase, Callico,
 Normandy, Hambrough, strong
 poledanis, *Lockram*.
Taylor, 549.
- Loose, 17/452, to lose.
- Lop, 88/2809, to lop off, cut away.
- Lot, 75/2347.
- Loutish, 58/1756, clownish.
- Lovelock, 34/971, a pendant lock
 of hair, falling near or over the ear,
 and cut in a variety of fashions.
- Lozell, 130/8, a worthless fellow.
 Sot, I say, *loset*, lewdest of all
 swains. *George Peele*, 561.
- Lucius, 36/1063, proper name.
- Luctantia, 100/3187, *L. luctans*,
 struggling, reluctant.
- Luna, 115/44.
- Lunacy, 51/1549. The MS. reads
lunary. Mr Halliwell's note on the
 latter word is :—"The herb moon-
 wort. This herb was formerly be-
 lieved to open the locks of horses'
 feet. See Harrison, p. 131. Some
 of our early dramatists refer to it
 as opening locks in a more literal
 sense."
- Lurch, 46/1364, to evade, neglect.
 There's a crue of Thieues that prie
 and *lurch*,
 And steale and share the liuings
 of the Church. *Taylor*, 279.
- Lusco, 82/2571, one who is de-
 prived of something.
- Ly, 34/977, lye. "Will Back-
 stead the Plaier cast his *Chamber-*
lye out of his window." *Taylor*,
 342. See 1 Hen. IV. ii. 1.
- Machivillian, 49/1467, 94/2963.
 Thou . . hast beene a *Machiuiilian*,
 For damned sleights, conceits, and
 policie. *Taylor*, 510.
 Hee's no state-plotting *Machiui-*
lian. *Ib.* 535.
- Mahomet, 51/1561.
- Maiaë, 115/37.
- Malago, 62/1915, Malaga wine.
 Little were your gaine,
 By *Mallegoes*, Canaries Sacke from
 Spaine. *Taylor*, 549.
- Malicing, 94/2956, maligning,
 envying.
 I willingly receive th' imperial
 crown,
 And vow to wear it for my coun-
 try's good,
 In spite of them shall *malice* my
 estate. *Marlowe*, 9.
- Manlius, 106/3398, proper name.
- Marchpaine stuffe, 87/2773.
 "Marchpanes are made of verie
 little flower, but with addition of
 greater quantitie of filberds, pine
 nuts, pistaces, almonds, and rosed
 sugar." *Markham's Country Farme*,
 1616, p. 585, quoted in H.
 They sell so deare and take such
 gaine,
 that well they may afoorde
 Toset fine *Marchpanes* and such like
 vpon their seruauents boorde.
Newes out of Powles
Churchyarde, Sat. 4.

- Marle, 68/2130, marvel. "I *marle* in what dull cold nook he found this lady out." *Ev. Man Out of H.* ii. 1.
- Marmalade, 87/2772, a confection commonly made of quinces.
Greeneginger, Sucket, Suger Plate, and *Marmaladie* fine.
News out of Powles Church-yard, Sat. 4.
- Mars, 26/732, 82/2590, 115/19.
- Mary (Queen), 139/82.
- Massie, 47/1422, massive.
To make a Globe to serve this *massie* earth. *Taylor*, 236.
- Maudline, 64/1959, corruption of Magdalene. "With *Maudlin* sorrow . . . they have wept with very griefe." *Taylor*, *Apology for P. Preaching*, p. 7.
- Maw, 101/3226, stomach.
- May, 65/2010, the blossom of the white or haw-thorn.
- Meacocke, 27/783, a silly effeminate fellow. "Some are *suche* peasantes and such *maicokes*, that either they will not, or . . . they dare not, reprove them for it." *Stubbs's Anat.*, ed. 1836, p. 105. "He (The Great Eater of Kent) is no puling *Meacocke*, nor in all his life time the queasinesse of his stomacke needed any sawey spurre or switch of sowre Veriuiice." *Taylor*, 156.
- Mechanico, 24/655, mechanic, wright.
- Mediocrity, 71/2210, moderation.
- Medusa, 23/623.
- Mercury, 115/38.
- Messalina, 77/2424, the name of the profligate wife of Claudius.
- Messe, 60/1826, number.
- Microcosme, 8/145, 92/2908.
"Microcosme, or little world, Man." *Minsh.* 1627.
I haue a heart doth like a Mount-arch raigne,
Who in my *Microcosme* doth lawes ordaine. *Taylor*, 208.
- Midas, 45/1351.
- Mirre-breathing, 38/1112, having sweet breath.
- Mirrha, 82/2595, Myrrha.
- Misotochus, 99/3129, man-hater.
- Misthink, 67/2086, think amiss.
- Mollified, 45/1327, softened.
- Momists, 111, fault-finders, carping critics, so named from Momus.
- Momus, 152/1.
- Moncking-stock, 5/23, perhaps for mocking-stock. "One that doth purpose to make this towne a iesting *mocking stocke* throughout the whole Kingdome." *Taylor*, 356.
Cf. *laughing-stock*.
- Montaigne, 28/813.
- Mony-taker, 48/1442, a receiver of bribes.
- Mopsa, 100/3181. "Mopsey, a term of endearment." *H.* See the *Anatomic of Abuses*, p. 169. "Handkercheifes . . . borrowed for the moste parte of their *pretie mopsies* and louyng bessies, for bussying them in the dareke."
- Moros, 28/789, *L. mos*, manners.
- Morpheus, 137/14.
- Muskadine, 62/1918, 88/2778, a rich wine; muscadel.
The wind no *Muskadine* could hither bandy,
Or sprightly Malmesey out of fruitfull Candy. *Taylor*, 549.
- Mutius, 100/3199, changed in circumstances.
- Nænius, 99/3153, a heaping up of praise, or commendation.
- Nappy ale, 71/2224, strong ale.
- Narcissus, 34/984.
- Nathlesse, 23/624, nevertheless.
- Neandrem, 134, ? Newman.
- Nebuchadnezar, 149/23.

- Necessity, that hath no law, 46/1379, a quibble on the phrase, "Necessity has, or knows, no law."
- Nectar, 62/1913, the drink of the gods; hence, a delicious or inspiring beverage.
What god soever holds thee in his arms,
Giving thee *nectar* and ambrosia.
Marlowe, 53.
- Neighbour, 52/1594, 140/94, neighbouring.
The hope of Persia
That holds us up and foils our
neighbour foes.
1 *Tamburlaine*, i. 1.
- Neotimus, 38/1121, an upstart.
- Nepenthe, 62/1914, the name of an Egyptian drug which lulled sorrow for the day. Gr. *νηπενθης*, removing all sorrow.
- Neptune, 75/2353, 131/6, 143/2.
- Nessus, 66/2059.
- Nil, 120/31, ne will, will not.
[I] left my mill to go with thee,
And *nil* repent that I have done.
Greene, 264.
- Nisus, 23/645, proper name.
- Noble, 48/1443, the name of a coin. "A *Noble* in money . . . six shillings and eightpence in England, where there hath beene an old English coine of gold called an *Edward Noble* . . . worth some fiftene shillings sterling, and is the *Rose Noble* . . . as I take it, now worth seven shillings, and six pence." *Minsh.* 1627.
- Noxious, 147/33, hurtful.
- Nonce, 60/1831, occasion.
- Nothus, 80/2513, spurious, illegitimate.
- Obeisance, 25/703, obedience.
- Obnubilate, 135/14, darken, confound, cloud over. "Immoderate slepe . . . doth obfuske and doth *obnubilate* the memory." *Andrew Boorde's Dyetary*, p. 244, ed. Furnivall.
- Mans vnderstanding's so *obnubilate*.
That when thereon I doe excogitate,
Intrinsicall and querimonious paines,
Doe puluerise the concaue of my braines. *Taylor*, 404.
- Observancie, 89/2830, respect, obsequiousness.
- Occasion, as occasion serves, 97/3062, as opportunity offers, or presents.
- Occurrentes, 104/3307, occurrences.
- Oddes, phr., "by odds," 11/259, 62/1914. "The *ods* is, my *Cormorants* appetite is limited, but most of theirs is vnsatiable." *Taylor*, 483.
- Oldecorn, 12, *note*.
- On, on's, 94/2976, 2986, of his.
Look how his brains drop out *on's* nose. *Jew of Malta*, 17.
- One, 4/9, on. This form is not common in other writers of this period.
- One, phrase, "all one with," 30/866, equivalent to.
- Opifice, 7/104, workmanship, L. *opificium*, from *opifex*.
- Orestes, 126/7(2).
- Orgia, 106/3380.
- Orleance, 62/1917, wine from Orleans. "From France Red, White, claret, *Orleance*." Heywood's *Philocolth.* p. 48.
- Orpheus, 93/2934.
- Ougly, 23/638, 37/1100, ugly.
- Overquell, 112/5, overcome.
- Oxe, phr., "A right ox," 64/1986.
- Pact, 39 1166, packed, sent; often "be off," as,

- 'Tis time, I think, to trudge, *pack*
and be gone. *Com. of Er.* iii. 2.
- Pallas, 93/2940.
- Pamphila, 98/3105, all-loving.
- Pamphlet, 29/842. "Should I
write all that I am truly informed,
my Booke would out-swell the
limits of a *Pamphlet*." *Taylor*, 74.
- Pandarus, 50/1529. *See* Troilus
and Cressida.
- Papistrie, 4/16.
Yea, and a church, unspotted, pure,
From dregs of *papistry* secure.
A Poem on New England,
Ined. Misc. 1870.
I may be mannerly
In Gods House, and be free from
Papistrie.
Taylor, Mad Fashions, p. 7.
- Pasiphaë, 82/2593.
- Passion, "void of passion, void
of good," phr., 96/3038.
- Pelt, 27/752, a skin. "The Lord
... gane them *peltes*, felles, and
skins of beastes to make them gar-
ments withal." *Anat. of Abuses*, p.
20.
- Peppercorne, 65/2010.
- Peter, S., 35/1014, 149/31.
- Phaeton, 34/995, 76/2367, 131/1.
- Phalerno, 62/1917, a wine now
known as Falernian wine, from
Mount Falernus, in Italy.
- Philarchus, 39/1143, a lover of
authority, or the power which
comes of wealth.
- Philautus, 97/3071, self-love.
"Such as give themselves to *phi-
lantia* ... are cholerick of com-
plexion." *Greene*, 204.
- Philogonous, 76/2391, loving his
children; here his flock is probably
meant.
- Phisicall, 71/2212, medicinal.
- Phœbe, 41/1212, the moon-god-
dess, sister of Phœbus, or Sol.
- Phœbus, 103/3295, 144/21.
- Phœdra, 98/3109. *See* Hippo-
litus, *supra*.
- Phorbus, 102/3255, fear.
- Phrygian, 79/2470.
- Pickle, 60/1841, condition of
drunkenness.
Where should they
Find this grand liquor that hath
gilded 'em?
How camest thou in this *pickle*?
Temp. v. 1.
- Pils of Italy, 39/1153, a kind of
poison.
- Pinne, 58/1742, phr., "not worth
a pin," of no value.
- Pistor, 53/1601, miller, baker.
- Pithias, 24/654, Pythias. *See*
Damou, *supra*.
- Pixes, 13/333, pix, the sacred
vessel in which the Host is kept.
- Plato, 29/823.
- Pluto, 99/3162.
- Polte-foot, 98/3101, a club foot.
- Polupragma, 103/3305, many
matters, well rendered in the same
line by "Tittle-tattle."
- Poppæa, 36/1037, L. a cosmetic
made of dough moistened with
asses' milk.
- Pot companion, 59/1795.
- Poynts, 69/2135, tagged laces
used in dress. *To truss a point*
was to tie the laces which held the
breeches: *to untruss a point* was to
untie them.
- Praise, prov., "A man's praises
in his own mouth stink," 37/1089.
- Pratle, 163/3306, prattle.
- Precisians, 10/213, persons who
are over scrupulous in matters of
religion. "I will set my counten-
ance like a *precisian*." *Marlowe*, 82.
"Corbet was certainly no *previs-
ian*." *Gilchrist's Corbet*, xxxi.
- Pre-devine, 146/18.
- Pre-indicate, 146/19.

- Pre-ordainde, 101/3216.
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 Prospective, 145/48.
 Protasis, 111, beginning; protasis and catastrophe, commencement and ending.
 Proteus, 128/6, 129/31.
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 Psyche, 117/29.
 Ptolomeus, 29/823, Ptolemy.
 Put up all, phr., 105/3361, put up with all, endure all.
 Putrefaction, 70/2178, putrifying.
 Quadruplicity, 117/43.
 Quails, 145/67, quells, cows.
 Quarrell, 61/1852, combat, bout.
 Quaternall, 150/27, fourfold.
 Quean, 36/1053.
 Quintus, 82/2568.
 Quite, 81/2537, requite.
 Lose more labour than the gain shall *quite*. *Marlowe*, 17.
 Quoted, 63/1937, same as *cote*, *supra*.
 Rafe (Ralph), 60/1814, 61/1880.
 Rape, 128/12, prey. Cf. *rapine*.
 Ravailiac, 12/283. See *n. p. x*.
 Reassume, 126/15.
 Recordation, 68/2108, the act of recording, mentioning, writing.
 Recover, 100/3176, return to, reach. "I swam, ere I could *recover* the shore, five and thirty leagues off and on." *Tempest*, iii. 2.
 Recure, 2/14, 130/11, to cure, heal.
 A smile *recures* the wounding of a frown. *Venus and Adonis*, 465.
 And to *recure* me from this strange quandary,
 Hence Vsquebaugh, and welcome sweet Canary. *Taylor*, 179.
 Regiment, 99/3162, kingdom, rule.
 Four elements
 Warring within our breasts for *regiment*. *Marlowe*, 18.
 Repent, 53/1628, 142/3, repentance.
 Repurifide, 38/1118, purged, made pure.
 Residence, monthly residence, 102/3245. Reference to Canons of Cathedral Churches being "in residence" one month in the year.
 Rhamnusiae, 135/7, Nemesis.
 Rhamnusian, 2/1.
 Rhenish, 62/1918.
 No
 . . . *Rhenish* from the Rhine would be apparent.
 Taylor, p. 549.
 Rising, prov., "A sudden rising hath a sudden fall," 39/1142.
 Rivolet, 116/22, rivulet.
 Romanus, 102/3245.
 Roring boy, 47/1397, roring boyes, 62/1889, riotous fellows who took delight in annoying quiet people. "And many sat there [in the Parliament] that were more fit to have been among *roaring boys* than in that assembly." *Court & Times of James I. i. 322*.
 Like shamelesse double sex'd Hermaphrodites,
 Virago *Roaring Girls*. *Taylor*, 43.
 Sometimes these disturbers of the peace were called "roarers." See *News From Hell, Hull, and Hallifax, etc.*, p. 43.
 Rost, phr., "to rule the rostrum," 117/64, to have most influence.
 Roundly, 81/2556, vigorously, without fear.
 Rushes, phr., "picking rushes," 90/2882, idling away the time.

- Ruffino, 47/1397, It. *ruffiano*, a pimp. "She will . . . cause thy throate to be cut by her *Ruffiano*." *Corgate*, 264/4.
- Salamander, 118/76, 119/108.
- Sampson, 25/688.
- Sanctimonious, 10/224, holy, full of sanctity; used in a *good* sense, as it is in
All *sanctimonious* ceremonies may
With full and holy rite be minister'd. *Temp.* iv. 1.
- Sardanapalus, 59/1785.
- Saturn, 114/7.
- Sawe, 37/1088, "Saw, saying," proverb.
- Scanderbeg, 25/687. Died, 1467.
- Scilla, 82/2575, Scylla.
- Score, 81/2561, to cut, or mark.
- Scotus, 27/767, Scott, probably a fling at one of James's courtiers.
- Scullian, 133/11.
- Scurrill, 136/26, scurrilous.
- Sea, 51/1564, see. "And now I speake of Rome euen in her *Sea*." *Taylor*, 484.
- Seld, 120/5, seldom, not often.
Seld and *seldome* can they helpe
to keepe the good from harme.
Newes out of Powles, Sat. 2.
- Seller, 60/1829, cellar.
- Sempronia, 77/2417, proper name.
- Separists, 15/375, separatists. See *note*, p. xxx.
- Sharke, 85/2694, to cheat, to "sponge." Cf.
The *sharking* tricks
Of cooz'ning Tradsmen.
Taylor, 210.
- Sheet, standing in a sheet, 104/3342, customary mode of punishment for a certain sin.
- Shelfe, 43/1288, a ledge of rock.
- Shend, 68/2103, 121/42, to protect, defend.
- Give laud to him that loveth Israel,
And sing his praise that *shendeth* David's fame.
George Peele, 471.
- Sherry, 62/1916.
Gascoggne, Orleance, or the
Chrystall *Sherrant*. *Taylor*, 549.
- Ship, made a ship out, 106/3411, fitted out a ship.
- Shoe, to tread the shoe awry, 81/2542, to leave the path of virtue. This is probably Taylor's meaning:—"He bade me leave prating, for I hindred him from mending Alderman Pennington's shooes, (who had gone much aside,) and that his especieall care and charge was, to set him upright if it were possible." *Complaint of Christmas*, p. 3.
- Shoes, prov., "He who waits for dead men's shoes goes barefoot," 106/3405.
- Shoone, 27/754, *pl.* of shoe, shoes.
- Shroudes, 151/58, coverings or a shelter. "They turne them [the poor] out of their *shrouds* as mice." *B. Gilpin's Sermon*, p. 33.
- Siecity, 117/54, dryness.
- Sillie, 25/710, seely, simple.
- Silvanus, 137/4.
- Silvius, 90/2851, proper name.
- Simple, 147/36, simples, medicinal plants.
- Simplician, 148/78, simpleton.
- Simpring, 29/829, simpering.
- Simula, 26/733, pretence.
- Sir, 28/807, a scholastic title, the translation of *dominus* commonly applied to priests and curates.
- Skip-iacke, 71/2219, a dandy, a puppy.
Iacke of Newbery I will not re-
peate,
Nor Iacke of both sides, nor of
Skip-Iacke neate. *Taylor*, 123.
- Skin, leap out on's, 94 2976, to be beyond one's self with joy.

- Skull, 71/2218.
- Slavering, 43/1259.
She mumbled and she *slarered*,
and she spun. Taylor, *A Pedlar
and a Romish Priest*, p. 20.
- Sleas, 129/18, slays.
- Sleeve, "pinned upon the," phr.,
28/784.
This gallant *pins* the wenches on
his *sleeve*. *Love's L. L.* v. 2.
- Snake, 71/2221, a poor wretch; a
term of reproach.
- Snowt-faire, 34/975, contempt-
ible, coxcombical.
- Snuffe, 60/1833, a very small
quantity. Cf.
When as is spent his credit and
chink,
And he quite wasted to a *snuffe*.
Taylor, 214.
- Sodomeo, 79/2467.
- Sol, 113/19, 115/26.
- Solomon, 147/37.
- Solon, 38/1120.
- Sordido, 26/749, sordid, dirty.
See Ben Jonson, *Every Man out
of H.*
- Sorrow, phr., "drink down sor-
row," 62/1894, "to drive dull care
away" by drinking.
- Source, 113/4, souse, dip. "This
little barked of ours being *sourst* in
eumbersome waves." *Optick glasse
of Humors*, 1639, p. 161, quoted
in *H.*
- Spare, prov., "He harmes the
good that doth the evill spare,"
45/1350.
- Spleenfull, 97/3070.
- Spring, phr., "'Tis sweetest
drinking at the spring," 60/1830.
- Spurio, 77/2421, false-one.
- Spart, 79/2494, probably an error
for sport.
- Stage-plaies, 127/19.
- Starke, 147/52, mere, sheer.
- Stationer, 28/806, a bookseller.
See *Taylor*, 228.
- Stint, 89/2808, stop.
- Stolido, 45/1352, dunce.
- Stones, 87/2769, *testes*.
- Stound, 129/17, an instant of
time.
- Stow, 81/2544, bestow.
- Straw, 5/21, phr., "Not to set a
straw by," to hold in small esteem.
- String, phr., "lead in a string,"
76/2353.
Following their Vickers steps in
every thing,
He led the parish even by a string.
Sam. Rowlands, *The Letting
of Hemmors Blood, etc.*, Epi.
37.
- String, a golden, 44/1307.
- Stroke, phr., "bear the stroke,"
92/2917.
- Strouting, 89/2844, swelling out.
- Sulpitia, 78/2441, proper name.
- Sumner, 81/2538, summoner, ap-
paritor.
- Swinge, 71/2232, swing, bent,
inclination.
- Sword-fish, 145/70.
- Tagus, the river, and its golden
sand, 116/21.
The sands of Tagus all of burnish'd
gold. *Greene*, 90.
- Take me e're, 72/2251, take me
to any; show me.
- Tamburlaine, 25/686. Mar-
lowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* was
probably written before 1590. It
was printed in 8vo in 1592, and in
4to, in 1605 and 1606.
- Tane, 26/739, taken.
- Taurus, 48/1449, bull.
- Tellus, 41/1209. Earth, as a deity.
- Temerus, 104/3318, rashness.
- Tempe, 116/12.

Tender-nosd, 112/11.

Thersites, 43/1255. "Thersites, a deformed and scurrilous Grecian." *Troi. and Cres.*, Dram. Pers. It is probable that R. C. gained his idea of Thersites from seeing this Play performed.

Thetis, 113/3.

Thienes—receivers, prov., "No receivers no thieves," 89/2818.

Thrush, prov., "One thrush in the hand is worth two in the bush," 106/3406. "A bird in the hand," &c.

Timon of Athens, 94/2965.

Timophila, 103/3279, love-honour.

Title-tattle, 103/3305.

Tobacconist, 72/2239, a tobacco-smoker.

The smoakie black-lung puft *Tobacconist* :

Whose ioy doth in Tobacco sole consist. *Taylor*, 511.

See also *Ib.* 214.

Toils, 118/82, toils, fatigues.

Trade, common trade, 83/2626 ; see next.

Trade, phr., "The dealing trade," 72/2258. "And why should not Whores haue a Mistris of their owne *dealing-trade*?" *Taylor*, 261. A gentlewoman of the *dealing-trade* Procur'd her owne sweet picture to be made. Sam. Rowlands, *The Letting of Hemorrhoids Blood*, etc., Epi. 29.

Traine, 87/2761, trick, arrangement.

Trans, 17/473, trans[ubstantiation].

Trencher-scraper, 27/771, a menial who works for food. Cf. Trencher-man, trencher-fly (Ash.).

Trinity, 144/32, three things.

Troth, 2/21, tell-troth rimes. Tell truth, the phrase was a favourite

one at the time. "In 1600 John Lane published his *Tom Tell-troths Message*, and his *Pens Complaint*." *Tom tell-troth* is a foolish gull to thee. *Taylor*, 237.

Troynovant, 86/2725, London.

Like Minos, or iust iudging Rhadamant,

He walkes the darkesome streets of *Troynovant*. *Taylor*, 491.

See also *George Peele*, 543.

Tuffe, 27/752, tough.

Turnus, 49/1465, Latin name.

Come, now, as *Turnus* 'gainst Æneas did. *Marlowe*, 39.

Tyranness, 92/2917.

Veneria, 83/2622, Venus.

Venus, 77/2418, 87/2753, 93/2939, 97/3072, 115/32, 131/2.

Ver, 126/13, spring.

Ville, 44/1321, 68/2120, vile.

Goe but to Spaine, and shew thy *vild* condition. *Taylor*, *A Pedlar and a Romish Priest*, p. 8.

This form is sometimes used in the folio *Shakespeare*, 1623.

Virgil, 28/815.

Vitellius, 89/2825.

Vixen, 106/3394.

Vnease, 82/2579, expose. In a literal sense—

Tranio, at once

Vnease thee; take my coloured hat and cloak.

Taming of a Shr. i. 1.

Vndermining, 44/1317, undermining bribes, bribes which procure one to commit unlawful or dishonourable actions.

They
Have hired me to *vndermine* the duchess.

And buz these conjurations in her brain. 2 *Hen. VI.* i. 2.

Vukem'd, 27/760, uncombed, untrimmed.

- Her unkemb'd locks asunder tear-
ing. *Marlowe*, 345.
- Vntemperate, 58/1763, intemperate.
- Vntrust, 69/2135, unfastened.
See 'poynts,' *supra*.
- Vntwitten, 132/15, ?
- Votarius, 102/3271, wish, desire.
- Vp, phr., "Up and tells," 122/55, tells without hesitation.
- Vpsefreese, 60/1816, a kind of beer imported from Friesland. Cf. *upse - Dutch*, *upse - English*. "To drink upse-freeze," "to drink swinishly;" "to drink all off at a swig.
This valiant pot-leach, that vpon his knees
Has drunk a thousand pottles *vp se freese*. *Taylor*, 487.
See also Heywood's *Philocothonia*, p. 45, where one of the names for a drunkard is "One that drinkes *Upse-freeze*."
- Vulcan, 82/2588, 117/38.
- Warrant, phr., "A warrant seald with butter," 12/276, an empty promise.
- Warrantize, 12/275, to warrant, promise.
- Whilome, 121/37, once, formerly.
Thou Saint (quoth he) I *whilome* did adore. *Taylor*, 388.
- Whipping-cheer, 13/332. "Nowe and then not a fewe haue *whipping cheare* to feede themselues with-all." *Stubbs's Anat.* ed 1836, p. 111.
- Whit, "ne're a whit," phr., 100/3190, not in the least.
- Wilde-fyer, 145/66.
- Wishers, prov., "Great wishers and common woulers seldom good householders," 103/3277.
- Worser, 75/2358.
- Wreck, 97/3070, wreak, inflict.
- Yeie, 125/9, icy.
- Yelad, 30/869, clothed.
- Ycleped, 22/607, called, named.
- Yslaine, 122/56, slain.
- Yspread, 64/1988, spread.
- Yspunne, 27/753, spun.
- Zephyrus, 116/28.

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